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2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Suite 1062
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(213) 392-0443

Washington Office P.O. Box 8093
Silver Spring, MD 20907
(301) 565-7820
Circulation Service P.O. Box 526
Mt. Morris, IL 61054
(815) 734-6309

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Robert W. Poole, Jr.

REASON is published by the Reason Foundation, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit educational foundation. Contributions to the Reason Foundation are tax-deductible. Signed articles in REASON reflect the views of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the editors, the Reason Foundation, or its trustees.



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LETTERS

War Correspondence I

Charles Krauthammer's argument for an interventionist foreign policy ("In From the Cold War," Mar.) was for years also advanced on behalf of an interventionist domestic policy: In its absence there will be "chaos." Unless "world order is imposed by the West," he writes (meaning imposed by the United States), the world will be "chaotic and highly dangerous." We must, therefore, "impose our will" on "recalcitrant actors who threaten the world system." (This is conveniently defined as a "state of nature without a police force.") Substitute the word *economic* for *international* in the following Krauthammer dictum, and you hear the voice of the central planner (and perhaps also Krauthammer himself a decade ago): "Unless the international system is actively, consciously, and willfully shaped into a stable form, it adopts an anarchic and dangerous form."

Krauthammer's comments have the merit of candor. America should throw its weight around in the world, he says, and needn't bother to disguise power as principle. Rarely do foreign-policy people speak so plainly. Power should be applied ad hoc, not on the basis of "systematic principle," he says. His undeclared philosophy is that might makes right.

Of course, the easy destruction of Iraq's military showed that Saddam Hussein never did constitute a threat to world peace. Nor did his invasion of Kuwait threaten American vital interests. Kadafi sells us Libyan oil, and Hussein had every intention of selling us Iraqi/Kuwaiti oil, as was inherent in the logic of those who warned that he would enrich himself by doing so. If our real objection is to Third World countries' enriching themselves or acquiring nuclear weapons, then our objections should be so stated.

"We can make an example of Iraq,"

Krauthammer said, suggesting the advancement of just such an unstated policy goal. Such a policy, whether disguised or overt, will not be easy to achieve. In invading Kuwait, Saddam Hussein infringed a clear-cut U.N. rule: Don't cross borders with armies. Future potential targets of U.S. wrath will find it easy to avoid this infraction. Krauthammer thinks that our "weight will [now] be respected throughout the world," but the U.S. reaction to the invasion of Kuwait is more likely to encourage prudence among tyrants than an end to tyranny.

As for the possibility that Saddam & Co. might at some point have missiles with 7,000-mile ranges, this is an argument for missile defenses, not for invading foreign lands. The problem with the U.S. military at present is that it is all offense and no defense. If the United States is going to get into the business of smashing up countries because they might at some point develop modern weapons, then we had better build a defensive system soon, because we are going to need one.

When Joshua Muravchik was asked why "Joe Jones in Kansas ought to pay for your fomenting of democracy in Zaire," his answer perhaps summarized the defect of the majority view on your panel: "We have an agreement that there are such things as common purposes, and we have a system of government which is predicated on the idea that if a majority decides that certain purposes are in the common interest," then it is "fundamental to our way of government that we have the right to do that," just so long as these

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common purposes involve only "taxing [citizens], making them contribute some money." Oh. Libertarians stand corrected, then.

Interest-group majoritarianism is not in fact "fundamental" to our way of government. Although the federal government currently functions in this manner, the Constitution gives no such mandate to anyone. The strongly pro-interventionist orientation of your foreign-policy panel suggests a certain editorial sympathy for Muravchik's point of view. Has REASON finally come to terms with teleocratic government?

Tom Bethell
Hoover Institution
Stanford, CA

I WAS GREATLY disappointed to read Ted Galen Carpenter's concession that U.S. foreign policy should be conceived to support "America's vital interests." The vagueness, elasticity, and, indeed, subjectivity of that phrase was ably demonstrated by Carpenter's inability to provide a succinct definition to the symposium. The mischief implicit in such loose thinking should be obvious: interminable, open-ended interventions and involvements wherever our global "interests" du jour may beckon.

Three principles should direct our foreign policy: preservation of our national sovereignty, protection of freedom of navigation, and treaties of mutual defense.

Concerning sovereignty, the most important foreign-policy function of government is to maintain our liberties against external threats, not only defending its citizens from outright aggression, but also resisting hegemonic intimidation and refusing to accept the authority of any international organization (such as the United Nations).

Concerning freedom of navigation, our liberty to travel and trade freely—and to defend such actions—should be maintained in nonterritorial waters, skies, or in the open spaces beyond the atmosphere.

Concerning mutual defense, wherever we may further the above ends by entering into treaties that provide territorial concessions for mutual defense (as with

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For the last five decades, the world has been convinced, mostly because of unrelenting Arab propaganda, that the conflict between Israel and the "Palestinians" is the root cause of the constant turmoil in the Middle East and that Israel should make "concessions" to the Arabs. But is that the *real* reason for the turmoil and for the violence? Or is there another, much deeper, more fundamental reason behind it?

What are the facts?

■ We Americans are reluctant to criticize or even to discuss the religions of others. We consider it a very personal matter. But the profound hatred of the Moslem Arab world against the West, especially against the United States (the "Great Satan") and Israel (the "Little Satan") can only be explained by trying to comprehend the psychology and the principal religious tenets of Islam. Islam is a world-wide religion, but it originated in Arabia and it survives in Arabia in its purest and most virulent form. The policies of the Arab countries are totally dominated by Islam. Islam believes itself to be in possession of the holy truth. In the name of that truth, any act of violence is permitted, sanctioned and encouraged. It is perhaps only with that understanding that the "strategic decisions" of Saddam Hussein, even with his armed forces at the edge of destruction, can be explained.

■ For the first six centuries after the Moslems spilled forth from the Arabian peninsula, they conquered much of the then known world, with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other. The Arab Moslems did in their ascendancy indeed give rise to a substantial civilization. But then, beginning with the expulsion from Spain, a long decline set in that lasted until the beginning of the 20th century. That decline was the more bitter, the more frustrating, because it was inflicted by the hated and despised "infidels". It was something that had to be remedied by whatever means. Injured pride had to be salved; the

enemies who caused this humiliation and this painful injury had to be destroyed.

■ The 20th century brought national independence to the Arab states. Two other fundamental events occurred: 1) The discovery of the world's largest oil deposits under the Arabian peninsula, and 2) The creation, in 1948, of the state of Israel, which ever since its birth has been the concentrated focus of hatred and venom of all Moslem Arabs, a hatred that unites them, even surpasses their hatreds against each other, and that has launched them into five disastrous wars against Israel. Even the rape of Kuwait by Saddam Hussein's Iraq was explained as being a step towards the "liberation of Palestine", a claim so bizarre, so patently absurd that it can only be comprehended and given credence by a mind obsessed with the ideology of Arab Islam.

■ The obsession of the Moslem Arabs with Israel is totally irrational. To have Israel, an advanced highly civilized Western outpost, as an independent country in the middle of the Arab-Moslem world is utterly intolerable to them. That is the reason that the 21 Arab states, among them the richest countries in the world, with a combined population of more than 200 million and with a land area greater than that of the U. S., have since the beginning of the century concentrated obsessive ferocity by military, economic, ideological, political, diplomatic, and any other means to destroy the tiny Jewish community of Palestine, and its successor, the Jewish state of Israel -- only 4 million people in a country just one-half the size of San Bernardino County in California.

The recent events in Iraq have sobered many who had believed the Israel-Palestinian conflict to be the cause for the unrest in the Middle East. The fact is that war is endemic in the Arab world and that the Moslem Arabs have been waging war against each other and against their non-Arab neighbors for centuries. But, as much as the Moslem Arabs hate each other, they are all united in their greater hatred against the "infidel Jews" and their tiny country, and they have built vast war machines for the ultimate "jihad" to chase the Jews into the sea. The insincere focus on the Palestinian plight is designed to divert attention from the many domestic problems and inter-Arab conflicts, and to direct the Moslem Arab frustration against Israel, the "infidel Western outsider". The suggestion that Israel divest itself from its historic heartland, the 2,362 sq. mi. "West Bank", would be a step toward its strategic suicide. The real cause of the never-ending turmoil in the Middle East is the unremitting desire of the Arab Moslem states to destroy Israel, their inability to come to terms with its very existence. That hatred and that intolerance are fueled by Arab-Moslem fanaticism and intransigence and unwillingness to accept diversity in the region. Only when that can be overcome can peace and tranquility finally come to the Middle East.

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NORAD for strategic warning and defense), we may rightfully sanction and abide by such treaties.

But, beyond these ends, we have no constitutional or moral justification for armed intervention in the affairs of the world—or “vital interests” beneath which to cloak the covert special interests of large banks, multinational corporations, or elitist cliques that seek opportunities to employ government policy for their ultimate pecuniary advantage.

If we have a truly vital interest, it is the observance of the Constitution and the exercise of the Bill of Rights. Foreign adventure is irrelevant to this end and usually becomes a pretext for its corruption—as recent events have shown.

*Michael J. Dunn
Auburn, WA*

TED CARPENTER HAS a reputation of opposing the “national security state,” but his remarks regarding the early years of the Cold War show him to be at best a weak and inconsistent advocate of his own ideas.

The late '40s should have been a time to dismantle the military-industrial complex that grew to such gigantic proportions during World War II. Instead, under the cover of an alleged threat from the Soviet Union, the entire national-security apparatus retained control of U.S. policy, was enormously strengthened, and was redirected to target a backward socialist economic system that would eventually collapse like a house of cards from its own internal contradictions.

Ludwig von Mises correctly pointed out shortly after the Bolshevik revolution that communism would collapse of its own weight. Frank Chodorov pointed out in the late '40s that statism in the United States was growing like a cancer because of the inordinate exaggeration of the potential of communism.

Unless Carpenter can see through the propaganda fog laid down by the “national security state” at its birth, his current claims to oppose the manifestations of that state will be rendered ineffective by his own inconsistencies.

*Paul S. McKnight
Arlington, VA*

THE PANEL OF foreign-policy experts did not address the fundamental strategic issue behind the gulf intervention. The Gulf War was conducted on the basis of a two-point agenda: reasserting U.S. military power in the world and reversing two decades of antiwar sentiment at home. By crushing the well-armed and combat-tested Iraqi army, the basis has been laid for further police actions against those who challenge U.S. world domination. And with Saddam Hussein as the perfectly cast villain, the propaganda value of Kuwaiti independence far exceeded its actual significance in the conflict.

The gulf victory reintroduced our role as the planetary policeman. As Ted Carpenter pointed out, this comes at a time of increasing instability and volatility in global affairs. With the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the dangers posed by the administration's imposition of a “new world order” compel a thoroughgoing analysis of the reasons behind such a policy.

Carpenter's definition of “vital interests” may be too narrow. If indeed the promulgation of democratic self-government, freedom, and individual liberty was the legitimate aim of this or any other intervention, we might well arrive at a national consensus that it is worth the price. Freedom may be our birthright, but for hundreds of millions around the world it is only a cherished dream. Our willingness to sacrifice for the freedom of others is one of the most noble American traits.

However, this motivation will probably not drive the nation's foreign policy. The gulf intervention, with its sordid alliance of tyrants and rogues, demonstrated that, for the Bush administration, democracy is at best an expedient in the interplay of global economic and political forces. The question then becomes whether Saddam's threat to oil-price stability constitutes a vital national interest.

The next challenge to the “new world order” will be more rather than less likely to be met with American force. While this may not be a problem in Zaire or in the hypothetical Hungary-Romania dispute, when we must “impose our will” in the

Philippines or in Mexico we will taste the fruit of the administration's interventionism.

*Chris Brandon
Los Angeles, CA*

TED CARPENTER essentially defined America's vital interests correctly, as developments that threaten the survival, liberties, or independence of Americans. However, I would not define those developments as interests, but as direct threats.

The idea that our nation—or any nation—can have “interests” abroad is a holdover from an older, imperialist era. The doctrine of national interests implies that American political whims take precedence over the sovereignty of another nation and over the right of self-determination of its inhabitants. Interests are defined by government for governmental ends and have no moral or constitutional basis.

If another nation were to intervene militarily in the United States to protect its so-called interests, Americans would be outraged. America has no special rights among nations, since only individuals, not political entities, have rights. Therefore, the U.S. government cannot justify intervention abroad with the same explanation.

National interests as defined by the government shift yearly; our change in policy toward Iraq from arms-length friend to armed enemy is a case in point. If our government can arrogantly exercise military action abroad in the name of those nebulous, politically expedient interests, is it unreasonable to expect that it would violate its citizens' liberties if it considered this week's “domestic interests” to be threatened?

*Brian Schar
Huntington Beach, CA*

THE DISCUSSION ON foreign policy demonstrated a sad truth facing libertarians: Such discussions justify government itself. The Gulf War reinforces this idea. The stated goal of the war is “restoring the legitimate government of Kuwait” and establishing a “new world order.”

Libertarians challenge such notions on first principles. Any group or individual

which initiates force is committing an immoral act—the act of a thug. All governments today initiate violent force through taxes and regulations.

Restoring the government of Kuwait means that the thugs who run the United States and the coalition countries think it was wrong for Iraq's thugs to replace Kuwait's thugs; they want Kuwait's previous thugs back and to make sure Iraq's thugs don't endanger the thugs who run Saudi Arabia, Syria, etc. The "new world order" will ensure that all thugs who run existing territories will be secure from aggression by neighboring thugs.

The big-league thugs are no more legitimate than the petty thugs who run drug territories, or those who used to run territories during Prohibition. But petty thugs don't claim to represent the people—they want wealth and power, and don't try to pretend otherwise. The political thugs elevate their actions by appealing to moral visions. But they still need the threat of a gun to keep their power. The libertarian must retain these simple truths, especially now, when support for the government seems so potent.

*Mark Maresca
Thousand Oaks, CA*

I WOULD LIKE to congratulate REASON for providing an instructive and timely debate on foreign policy. The panel discussion zeroed in on the true battlefield: the interplay between foreign policy and America's governing principles. I think the discussion helped clarify the positions of those for and against American military intervention in the gulf, and especially identified the weak foundation of the latter's arguments.

If I had to cite a shortcoming, it would be the failure of most of the participants to delve far enough into what "foreign" policy is. It is unfortunate, for example, that if you oppose military intervention you are considered a "libertarian" with moral principles, but if you support it you are called a "conservative" or even a "neocon" and equated with amoral Kissingerism. The existence of a state is, in itself, a sort of "military intervention" in that it is created and sustained by force.

Libertarians and allied limited-staters

do not make ethnicity or national sovereignty or language a first or founding principle of government—they stress the nature of the government, whether it protects individual rights or abrogates them to pursue some other goal, such as "social progress" or economic egalitarianism.

On a moral level, it makes no sense for advocates of the limited state to support the suppression of domestic crime and thuggery by government but to cry foul when that government suppresses foreign thugs. Individual rights don't stop at the border or apply only to English-speaking progeny of European imperialists. And if you are uncomfortable with using government (force) to protect liberty and individual rights, foreign or domestic, you are not a libertarian—you are a pacifist. You can't really be both.

Isolationists will rush to fill this breach in their Fortress America by saying that countries like Kuwait don't have much liberty, anyway, so we can't restore it by chasing Iraq out. True enough, but the related argument—that there is no moral difference between the governments of Kuwait and Iraq—is absurd. No one can wave a magic wand and create a liberal, constitutional democracy, but there are steps (the establishment of some semblance of international order, the protection of trade routes, the spread of American ideas through trade and culture) that can advance the process. And some Third World tyrannies are worse than others. Pre-war Kuwaitis enjoyed a fair amount of personal freedom. Iraqis (and conquered Kuwaitis) did not. For libertarians, who are supposed to care more about the scope of government than its form (democracy or monarchy or whatever), the distinction between the emirate of Kuwait and the dictatorship of Iraq should have been obvious.

This is not to say, as Charles Krauthammer and Benjamin Frankel correctly pointed out in the discussion, that America should start intervening in every conflict to advance liberty. It's not possible. We must have priorities that take the strategic and economic importance of foreign trouble spots into account. Ethnicity, language, history, and other fac-

tors will define the contours of possible action, though they are not our first principles as a government. But if a massive and successful military intervention, paid for in large part by allies and liberated countries, were possible, it would certainly be moral—at least to the same extent that it is moral to tax citizens of Maine to defend the freedom of Alaskans—if it left relatively liberal, constitutional democracies respecting property rights and free markets in its wake. As it is, we must rely heavily on moral suasion, example, and trade to accomplish the objective. But military force must also play a role. The liberating powers of overseas trade are irrelevant if pirates rule the oceans.

*John M. Hood
John Locke Foundation
Raleigh, NC*

REASON IS TO BE commended for holding a symposium on the state of the world after "the chill is gone," for the common wisdom is that the Cold War has indeed thawed following the Eastern European revolution of 1989-90. But has it? Whether or not the Soviet Union can be called a "superpower"—and in many ways this term is no longer appropriate—surely the danger from Moscow, both to the people of the Soviet Union and elsewhere, is hardly gone.

Accordingly, U.S. policy must now be approached in a new, more subtle framework. Will the people of the United States become inebriated by the collapse of communism into a false sense of (national) security? Conversely, will those who believe—and not without reason—that capitalism has somehow triumphed in Eastern Europe be lulled into a euphoria of apparent ideological victory that obscures the dangers of socialism at home? In both cases, wisdom would dictate that vigilance is very much in order, in both international and intranational matters. No, the chill isn't gone; it's only more insidious.

This does not translate necessarily into greater government spending—obviously not on the domestic front. As for foreign policy, I applaud Ted Carpenter's point—which echoes some of the ideas

expressed by Joshua Muravchik, Charles Krauthammer, and other participants—that “there are various forms of engagement—diplomatic, cultural, economic, political, as well as military.” Let’s engage on all these fronts; not with more dollars but with much greater sophistication and ingenuity, coupled with a strong determination to persuade and an internal conviction that our system works best because it allows the greatest scope for individual freedom.

It seems wise to avoid the concept of the United States as “world policeman” altogether—no one is suggesting so extreme a role. But thinking of the United States as the leader of the West, as the beacon of liberty and independence—that, yes. And with a vengeance.

*Juliana Geran Pilon
Vice President
National Forum Foundation
Washington, DC*

War Correspondence II

As a longtime admirer of Virginia Postrel’s writing, I am extremely disappointed with the conclusion of her editorial “Historical Certainties” (Mar.). It seems that she deliberately abandons reason for a “visceral sense” in deciding to favor war. And, astounding as it seems, she *nowhere* mentions the option of staying with economic sanctions through a continued embargo enforced by a land and sea blockade; these words do not even appear in the editorial.

She wrote the editorial on the eve of war. Surely the war, three weeks old at this writing, has gone at least as well as she could have hoped then: “Our” losses have been small and “their” losses have been great. Yet I experience a sense of depression, tragedy, and foreboding as a direct result of this “success.” With great ease and minimal risk, we are killing and crippling God knows how many people, many either civilians or young conscripts thrust out onto the front lines. How can the fruit of these actions be anything but bitter?

I am appreciative of the fact that “not to challenge expansionist tyrants is to en-

courage them to expand farther.” But I see this war at this time as completely unnecessary. I also believe that it was started by President Bush for completely disingenuous reasons. And I greatly fear that it will have long-lasting and disastrous consequences, for ourselves and for the Middle East.

I fervently hope that I am wrong.

*John deLaubenfels
Duluth, GA*

I’M GLAD THAT Virginia Postrel at least feels uncomfortable about Bush’s Persian Gulf War. However, I’m amazed that she can’t reach a devout stand in favor of U.S. neutrality and self-defense from her “liberal” (why the hell doesn’t she call them libertarian) principles.

Is Ms. Postrel overlooking the billions of tax and debt dollars that a war such as this one costs? Is she forgetting the tremendous cost to the taxpayers and the U.S. economy of retaining huge standing armed forces, which are good for almost nothing but instant participation in such foreign wars? Doesn’t she realize that by fighting such wars, instead of protecting the lives and property of Americans throughout the world, the U.S. government puts them at grave risk of terrorism?

Ms. Postrel mentions important freedoms of Americans to invest, trade, and travel overseas. But who violated such freedoms in this conflict? It was Bush who embargoed all trade with Iraq and Kuwait. Saddam Hussein sought desperately to keep that trade. Hussein had posed absolutely no threat to American trade, travel, or investment in the region (and no remotely conceivable threat to U.S. security), at least until Bush appointed himself the Persian Gulf Cop. The bottom line is that the U.S. government intervention violated the very freedoms that Ms. Postrel tries to use to justify it.

Isn’t it obvious that war is, and has always been, the perfect opportunity to extend control over the citizenry? In the midst of patriotic war fervor and security concerns, the government extends censorship, spending, borrowing, taxes, industrial directives, civilian spying, and even wage and price controls and the

draft. Fortunately, this war should prove too short for a lot of this—if our luck holds. But what wars can possibly be worth the risk of such damaging intrusions, except wars of self-defense?

REASON’s publisher, Robert Poole, outlined the correct approach to interventionism when he suggested that the U.S. Neutrality Acts be modified or repealed. This would allow private U.S. citizens who truly desired to fight for Truth, Justice, and the American Way on a global scale to do so, with no U.S. government involvement. Of course, they would have to rely strictly on voluntary contributions from other Americans.

If instead, we let the state play Rambo, the remaining liberties of all Americans will eventually be lost for sure.

*Ralph Mullinger
Findlay, OH*

I AM CURRENTLY serving with the U.S. Army in operation Desert Storm and have also been a subscriber to REASON for over two years.

I expected REASON to take a strong editorial stand against massive U.S. military action in the Persian Gulf because many libertarians were inherently opposed to the U.S. invasion of Panama. But in her March editorial, Virginia I. Postrel mildly concurred with President Bush’s actions up to Jan. 15, although with “serious doubts.” I too have doubts. As a soldier I have more to lose than most. America should pick up the sword only reluctantly, but once we grasp it we should use it swiftly and surely.

Ms. Postrel’s editorial stated that Saudi Arabia was not deserving of the defense being provided by American troops. Certainly this is not a country Americans easily fall in love with. We look at it as a wasteland both geographically and politically, and we are chafed by their suffocating social customs (especially regarding female service members).

When I first entered the city of Riyadh I expected to find a backward community riding camels and shopping in bazaars; instead I saw Chevys and American-style shopping malls. The Saudi people have fallen in love with consumerism, and a good consumer demands that society

LETTERS

takes account of his or her own individual tastes. I sense that the Saudis are more concerned with their day-to-day comforts than the liberation of Palestine. This may bode well for their country and the entire Middle East.

To be sure, the appearance of modernity here is deceptive. Riyadh is much safer to stroll around in at night than Washington, D.C., largely because of the heavy presence of the "morals" police. Most Americans would not want to trade their personal liberty for urban security, but instead of dismissing Saudi Arabia as hopelessly mired in the Middle Ages, Americans should know that the Saudis greatly admire the prosperity of the Western nations. They are thankful to American troops for saving them from Iraqi tyranny.

There is repression here, but it seems to be based on tribalism more than some cohesive totalitarian philosophy. Although this does not make this repression any less repugnant to Americans, much the same type of repression exists in Japan, and we consider that nation a member of the fraternity of liberal powers.

Religion is still the dominant force in Arab politics, but I view the wave of Islamic fundamentalism as a historical phase that will wane with the rise of political stability and economic prosperity. As the last remaining superpower and a regional force in the Middle East, America is in a position to plant a notion of individual rights that may sprout in the decades ahead.

It is wise to remember great civilizations once existed here that viewed Europeans as barbarians and religious fanatics. Let's not abandon the Arabs to immoderate influences.

Michael D. Samstag
Staff Sergeant, U.S. Army
Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

Correction: Due to the author's error, an article about the cryonics movement ("Cold Comfort," April) reported that Dora Kent's head is located at the Alcor Life Extension Foundation in Riverside, California. In fact, Alcor will neither confirm nor deny the whereabouts of Mrs. Kent's head.

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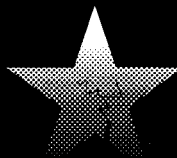
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Foreword by Aaron Wildavsky

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Taking Charge

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers refuses to let a rock quarry owner fill a wetland, putting the quarry out of business. Or a government regulator cancels a mining lease after the mining company has spent \$5 million exploring the property. A bill introduced in the U.S. Senate by Steve Symms (R-Idaho) and David Boren (D-Okla.) attempts to prevent such unconstitutional takings of property.

The Fifth Amendment prohibits the government from "taking" private property for public purposes without "just compensation." But under current law, if a regulation keeps someone from building on his land, all the property owner can do is sue the government and hope a judge will award damages.

Most private citizens don't have the time or money to challenge government regulations. So the Symms-Boren bill—the Private Property Act of 1991, or S. 50—attempts to stop the regulations that cause takings before they're enacted.

If the bill passes, any new federal regulation or regulatory action by a federal agency must be reviewed by the attorney general to see if the act would cause a taking. However, cautions Jerry Taylor, a legislative director at the American Legislative Exchange Council, S. 50 merely requires the government to report takings; it doesn't require compensation for them.

ALEC has drafted its own takings bill to rein in state and local governments. It defines a taking as any regulatory action that reduces property value by at least 50 percent. And it makes the government pay property owners for their losses.

Suppose a farmer wants to convert a parcel of pasture worth \$20,000 into housing tracts. Developed, the land would be worth \$200,000. But a zoning law prevents the farmer from carving up



Sen. Steve Symms:
Can his bill protect property owners?

the land. Under the ALEC bill, the farmer could either force the government to buy the land for \$200,000, or he could make the government buy his right to develop the land. (If the farmer and the government disagreed about the value of the development rights, a jury would settle the dispute.) The ALEC bill also requires the government to pay the landowner's legal costs when it loses a takings case.

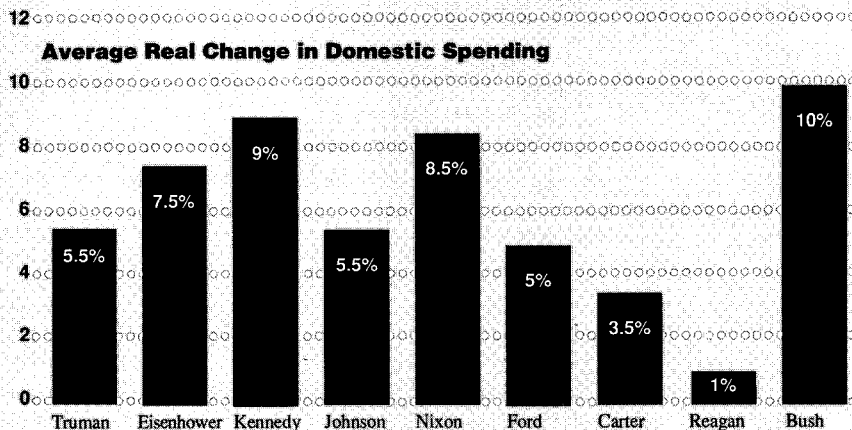
At least 11 state legislatures are considering versions of the ALEC bill. Trent Clark, a Symms legislative assistant, says variations of the Symms-Boren bill are pending in six other states.

Taylor applauds Symms and Boren for trying to tackle the surge of takings; still, he calls S. 50 "a timid first step." He believes the ALEC bill would be a more effective check on government power: Nearly 70 percent of all takings result from state and local rules such as zoning laws or slow-growth ordinances. And unlike S. 50, the ALEC proposal requires payment to landowners when takings occur. "With our bill," Taylor says, "you don't have to trust Congress or [Environmental Protection Agency chief William] Reilly to protect your property."

—Rick Henderson

Wasteful Ways

Domestic spending has grown faster under George Bush than under any other president since Franklin Roosevelt. Stephen Moore, director of fiscal policy studies at the Cato Institute, found that Bush has allowed spending to grow by an average of 10 percent a year after adjusting for inflation. That's more than 10 times the pace under Ronald Reagan and almost three times that under Jimmy Carter.



Source: Stephen Moore, "The Profligate President," Cato Policy Analysis No. 147

1991 Tax Reform Makes Forming Your Own Corporation Once Again The Ultimate Tax Shelter

"You have the right to plan your business and personal finances in such a way that you pay the least tax due under the law."

From IRS Publication No. 1, Volume 1

Here's how to best cope with the chaos felt by many executives and small business owners over the latest tax reform effective January 1, 1991.

In fact, with the stroke of a pen and a little ingenuity you can really profit. You can now enjoy one of the lowest individual tax rates in over 30 years. And at the same time, you can gain all the advantages of incorporating without paying any corporate income taxes whatsoever! **Enjoy the best of both worlds.**

You will be in control of the most powerful tax shelter in America, your own corporation. Virtually all other tax shelters have been eliminated by the recent tax reform.

Valuable Tax Breaks

Imagine owning two family cars *tax free*. Imagine turning your hobby into a *tax free* business expense. And would you enjoy first class business trips...boat or plane...or meals at fine restaurants which are 80% tax free?

These are just some of the remarkable tax advantages and fringe benefits which can be yours. Congress has filled the tax laws with provisions which richly reward those who form small corporations. Over 50,000 people start corporations each month. 98% are small businesses, often one man operations.

"S" Corporation Strategy

It's incredibly easy to do. There are just two simple one page forms. One incorporates you and the other gives you "S" Corporation status. I'll show you how to complete and mail them to the proper agency.

My name is Ted Nicholas. Sixteen years ago after launching 18 corporations myself, I wrote a book called "How To Form Your Own Corporation Without A Lawyer For Under \$50." It's become one of the best selling business books of all time, helping more than 900,000 people to incorporate easily and at minimum expense.

Now I've completely revised and updated the book to show the latest tax advantages and demonstrate how easily you can form your own corporation and partake in the enormous tax benefits.

All you need is right in this handsome oversized, 8 1/2" X 11" book along with a bonus I'll send you *absolutely free*.

My book contains tear out forms. Just fill them in according to my simple step by step instructions and send them in. Right off, you'll save from \$300 to \$2,500 in legal fees, and in a few days, you'll have your own legally recognized corporation. And you can begin to take advantage of a host of benefits like these...

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Corporate Pension and Profit-Sharing Plans offer tax free compounding. Unlike IRS or Keogh plans, you can borrow your funds whenever you want.

Tax-Favored Dividends. Your corporation can own shares in other corporations and receive dividends that are 80% tax-free.

Limited Liability. In a partnership or proprietorship, your personal liability is unlimited — quite dangerous in an age when people routinely sue for astronomical sums. You're also personally liable for the blunders of a partner. With a corporation, your risk is strictly limited to whatever you leave in the corporation. That can be zero. Your home, furniture, pension plan, car, and savings are never at risk.

More Fringe Benefits

And there are many other advantages my book can make possible for you, including tax-free financial and legal counsel...tax-free athletic and health club memberships...tax-free day care...no-interest loans...tax-free tuition reimbursement for you or your children...tax-free theater and sports tickets...write-offs for an office in your home...easier transfer of your company's ownership when you sell...estate planning advantages...and much more.

My book also reviews the pros and cons of different types of corporations, including Subchapter "S", Non-Profit and Professional...How to operate a corporation anonymously...How to turn an existing business into a corporation.

You'll also see how to sell stock in your corporation so that it's tax deductible to investors in case of loss. This makes your stock much more attractive to potential backers.

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BALANCE SHEET

Assets

Second Fiddle? Dan Quayle, head of the president's Competitiveness Council, blocks expensive parts of the Clean Air Act. One overturned recycling rule had a \$100-million price tag yet would have barely reduced air pollution. A Quayle spokesman tells the *Los Angeles Times* the vice president wants to make sure that "the deregulation gains of the Reagan years are not canceled out by creeping deregulation."



Champaign Charlie. Remember when Congress allocated \$500,000 to restore Lawrence Welk's birthplace? Well, the polka leader extraordinaire wants the museum to be built with private money. The Senate has rescinded the birthplace's grant. But Congress may still spend that money on a German-Russian heritage museum. Honest.

Bank Shot. Congress may pass real banking reform after all. *Los Angeles Times* trendspotter James Flanigan suggests that legislators, fearing another S&L-style bailout, will force banks to build equity capital and shore up deposit insurance. Where will banks get the money? Flanigan predicts the profits will come from interstate banking, insurance sales, and all the other reforms Congress will enact.

Cheerio! Tired of paying \$2.00 for a blueberry muffin at an airport? Hate those boring layovers? The new Midfield terminal at the Greater Pittsburgh Airport will feature a full-scale shopping mall. BAA PLC, the private firm that owns Great Britain's airports, will run the mall. Harrod's of London will have a store there—and BAA promises that its mall prices will be competitive with those of local shopping centers.

Liabilities

Wash Out. Nothing upsets California's drought czars more than 10 inches of rain. One politico told the *New York Times*: "From the point of view of water policy and planning, [rain's] a disaster." Perhaps so—the downpours may end the short-term crisis and stall reforms. Farmers will keep their subsidized water, market pricing will get pushed aside, and the state will repeat the process next year.

Skewered. The latest threat to law and order in Florida: fantasy-league baseball. Attorney General Bob Butterworth says rotisserie leaguers gamble; he fears that organized crime will take over the fantasy-league circuit. Since the *National* and *USA Today* publish weekly fantasy-league columns, look for RICO indictments against the papers.



Gag Order. A California government agency vindicates smog-busting biochemist Donald Stedman—almost. (See "Going Mobile," Aug./Sept.) The Bureau of Automotive Repair—which runs the smog-check program—reports that 10 percent of the state's cars cause 60 percent of all auto pollution. But state officials won't use Stedman's mobile-testing devices to locate and fix gross polluters. Instead, they're looking at buyback programs and alternative-fuel schemes that will cost bunches, keep bureaucrats well paid, and *not* clear the air.

Bad Trip. Head shops may enter the history books. A new federal law makes selling drug paraphernalia a felony, with \$100,000 fines and three-year prison terms. How will head-shop owners avoid prosecution? They'll caution customers to not mention drugs while in the stores. Illegal: "I want to smoke some pot. Can I buy a pipe?" Legal: "I want to smoke some tobacco. Can I buy a pipe?"

—Rick Henderson

Commercial Break

Common Cause and Ralph Nader may not appreciate the news. But an exhaustive study of candidate spending during the 1990 campaign shows that candidates spent much less on advertising than good-government types would have you believe.

The study, conducted by the *Los An-*



geles Times, found that the average U.S. Senate candidate spent 35 percent of his funds on advertising; his House counterpart spent 25 percent. Even in those Senate races in which the winner drew 55 percent of the vote or less, candidates spent, on average, less than 36 percent on ads. Only two Senate candidates—successful Republican incumbent Mitch McConnell of Kentucky and unsuccessful Democratic challenger Harvey Gantt of North Carolina—spent as much as 60 percent of their money on advertising.

How did candidates empty their war chests? They spent a lot of money raising money (24 percent of total Senate campaign costs, 16 percent in the House) and paying campaign staffers (25 percent Senate, 27 percent House).

Some reformers hope to cut the cost of campaigns by forcing broadcasters to give candidates free TV ads. Even if candidates get free time, critics note, they will likely spend the TV money on something else. As Michael J. Conly of Harts-Hanks Communications recently told a Senate Rules Committee panel, "Candidates will continue to raise as much money as they can and spend as much as they need to win."

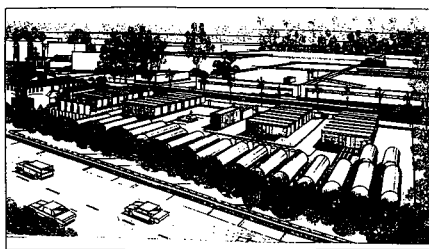
—Rick Henderson

Water Everywhere

State and local governments have responded to California's five-year-old drought by attempting to reduce and redistribute water consumption. Meanwhile, private companies are helping Californians tap the state's most conspicuous source of water: the Pacific Ocean.

In March a developer on Santa Catalina island near Los Angeles began testing a recently completed desalination plant that will produce about 168 acre-feet of fresh water a year (an acre-foot is about 326,000 gallons, enough to supply two average households for a year). Whitehawk Catalina Inc. of Pasadena built the reverse-osmosis plant, which will be managed by Southern California Edison, mainly to allow completion of its 330-unit Hamilton Cove condominium project. About half the water produced by the plant will be sold to other residents of the island. (Another developer, the Santa Catalina Island Co., is also considering a joint desalination project with Edison.)

"This project wouldn't have been built



A desalination plant in Santa Barbara, shown in an artist's rendering, will make drinking water for the area.

if it was left up to the governmental agency," David Boyle, co-engineer for the plant, told the *Los Angeles Business Journal*. "This happened when a private entrepreneur decided to solve the problem." Santa Catalina's reservoir has dropped from more than 1,000 acre-feet to about 300. Residents are subject to voluntary water-conservation rules that will become mandatory if the reservoir continues to shrink.

In Santa Barbara, another town that has been especially hard hit by the drought, the Massachusetts firm Ionics Inc. plans to build a desalination plant that would supply 2,500 to 10,000 acre-feet of water a year under a contract with the city. Unlike the Santa Catalina plant, the Santa Barbara project is seen as a stopgap measure, with the initial contract set to expire after five years. The company expects to start construction in late June and begin operating the plant by February.

State water authorities have generally dismissed desalination as too expensive. Ionics estimates that water from its plant will cost about 60 cents per 100 gallons, compared to 7 cents for water from Southern California's Metropolitan Water District. But the company says the cost could be cut in half after five years. For Santa Barbara, where growth-fearing city officials chose not to be hooked into the state's major water-supply systems, desalination makes sense, especially during a drought.

Boyle argues that desalination is a viable option for many other coastal communities as well. He says the alternative has fallen into the cracks between two sets of government agencies: local distributors (usually municipalities), which tend not to worry about supply, and regional wholesalers, which are wary of major changes.

"They talk about these studies and grandiose plans," Boyle says. "They study and study and study, but nothing ever happens." He suggests that the key is to follow the Catalina model: allow the people who need water to find the most cost-effective way to get it.

—Jacob Sullum

Keep Cool

Two recent studies indicate that the problems of carbon dioxide-induced global warming may not be as severe as some scientists originally believed.

In the first, Michael E. Schlesinger, an environmental scientist at the University of Illinois, assumed that the greenhouse effect is responsible for the alleged increase in global temperature. But Schlesinger asked whether the draconian cuts in carbon dioxide emissions that environmentalists say are necessary to combat global warming need to be made immediately. Schlesinger found that delaying proposed cuts in carbon dioxide for 10 years would lead to only slightly higher temperatures in the future. Published in the journal *Nature*, his study found that, with the delay, temperatures in the year 2100 would be only 5 percent

higher than they would be if cuts in carbon dioxide were made immediately.

Schlesinger suggests that in the next decade scientists should engage in more research to determine just how severe global warming will be and precisely what steps are needed to deal with it. "If you want to protect your family, you are going to buy life insurance, but you are not going to buy 10 times more than is needed," he told the *Los Angeles Times*.

While Schlesinger warns against a disproportionate response, a study by NASA's Marshall Space Flight Institute calls into question the "fact" of global warming. Standard temperature measurements show a general warming trend since 1850. Six of the warmest years on record have occurred in the last decade, and 1990 was supposedly the warmest ever recorded.

But there are problems with standard measurements. The number of measuring sites is relatively small, making it difficult to get an accurate picture of the

entire globe. Since most of the sites are on land, temperatures over most of the ocean are unmeasured. And since most of the sites are located in cities, the measurements are increasingly polluted by the urban heat-island effect.

"The best place to measure climate is in the deep layers of the troposphere, where the reading data can be robustly correlated and avoid all the land record biases," says Marshall's John Christy.

Using satellites, Christy has been doing just that. Although the records only go back to 1979, they present a very different picture. There was no statistically significant warming over the last 12 years. And 1990 was only the fourth warmest on record, just 0.13 degree higher than the 1979-1990 mean.

Christy told syndicated columnist Warren Brookes, "If it [the greenhouse effect] is here and happening, it is very small indeed."

—Charles Oliver

BRICKBATS

In Frankfurt, Germany, a town clerk has forbidden a couple from naming their newborn son Schroeder. The clerk was enforcing a law forbidding parents from giving their children first names that are odd or that are not sex specific. Other names that have been rejected are Woodstock, Pushkin, Hemingway, Moeve (seagull), and Pumuckl (a popular cartoon character). And stories of parents who have been forbidden from naming their daughter Stechpalme (holly) pop up frequently in the German press. It's a good thing Frank Zappa doesn't live there.

Michael Kilby and two friends were arrested by plainclothes Los Angeles policemen as they left the Royal Oak Bar in North Hollywood. They were charged with breaking a city ordinance forbidding gambling. The men had played a few rounds of dollar-a-game darts in the bar. The charges were later dropped, but Kilby and company might have received up to six months in jail and a \$1,000 fine. Hey, I know that sounds stiff, but it's a lot better than what the LAPD gives you for speeding.

Los Angeles isn't the only city crackling down on small-time gamblers. In New York City Arkady Flom has filed a \$1-million civil suit against the city for false arrest. Flom, a 65-year-old Soviet emigré, and six other people were arrested for wagering on the chess games that they played in Bryant Park. The charges against Flom were later dropped, but while he was in police custody, he was deprived of his heart medication and had a seizure.

In Austin, Texas, James Buschman is trying to collect \$2,790 from the city for nude massages that he says were performed on members of the vice squad by women in his employ. Buschman claims that the massages were performed during an undercover investigation of his three

AKRON BEACON JOURNAL
2/1/89



massage parlors. The investigation led to 27 charges of prostitution, but the charges were dropped or the defendants acquitted in all but two of the cases. So Buschman feels that he is entitled to money for the services rendered.

Time reports that a University of California, Santa Cruz, administrator wants to ban the phrases "a chink in his armor" and "a nip in the air" because they contain words that in other contexts have been used to express prejudice. This guy will probably go into shock if anyone tells him the story of the little Dutch boy who stuck his finger in the dike.

Those of you who read Rick Henderson's story on wetlands policy in the April issue ("The Swamp Thing") know that the government has defined as wetlands cornfields, forests, and other tracts of land that aren't exactly swampy. But efforts to come up with more-realistic standards for defining wetlands are meeting stiff resistance from Washington bureaucrats. William Sipple, chief wetlands ecologist at the Environ-

mental Protection Agency, resigned from the federal panel reviewing wetlands guidelines because he feared it would limit government protection to "truly aquatic sites."

For a reception for visiting Filipinos, workers at the San Jose, California, public library raised a banner of greeting. The sign was supposed to say, "You are welcome" in the visitors' native language. Literally translated, it read, "You are circumcised."

The U.S. ambassador to Kenya is in trouble with that country's government. Smith Hempstone was verbally attacked by the government for giving "sinister" books to a poor country school. The books? *The Souls of Black Folk* by W.E.B. DuBois, *Narration of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, and *Up from Slavery* by Booker T. Washington. What's the world coming to? You can't read dead white males at Stanford or dead black males in Kenya.

—Charles Oliver

A Feast of Freedom

"Liberty is a Glorious Feast." —Robert Burns

Every issue of **Liberty** offers a feast of individualist thinking designed to delight the most refined palate.

Hors d'oeuvres

To whet your appetite, **Reflections** offers the provocative opinions of **Liberty's** editors. A few selections from the menu for May:

R. W. Bradford on Llewellyn Rockwell's defense of police beating of suspects;

Chester Alan Arthur on the continuing romance between conservatives and libertarians;

Robert Higgs on U.S. taxpayer support for the KGB;

Gary Alexander on Hollywood's bizarre ideas about commerce.

Entrées

The main course is a variety of controversial and thoughtful essays. A few entrées from our current offering:

Milton Friedman puzzles over the very unlibertarian intolerance of two libertarian heroes: Ludwig von Mises and Ayn Rand;

James Robbins explains why the Storting should recall Gorbachev's Peace Prize;

Richard Stroup on California's man-made "drought" and how to solve it;

Inside Ayn Rand's Inner Circle

In an exclusive interview, Barbara Branden speaks frankly about life with Ayn Rand and Nathaniel Branden (Rand's lover and Barbara's husband). She reveals for the first time intimate details of life inside Rand's circle. The fascinating topics include the weird psychological manipulations within the cult, the expulsion of members in kangaroo courts, the glaring errors in Nathaniel Branden's memoir about his affair, and Rand's fight in a posh Manhattan restaurant with Alan Greenspan, now chairman of the Federal Reserve System.

This account includes information that cannot be found in any other source. You won't want to miss this probing interview. And it's yours free with your subscription to **Liberty**.

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Sheldon Richman, Robert Higgs, James Robbins,
Matthew Kibbe, Loren Lomasky, Stephen Cox &
R. W. Bradford put it all in perspective

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What's Wrong With Mises and Rand
by Milton Friedman

Economy as Ecology
by John Baden

The Press Collaborates in the Drug War
by David Boaz

California's Man-Made Drought
by Richard Stroup

"Where Liberty lives, there is my country!" —Algermon Sidney

David Boaz reveals the journalists' complicity in America's longest-running war;

Richard Miniter contemplates the media's bias against free-markets in the context of the free market for journalism;

Ron Lipp travels through the corridors of eastern Europe to find the mysterious Dr Cepl, and discovers a reality of Kafkaesque proportions.

Potages

To accompany its main features, **Liberty** presents a variety of penetrating re-

views. A few examples from our current issue:

John Baden bestows the honor of "political economy book for the 90s" on a revolutionary work on the relationship between economics and environmental science.

Leland Yeager restates the truth about capitalism and one of capitalism's most effective advocates;

Richard Kostelanetz rediscovers an intellectual father he never knew he had;

Peter Reidy notes the ominous parallels between bad computer science and bad economics.

Desserts

To top off your feast and satisfy your intellectual sweet-tooth, **Liberty** offers:

Cartoons by Baloo and Mark Frauenfelder;

A science fiction short story of a dystopia where drugs, freedom, prostitution and poetry are one;

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