

Democrats the Party of Freedom? Not a Chance

I found Bill Kauffman's article "Desperately Seeking Solutions" (Dec.) both thoughtful and thought-provoking. The implications of the article, however, are not clear. If he believes that the Democratic Party is in the process of becoming the party of liberty, Mr. Kauffman is being a bit naive.

The so-called neoliberal movement has elements of market orientation. Nonetheless, we should not believe that Gary Hart, Bill Bradley, Bruce Babbitt, et al. are protolibertarians. A better explanation for the neoliberal movement is that it is not unlike the Republican Party's complete acceptance of the welfare state in the 1960s.

New domestic spending programs are not in vogue, and some current ones are candidates for minor pruning by these neoliberals. But on fundamental economic issues like the balanced-budget amendment (which is a litmus test for the truly proliberty perspective), neoliberals are by and large hostile.

Too many people have overemphasized the dictum "ideas have consequences." The fact is, lots of bad ideas (like the neoliberals' national-service program) have no impact. Nor do some good ideas. Good ideas *can* have consequences when they are carefully developed and marketed in the context of the current political dynamic. As long as the Democratic Party is wedded to radical redistribution, neoliberals—even if they are sincere in their positive policy prescriptions—cannot be expected to have a significant impact. The realities of our two-party system should be seen clearly. The days of Andrew Jackson Democrats are unfortunately long gone.

Robert Capozzi
Arlington, VA

Mr. Kauffman replies: Mr. Capozzi misunderstands. The neoliberal vision of a benevolent technocratic state holds no allure for me. But their skepticism of foreign intervention does. Unfortunately, the young Republicans who support a balanced-budget amendment are often the same Teddy Roosevelt disciples who

want to sacrifice a few thousand kids to the old progressive dream of American Empire. And yes, Mr. Capozzi, Andrew Jackson democrats survive still. They're all around—in the factories, the roadside diners, the punk rock clubs. Perhaps someday champions of liberty will stop slobbering over soulless yuppies and malefactors of great wealth and rediscover the spirit of '76, beating loud as ever in the American heartland.

Time to Rethink 55

I think that Alan Pisarski's critique of the 55-mile-per-hour speed limit ("Deep Six 55," Nov.) is sound. However, the panel of the National Academy of Sciences, on which I served, merely came to the conclusion that the speed limit's benefits exceeded its costs. The panel was not charged with considering whether some alternative policy might be even more cost beneficial. I would personally support permitting the states to engage in experimental modifications of the national maximum speed limit in the interests of both freedom and knowledge, but the panel as a whole could not agree on this suggestion.

H. Laurence Ross
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, NM

You Can't Fool Mother Nature

There REASON goes again! I last wrote you a letter when you did a cover story on the subject of biology, which fostered the theory of evolution (Dec. 1981); this time it's Ronald Bailey's cover story on biotech ("Fear and Loathing of Biotech's Bright Future," Nov.) that prompts me to write. I do not see the consistency between your pursuit of the freedom of

Communicate with REASON, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93140. We appreciate receiving your letters typed double-spaced and limited to 200 words. Letters sent to REASON will be considered for publication (unless otherwise noted) and may be subject to abridgement or editorial comment.

Editor and Publisher Robert W. Poole, Jr.
Editor-in-Chief Marty Zupan
Senior Editors Manuel S. Klausner,
Tibor R. Machan
Managing Editor Eric Marti
Assistant Editor Bill Kauffman
Book Review Editor Lynn Scarlett
Art Director Laura Main
Assistant to the Editors Lucy Braun

Contributing Editors
Doug Bandow
Tom Bethell
David Brudnoy
Timothy Condon
Thomas Hazlett
Alan Reynolds
Peter Samuel
William Tucker
Bruce Bartlett
Samuel Blumenfeld
Joe Cobb
James Dale Davidson
Michael McMenamin
Jeff Riggenbach
Thomas Szasz
Walter Williams

Foreign Correspondents
Tahsin Alam
Stefan Blankertz
Otto Brons-Petersen
Fred Dekkers
Theo. E. Brenner
Bruce Evoy
Enrique Ghersi
Ole-Jacob Hoff
Hubert Jongen
Henri Lepage
John C. Loulis
Leon M. Louw
Julio Marquez
Antonio Martino
Toshio Murata
M. Perez
José Italo Stelle
Eben Wilson
Oded Yinon
Bangladesh
West Germany
Denmark
Belgium
Switzerland
Canada
Peru
Norway
The Netherlands
France
Greece
South Africa
Mexico
Italy
Japan
Spain
Brazil
Great Britain
Israel

Departments
Mark Edward Crane
John Dentinger
Randall K. Hyikema
Warren M. Salomon
Mark Skousen
Robert W. Poole, Jr.,
Lucy Braun,
Bill Kauffman, and
Eric Marti
Brickbats
Spotlight
Rudeberbs
Taxes
Investments
Trends

Advertising Director Rob McGee
Director of Public Affairs Kelly Ross
Circulation Manager Jacqueline Earnshaw
Office Manager Shelly Perry
Administrative Assistant Monica Arellano
Graphic Production The Production Line
Typesetting Jean Graphics

ADVERTISING SALES OFFICES

Santa Barbara Rob McGee
1018 Garden St.
Santa Barbara
CA 93101
805/963-5993

New York Thomas F. Kenny
& Associates
114 East 32nd St.
Ste. 1406
New York, NY 10016
212/683-0570

Here's how to join the Baen Book Club:

Just fill in on the coupon below at least ten (no upper limit) titles from the list of science fiction and non-fiction on this page, add the prices of the items you have indicated, and make your payment for half that amount. That's right: just half—and we pay the postage. What a deal!

Make that check or (money order) payable to Baen Publishing Enterprises. VISA/Mastercard are also accepted. Make sure to include your account number and expiration date. Send your order to:

Baen Books
(Dept. Reason 1A)
260 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10001

We'll take it from there. Please allow 72 hours for turnaround, and four to six weeks for the Post Office to do its thing.

PAPERBACKS

PRICE

- A. \$2.95 FIRE TIME, Poul Anderson
- B. \$2.95 RETURN OF RETIEF, Keith Laumer
- C. \$2.95 HOUR OF THE HORDE, Gordon R. Dickson
- D. \$3.50 VALENTINA, Joseph H. Delaney and Marc Stiegler
- E. \$2.95 FAR FRONTIERS VOL. 1, edited by Jerry Pournelle and Jim Baen
- F. \$2.95 TORCH OF HONOR, Roger MacBride Allen
- G. \$3.95 ACTIVE MEASURES, Janet Morris and David Drake
- H. \$3.50 GAME OF EMPIRE, Poul Anderson
- I. \$2.95 COBRA, Timothy Zahn
- J. \$2.95 WOLFLING, Gordon R. Dickson
- K. \$3.50 PEACE WAR, Vernor Vinge
- L. \$2.95 RETIEF'S WAR, Keith Laumer
- M. \$2.95 ACT OF GOD, Eric Kotani and John Maddox Roberts
- N. \$2.75 PLAGUE OF DEMONS, Keith Laumer
- O. \$3.50 THE FORTY-MINUTE WAR, Janet and Chris Morris
- P. \$2.95 FAR FRONTIERS Vol. 3, edited by Jerry Pournelle and Jim Baen
- Q. \$2.95 FANGLITH, John Dalmas
- R. \$2.95 RETIEF OF THE CDT, Keith Laumer
- S. \$2.95 INVADERS!, Gordon R. Dickson
- T. \$2.95 THE DEVIL'S GAME, Poul Anderson
- U. \$2.95 FAR FRONTIERS Vol. 4, edited by Jerry Pournelle and Jim Baen
- V. \$3.50 COBRA STRIKE!, Timothy Zahn
- W. \$2.95 THE ODYSSEUS SOLUTION, Michael Banks and Dean R. Lambe
- X. \$2.95 RETIEF AND THE PANGALACTIC PAGEANT OF PULCHRITUDE, Keith Laumer
- Y. \$2.95 THE LAST DREAM, Gordon R. Dickson
- Z. \$3.95 THE MESSIAH STONE, Martin Caidin
- AA. \$3.50 RANKS OF BRONZE, David Drake*
- AB. \$3.95 I, MARTHA ADAMS, Pauline Glen Winslow*

- AC. \$2.95 HIGH JUSTICE, Jerry Pournelle*
- AD. \$2.95 FAR FRONTIERS, Vol. 5, edited by Jerry Pournelle and Jim Baen*
- AE. \$3.95 M.E.D.U.S.A., Janet and Chris Morris**
- AF. \$3.50 A CHOICE OF DESTINIES, Melissa Scott**
- AG. \$2.95 RETIEF AND THE WARLORDS, Keith Laumer**

GENERAL NON-FICTION

- AI. \$6.95 MUTUAL ASSURED SURVIVAL, Jerry Pournelle and Dean Ing
- AJ. \$7.95 FUTURE OF FLIGHT, Leik Myrabo and Dean Ing

COMPUTER BOOKS

- AK. \$8.95 ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE: How Machines Think, F. David Peat
- AL. \$9.95 PROGRAMMING LANGUAGES: Featuring the IBM PC and Compatibles, Marc Stiegler and Bob Hansen
- AM. \$8.95 THE SERIOUS ASSEMBLER, Charles Crayne and Dian Girard
- AN. \$9.95 ADVENTURES IN MICROLAND, Jerry Pournelle
- AO. \$9.95 THE USERS GUIDE TO SMALL COMPUTERS, Jerry Pournelle

HARDCOVER AND LARGE-SIZE PAPERBACKS

- AP. \$14.95 THE GATES OF HELL, C.J. Cherryh and Janet Morris
- AQ. \$14.95 BIRDS OF PREY, David Drake (hardcover)
- AR. \$15.95 BEYOND SANCTUARY, Janet Morris
- AS. \$15.95 BEYOND THE VEIL, Janet Morris
- AT. \$15.95 THE SCIENCE FICTION YEARBOOK, edited by Jerry Pournelle with Jim Baen and John F. Carr
- AU. \$12.95 RHIALTO THE MARVELLOUS, Jack Vance
- AV. \$13.95 NIGHT OF POWER, Spider Robinson
- AW. \$13.95 THE 40-MINUTE WAR, Janet and Chris Morris
- AX. \$ 7.95 BIRDS OF PREY, David Drake

*Available in May, 1986

**Available in June, 1986

BAEN BOOKS
(DEPT. REASON 1A)
260 FIFTH AVE
N.Y., N.Y. 10001

*Please allow an additional
4-8 weeks on delivery of
May or June titles.

Please send me the following titles (circle letters)*

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N
O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z
AA AB AC AD AE AF AG AH AI AJ
AK AL AM AN AO AP AQ AR AS AT
AU AV AW AX

Enclosed is my check money order VISA/MasterCard
No. and expiration date (Circle one)

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____
Credit Card Acct. # _____ Expiration Date _____

man vis-à-vis man in your usual non-pareil defense of free minds and free markets and man vis-à-vis nature in your defense of biotechnology.

Bailey hesitates to look at the arguments against the unpredictable effects of intervention in the intricate process of nature; how then do you expect others to listen to REASON's arguments against the unpredictable effects of intervention in the intricate process of the market? A case in point: Bailey reports that the US Department of Agriculture is experimenting (with taxpayers' money) with growth hormones for food animals. Re-

call that raisers of food animals in the '50s used to administer USDA-recommended diethylstilbesterol (DES) to augment the animals' size. Pregnant human mothers were prescribed the same substance to avoid miscarriage; today their daughters inherit cancer a generation later as a result of this genetic experiment.

It ain't nice to fool mother nature; it ain't nice to fool the marketplace. Nature to be commanded must be obeyed; human nature to be commanded must be obeyed. Bailey rejects antibiotech activist Jeremy Rifkin's book *Algeny*; I only

hope I live long enough to hear REASON's rebuttal to a chapter in that book entitled "Darwinian Sunset."

W. Alfred Spoor
Houston, TX

Dim Spotlight

I can't believe that REASON is running so low on legitimate defenders of liberty to profile that it feels obliged to spotlight the contradiction-laden John Milius (Spotlight, Dec.). According to John Dentinger's article, Milius has no doubts about Bernard Goetz's subway vigilante act, waffles about free-market restrictions like the minimum-wage law despite his alleged belief in laissez-faire capitalism, supports the draft, and believes in some kind of "warrior class" and *Pax Americana*.

Okay, I admit that we have to consider more than just Mises and Rand spinoffs, but let's draw the line somewhere. And somewhere before Milius. Maybe I'm being too harsh though, for he did give us *Conan the Barbarian* (maybe to make up for *Apocalypse, Now*). But on the other hand...

David M. Brown
Syracuse, NY

The End of a Cartel That Never Was

Your October Trends reported on the demise of OPEC, but the organization may be finished as a cartel before it has had a chance to act as one. Since OPEC rose to prominence, around 1973, one nation, Saudi Arabia, has acted as swing producer without effectively imposing production quotas on the other members. To be sure, since March 1983 OPEC has tried to be a cartel, but again the burden was assumed by the Saudis who reduced their output from 10.5 down to 2.5 million barrels per day. It was this enormous cut, 15 percent of world production, which has kept the price at an artificially high level. A major adjustment is overdue.

In historical perspective (as pointed out in my book *Free Market Energy*), things would have gone better for the world economy if the low-cost Arabian resources had been discovered and exploited before high-cost resources were tackled elsewhere. But don't blame the

LibertyPress LibertyClassics

Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres

By Adam Smith
The Glasgow Edition
Edited by J. C. Bryce

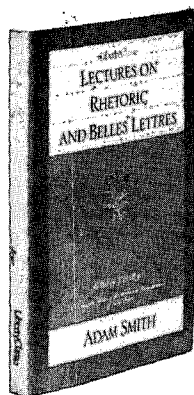
Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres consists of transcriptions of the notes of an unknown student who attended Smith's lectures in 1762-63. This manuscript was first discovered by John M. Lothian of the University of Aberdeen in 1958. In these lectures, Smith demonstrated the connection of language and the ability to communicate thoughts and inclinations to the development of sympathy and fellow-feeling, concepts central to his more famous works.

291 pages.

Introduction, appendices, index.

Softcover Only \$5.50, 0-86597-052-1

Prepayment is required on all orders not for resale. We pay book rate postage on prepaid orders. Please allow 4 to 6 weeks for delivery. All orders from outside the United States must be prepaid in U.S. dollars. To order, or for a copy of our catalogue, write:
LibertyPress/LibertyClassics
7440 North Shadeland, Dept. R117
Indianapolis, IN 46250



letters

geologists; history willed otherwise.

In the next century even the low-cost resources will be depleted and oil will come from the remaining high-cost deposits, mainly in the Middle East. But by then we won't care; substitutes will be fully developed and oil will be just another resource.

S. Fred Singer
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA

Bad Moon Rising for Not-So-Natural Monopolies

I read with interest "Power Stations: Some Like Them Competitive" (Trends, Nov.). As you indicate in the necessarily brief piece, slowly but steadily market ideas are infiltrating even the electric utility industry. When I began my competition research in 1968, "natural monopolies" was the standard; I was virtually a voice crying in the wilderness. Now, even the pro-regulation forces see serious problems with the natural monopoly concept. Moreover, the pro-regulation forces seem to be shrinking in number and their voices seem to be lower. An evolution toward more competition in the electric utility business is clearly under way.

Walter J. Primeaux, Jr.
University of Illinois
Urbana-Champaign, Illinois

Jolly Good Advice!

I was delighted to see Mark Skousen's recommendation to buy London mutual funds (Investments, Oct.). It has been frustrating being an American living in London to see that Americans are never told about the exciting potential in this huge market.

To help overcome the bewildering task of selecting from the thousands of mutual funds available through England, there is a monthly statistical sheet (quoted in US dollars) that covers the price movements of over 1,000 non-US mutual funds. This publication is called *Fund Help International*. The annual subscription is \$99.00. Details can be obtained from FHI, PO Box 1427, Naples, FL 33939.

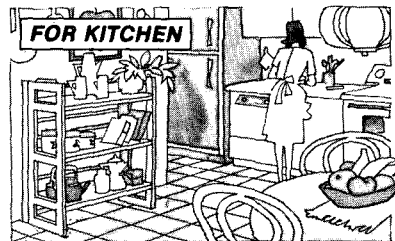
Gary A. Scott
London, England

Organize and decorate with the beauty of natural beech wood stackable shelving

FOR LIVING ROOM, LIBRARY OR DEN



Design your own shelving arrangement in minutes...



© 1985 Barnes & Noble Bookstores, Inc.

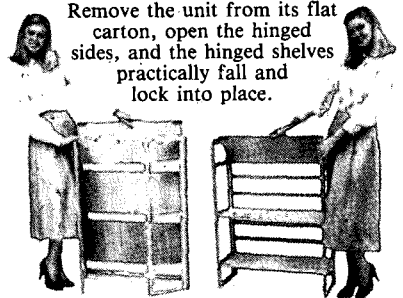
Imagine buying tough, sturdy beech wood shelving at a price you would expect to pay for plastic!

The Spacemaker Stack-A-Shelf® is so versatile it fits comfortably in any room or office... even in a closet. And best of all, it sets-up in seconds without tools!

Get things organized and out of the way. From toys to plants, from stereo equipment to books... everything has its place on these beautiful space-making units.

Sets up in seconds without tools.

Remove the unit from its flat carton, open the hinged sides, and the hinged shelves practically fall and lock into place.



Natural beech wood is attractive unfinished, so the unit can be used immediately, of course you can finish it if you prefer.

Each free-standing unit is 27 1/4" w x 11 1/2" d x 37" h and is designed to interlock and stack securely. This means you can easily create your own wall unit. And if you move, just fold them down and take them with you. Offer good only in continental U.S.A.

FOR FASTEST SERVICE!

Credit Card Customers Call

Toll Free - 24 hours - 7 days a week

1-800-228-3535

IN NEBRASKA 1-800-842-9608

NEW LOW PRICE
List \$59.95
ONLY \$39.95

SINCE 1873
Barnes & Noble
BOOKSTORES

Dept. H 232, 126 Fifth Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10011

Please send me _____ Stack-a-Shelf unit(s) at \$_____ each (see price chart), plus \$6.95 shipping and insurance, per unit. N.Y. and N.J. residents, please add sales tax. Enclosed is my check / money order / charge for \$_____.

☐ Mr.
Name ☐ Ms. _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Charge to: ☐ AMEX ☐ VISA ☐ MASTERCARD

Acct.# _____ Exp. _____

Signature _____

AVAILABLE BY MAIL ONLY

30-DAY MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE
Every item you purchase from Barnes & Noble by mail must meet your standards... If not, return it within 30 days for a full refund.

Robert W. Poole, Jr.

Who Should Sacrifice?

America's newest syndicated columnist is the ubiquitous Lee Iacocca, chairman of Chrysler Corporation. Though short on academic sophistication, Iacocca does possess the virtue of plain speaking.

In a recent column, Iacocca lays it right on the line. By spending \$200 billion more than they take in each year, our President and Congress have doubled the national debt in just four years—from \$1 trillion to \$2 trillion. Interest alone is now eating up \$150 billion a year.

It's got to stop, Iacocca sensibly proclaims, just as a family must take the credit card away from the spendthrift who doesn't know when to stop. And because stopping the binge will be painful, Iacocca calls for "sacrifice." Better hold onto your wallets, folks!

To balance the budget, Lee wants to close the gap 50 percent by spending cuts (half in defense, half in unspecified domestic programs) and 50 percent by new taxes. And guess which taxes he wants to impose: huge new taxes on gasoline and on imported oil. Yes, indeed, we'd all have to sacrifice—all of us, that is, except Chrysler Corporation, which over-invested in small cars (which aren't selling very well these days because oil prices are so low). Iacocca's "sacrifice" taxes would give Chrysler a large boost in market share compared with Ford and General Motors.

Aside from its blatant self-interest, Iacocca's call for sacrifice misses the target. Federal spending is out of control because specific constituencies are benefitting at the expense of taxpayers in general. Ending budget deficits by cutting spending rather than raising taxes recognizes that it is the guilty parties—these constituencies—that should sacrifice, not ordinary taxpayers.

As a practical matter, the only way major spending cuts could get through Congress is as a package deal that traded off

cuts to one interest group for cuts of comparable magnitude to others. For example, \$29 billion in farm subsidies and rural-area grants might well be eliminated if \$12 billion in urban-area grant programs and \$15 billion in middle-class programs (such as college student aid) were eliminated simultaneously. A recent Reason Foundation analysis identified \$126 billion in programs that could be cut from the 1986 federal budget in this "reverse log-rolling" fashion.

Compared with balancing the budget via \$126-billion tax increases, this sort of "sacrifice" has a lot going for it. To be sure, some among us would be net losers, giving up more in targeted benefits than they would have had to pay in a general tax increase. But that is precisely as it should be. The average taxpayer is *not* the cause of our \$200 billion deficit or \$2 trillion national debt. The sacrifices that must be borne should be visited on those who *are* responsible. □

Marty Zupan

Dial-a-Porn Farce

There's a bureaucratic drama in the making, with more than the usual sex appeal. But it probably won't have a happy ending, because politicians seem constitutionally (no pun intended) incapable of sweeping the stage clean.

The players are a familiar lot: there's the business-villain, in this case the dial-a-porn industry. Enter, stage Right, conservative members of Congress. The supporting cast is drawn from the Federal Communications Commission, which has a role in this morality play as the Federal Phone Fuzz. Waiting in the wings are "the liberals," played by the civil-rights-attuned courts.

Act I: The time is 1983. Dial-a-prayer, dial-a-joke, dial-a-fortune, et al. are making money in a small way. Aha, say some entrepreneurs. How about dial-a-porn? But three months after the first services are on-line, Congress heroically sweeps in to restrict minors' access to interstate heavy breathing. Figure out how to do it, says Congress to its minions at the FCC.

Okay, say the phone cops; from now on, porn-by-phone shall only be allowed at night. Act I ends in court, with the Second Circuit Court of Appeals sitting on the FCC: What about adults' First Amendment rights during the day? And anyway, says the court, *this* won't tame the teens. The lights fade to murmured sweet-nothings in the background.

Act II, two years later: The Phone Fuzz are back in a new costume. Dial away, says the FCC, but the porn purveyors can't connect you unless you charge the call on a credit card or obtain a special access number, application for which requires that you swear to be 18 or older. The best one-liner in this act: "We realize that people do occasionally lie, but that's the best we could do." As the curtain falls, the dial-a-porn industry is heading for court again.

Act III: The plot thickens. One phone company, Mountain States, responds to outrage from parents whose randy teens have run up hundred-dollar telephone