



formulations

Summer 2002 A Publication of the Libertarian Nation Foundation Issue No. 30

*May 18th
meeting open
to all
LNF members:*

Regular Board of Directors Meeting Scheduled

The Libertarian Nation Foundation will hold its annual Regular Meeting of the Board of Directors on Saturday 18 May 2002 at 6 p.m. at Phil Jacobson's house in Raleigh, NC. Since this is a regular meeting open to all LNF members, motions to change the bylaws can come before the board. No one has announced plans to enter any. The only subjects previously discussed have been setting up the rotation for election of directors and a resolution implementing a portion of the bylaws.

This business will probably not take a long time, so if time permits, there will be a discussion period after the business meeting. It will be shorter and less formal than a Forum. Selection of a discussion topic will take place on the <libertarian-nation@yahoo-groups.com>.

If you need directions, contact <liberty1@deltaforce.net> or the Libertarian Nation Foundation, 335 Mulberry Street, Raleigh, NC 27604.

Note from the Editor

In light of the tragic events of September 11, 2001, many of the articles in this issue deal with the question of terrorism. But the general topic of foreign policy and national defense has been addressed in the pages of *Formulations* before; readers seeking further discussion of such issues may wish to refer to the following articles from our back issues:

"A Paper Tiger for a Free Nation," by Roy Halliday (Autumn 1997):
<www.libertariannation.org/a/f51h4.html>

"The State As the Only Defense Against Nuclear War," by Roy Halliday (Summer 1996):
<www.libertariannation.org/a/f34h5.html>

"Devil's Advocate: No Defense Needed," by Bobby Yates Emory (Autumn 1994):
<www.libertariannation.org/a/f21e2.html>

"International Relations for Free Nations," by Phil Jacobson (Autumn 1997):
<www.libertariannation.org/a/f51j1.html>

"Comments on Security, National and Domestic," by Richard O. Hammer (Autumn 1994):
<www.libertariannation.org/a/f21h1.html>

"Foreign Relations for a Free Nation," by Richard O. Hammer (Autumn 1997):
<www.libertariannation.org/a/f51h1.html>

"The Role of Non-Governmental Actors in Shaping and Implementing Foreign Policy in a 'Free Nation,'" by Gordon Neal Diem (Autumn 1997):

<www.libertariannation.org/a/f51d1.html>

"Notes on Foreign Relations Concerns in a Hypothetical Entrepreneurial (Landlease) Community," by Michael van Notten and Spencer H. MacCallum (Winter 1997-98):
<www.libertariannation.org/a/f52v1.html>

"Defending a Free Nation," by Roderick T. Long (Winter 1994-95):
<www.libertariannation.org/a/f2213.html>

"Entangling Alliances: For and Against," by Roderick T. Long (Autumn 1997):
<www.libertariannation.org/a/f5111.html>

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Libertarian Nation Foundation
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Statement of Purpose

The purpose of the Libertarian Nation Foundation is to advance the day when coercive institutions of government can be replaced by voluntary institutions of civil mutual consent, by developing clear and believable descriptions of those voluntary institutions, and by building a community of people who share confidence in these descriptions.

Board of Directors

Bobby Yates Emory, President
Roderick T. Long, Founding Scholar
Roy G. Halliday, Secretary
Jesse Halliday, Treasurer
G. Wayne Dawson
Philip E. Jacobson
Robert Mihay

Check out our excellent archive of *Formulations* at:

<http://www.libertariannation.org>

Then surf on over to the Libertarian Nation Discussion Group at:

<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/libertarian-nation>

Subscription or Membership

Subscriptions to *Formulations*, may be purchased for \$15 for four issues. Membership in the Libertarian Nation Foundation may be purchased for \$30 per year. (Members receive: a subscription to *Formulations*, an invitation to attend regular meetings of the Board of Directors, copies of the Annual Report and Bylaws, and more inclusion in the process.)

Send orders to the postal address above. Checks should be made payable to the Libertarian Nation Foundation. Additional contributions are welcome.

Information for Authors

We seek columns, articles, and art within the range of our work plan. We also welcome letters to the editor which contribute to our debate and process of self-education.

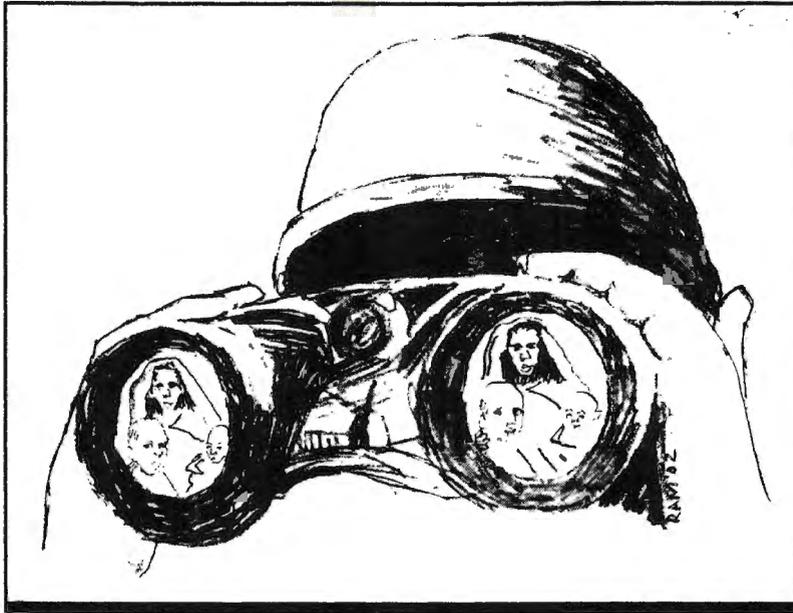
Our work plan is to work within the community of people who already think of themselves as libertarian, to develop clear and believable descriptions of the critical institutions (such as those that provide security, both domestic and national) with which we libertarians would propose to replace the coercive institutions of government.

As a first priority we seek formulations on the nature of these institutions. These formulations could well be historical accounts of institutions that served in earlier societies, or accounts of present institutions now serving in other societies.

As a second priority we seek material of general interest to libertarians, subject to this caveat: We are not complaining, we are building. We do not seek criticism of existing political institutions or persons unless the author uses that criticism to enlighten formulation of an improved institution.

Submissions are welcome at any time. We no longer have fixed deadlines. Instead we will publish the next issue of *Formulations* when we have at least 16 pages of suitable material. All submissions are subject to editing.

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Somalia and Anarchy

by Jim Davidson

Jim Davidson is the Executive Vice President and Chief Financial Officer for Awdal Roads Company, which is pursuing business opportunities in the Awdal region of Somalia. Professor Jan Narveson asked him to reply to some of Terry Maratos-Flier's comments that appeared on a mailing list for liberty-minded professors. Owing to his uncertainty about having Terry Maratos-Flier's permission, Davidson removed Terry Maratos-Flier's text entirely from his response. Davidson copied the Awdal@yahoo.com mailing list in the hope that his remarks might be useful to a wider audience. Roy Halliday saw these remarks on that mailing list, thought they would be of interest to Formulations readers, and got Davidson's permission to reprint them here. We have replaced the preface and added headings. Otherwise the text is unchanged.—Ed.

In 1991, the Democratic Republic of Somalia ceased to exist. The dictator, Siad Barré, was overthrown. His government was removed from power, and no successor government was installed in its place. Taxes ceased to be collected. Regulatory agencies ceased to regulate. Payments on the dictator's foreign debt ceased to be made. And there was much rejoicing.

During the course of the celebrations that followed, radio stations in Mogadishu broadcast the message that nobody was certain what to do next, so it might be a good idea if everyone returned to the villages and towns and cities from whence they came. A great many did.

Since that time, thirteen different "peace conferences" have attempted to create a new government for all of Somalia. Thus far, all of them have failed. The UN and the USA were unsuccessful in their nation-building efforts in 1992–1995, and, although they destroyed thousands of Somali lives, and spent many

American lives and much treasure, still, no Somalia-spanning government is collecting taxes, enforcing regulations, imprisoning and torturing dissidents, or doing any of those things for which vast, central governments are known. Since 1991, the principals of Awdal Roads Company have been investigating, and since July 2000 actively pursuing business opportunities in the region.

Census Information and the Population of Somalia

Among the things which Somalis have noticed in their experience with colonialism under British, French, and Italian authorities, with democracy from 1960 to 1969 and with dictatorship favoring communism until 1978 and "federalism" thereafter (owing to a lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Soviet Union for the Somali side of the Somali-Ethiopian war to recover Ogaden and Western Awdal) was the curious thing about census takers. A census would be

taken, and then the people would be taxed. So, census takers have had difficulty with many parts of Somalia. I have been told that census takers have been killed to prevent them from taking census information back to various governments, especially in colonial times. There is a good deal of evidence that census figures were never accumulated for British Somaliland with anything like scientific rigor. But, hey, it's good enough for government work. <smile>

However, based on a variety of information resources at our disposal, and owing to our business interests in the matter we've done quite a lot of investigation on this point, we have estimated that the world population of Somalis is about 15 million. These include millions living in Ethiopia, a few hundred thousand in Djibouti, quite a few hundred thousand more in Kenya, and well over 8 million in the various parts of what was once the Democratic Republic of Somalia. About a million Somalis are dispersed around the world owing to the Diaspora which followed the 1978 war with Ethiopia, a war which itself created a million refugees, and which prompted the war for independence which led to the ouster of the dictator. So, the figure of 6 million for the population of Somalia is not especially accurate. I don't agree with it.

It has been a very long time since 70% of Somalia was nomadic herdsman. That figure may date to 1960, as it is in close agreement with some figures from an anthropology book of that timeframe. In my experience, a much larger percentage of the population is now settled. Based on information available to us from various sources, as much as 75% of the population can be found in towns, cities, and villages. A third of these townfolk do have herds and may spend part of their time in the fields.

The city of Borama is fairly representative of the large settled communities of Somalis in the Horn of Africa. It has a wintertime population of 150,000 and a summertime population of about 300,000. Half the population leaves the 6,000-foot elevation plateau of Borama, to avoid the occasional freezing weather there, and heads for the coastal city of Djibouti. In Summer, the temperatures in Djibouti can exceed 120 Fahrenheit (52 C was an extreme high reported fairly recently), and a move into the

mountains in and around Borama is worth the sometimes arduous trip over very poorly developed roads.

There are quite a number of goats herded in all kinds of places. Awdal is no exception. Goats provide a very nice wool, which you may find in cashmere sweaters, as I understand it. They also provide a delicious and quite nutritious milk. The meat of goats is also quite good, especially if it is prepared in the Somali fashion. As a result of these attendant benefits, there are numerous goatherds. I've met some in Texas, some in Wyoming, and a few in Awdal.

I might mention that I've also met quite a large number of university professors in Borama. Amoud University has a very impressive cadre of professors, a large library, a nice computer lab, and hundreds of students. Borama also has a very nice hospital which was being managed by the non-governmental organization Coopio Italiano while I was there. On the other tentacle of diversity, goats are herded alongside sheep, and camels, cows, donkeys, cats, chickens, and—where the hyena problem is bad—dogs are among the domesticated animals found in Awdal.

There is a considerable population of literate, educated, and reasonably prosperous professionals, tradesmen, and businessmen in Borama. Borama also features several nice mosques, a population with considerable attention to faith, and, as in many Islamic countries, quite a few multilingual people who read and speak Arabic as well as their mother tongue, Somali. Since 1972, Somali has been a written language, and written signs are everywhere. Other languages frequently spoken in Borama are English, French, Italian, and Amharic. Other communities in Awdal include Bonn, Weerar, Fardahud, Gerissa, Lukhaya, Zeila, Jidhi, Waraqadiqta, and many more.

There are lots of minerals to be mined in different parts of Somali territory, also large natural gas fields and some petroleum. Some of the metals we know about are tantalum, niobium, uranium, thorium, gold, platinum, titanium, iron, tin, lead, and some of the non-metals are coal and emeralds. A mineral map and some geology maps may be found in our atlas.

Warlords

I find the idea of Somalia as a place mediated by warlords to be an odd concept. In this turn of phrase, I'm not sure what "mediated" is meant to convey. There are a lot of mainstream journalist articles which use the term "warlords" in connection with the half dozen or more groups with militia units in Mogadishu. *Warlord* is a term that could apply to a shogun in 18th Century Japan or an Indian chieftain in 19th Century Montana. General Norman Schwarzkopf, at the height of the Persian Gulf war of 1991, could have been called a warlord. He wasn't, though, because the term is deliberately insulting.

The cultural difference among the various people who could legitimately be called warlords is so great that I don't feel the term has any useful meaning. It does appear in a lot of tripe that passes for mainstream media coverage, but as George Carlin notes in his delightful book *Napalm & Silly Putty*, we call the mainstream a stream because it is way too shallow to be considered a river.

I don't think there are any warlords in Somalia. There are war leaders, or militia leaders, in various parts of Somalia. People who defend their homes often organize militias; it is done in places as gentle as Switzerland, Texas, and Israel. You find that the mainstream media tends to call the leaders of these militia "officers" in countries other than Somalia. Very often, the elders of a community choose a war leader or officer, and he chooses his lieutenants and subordinates. He provides leadership, until the crisis is past or until another officer is chosen to replace him, or until he dies. Calling him a warlord and calling his lieutenants "henchmen" doesn't further a discussion of these issues.

Uranium

Uranium deposits are found in large quantities on some maps generated in the 1970s by Soviet mineralogy surveys. These tend to be within a few hundred kilometers of Mogadishu, though there are geological reasons for supposing uranium located elsewhere. In 1993, the USA government sent many huge convoys of trucks into the mountains where the uranium was known to be, and took many truckloads of ore to the port of Mogadishu. I propose that further investigation may reveal that the USA gov-

ernment stole much of the readily available uranium ore, though it would likely deny this idea.

Goatherds, Land Ownership, Oil Companies, and the State

Are there goatherds who own land that mineral deposits are found upon? Yes. In Somali culture, land is owned by sub-clans, which in Scottish culture are called *septs*. A group of septs forms a clan, a group of clans form a great clan, and a group of great clans is part of a larger lineage group. All Somalis are related by common descent. So, in addition to goatherds who own land, one may find university professors, doctors, lawyers, sheiks, and businessmen who own land.

Land in town tends to be subdivided, and individual homeowners and business owners have ownership of homes and manage particular shops. Houses and shops are also leased. There is some evidence that other forms of lease structure would be acceptable under traditional forms of Somali customary law.

There were a number of multinational companies which were interested in oil and natural gas in Somalia during the 1980s. Chevron, British Petroleum, Conoco, and Sinclair are among the majors who were drilling in the north part of Somalia. The last of these companies left the region in 1992. Various documents I've seen indicate that the last of their exploration leases expired in 1999, while the dictatorship with which they seemed comfortable doing business was expired in 1991.

I've approached various individuals associated with the major oil companies. Their position seems to be that it isn't possible to convince their legal departments that individuals can govern their own interests. The ideas of *ad hoc* government and self government expressed in bodies of tradition and law such as the Xeer Samaron do not seem to be the sort of thing multinational corporation lawyers want to educate themselves upon.

Perhaps that would be an area for some corporate law types to investigate further.

A typical discussion on this subject took place in December 2000 in Holland. The corporate law expert and the petroleum development expert expressed the opinion that none of the majors would touch the resources in Awdal unless there were a Western-style government imposing taxes, exercising eminent domain, providing security forces

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(police, military) at taxpayer expense (rather than at oil company expense), and offering a "mining law" that guaranteed the distribution of the "take" between the oil company and the government. The notion that anyone but a government could own property or contract for a mineral exploration or production leases seemed difficult to convey. I also found the use of the phrase "in civilized countries" to be frequent and offensive. (I'm of the opinion that followers of socialistic systems of coercion who willingly subvert private interests for the sake of obedience are not civilized, and never have been.)

Subsequently, however, we have had considerable interest expressed by professionals in the mining industry who don't work for the staid, multinational dinosaurs. So, it may be possible for landowners in Awdal, the people who live there, to see some development of

their mining resources take place without going to the all the difficulties inherent in forming a huge, bureaucratically inept, powerful, dominating, and obedience-commanding "state."

Assuming that a company, let's say a small Texas wildcat firm, wanted to go to Awdal and extract, say, tantalum, here's how I would suggest they go about it. They would need to be introduced to some people in Awdal. My company can do that, and so can some others. They would need to understand the area by visiting it, look at some of the documentation that supports the presence of tantalum, and then go about identifying the exact places they think are prospective of tantalum. Satellite imagery may be helpful in this regard, and there have been geologists who have done considerable fieldwork in Awdal. In fact, I met one, trained in the UK, who had come from Mogadishu in 1991 with a very interesting report on tantalum deposits all over Awdal. I'd be happy to make introductions among interested parties.

Visiting Somalia Safely

Owing to the widespread enthusiasm for foreign investment, trade, and commerce, activities to bring people in for tourism, for investigating what the British called the "mineral belt" of the (former) protectorate, or for any business purpose should go pretty well. When I was there, even the goatherds were enthusiastic about people visiting their country.

Under the traditions of Somali culture, a guest or visitor or client is called a *marti*. His patron or host is called an *abaan*. It is very easy for a person of reasonably good character to find an *abaan*. Introductions help, of course. Let me note further that in my wanderings around various parts of Awdal, I was accompanied by several Somalis. At times, I was not in sight of any of them. At no time was I accompanied by armed guards. The countryside was peaceful, and the few reminders of warfare were

museum-piece tanks and armored cars.

So, it isn't like the sort of war-torn, strife-ridden area that many Western journalists convey the idea that Mogadishu has been for some time. One hardly ever reads of a Western journalist who has traveled as far from Mogadishu as the communities of Baidoa or Kismayo. By coast, Awdal is some 3,000 kilometers away. Somali territory is quite large and diverse.

Getting Permission to Mine in Somalia

Once some land was identified as being prospective of minerals, more detailed exploration and development needs to take place. At that point, and well before any mineral extraction would take place, the company interested in developing the resources would need to reach agreement with the community on whose land they wish to mine. That community is typically represented by various sultans, *aqils* (sultans in training, more or less), *hadjs* (persons who have made a pilgrimage to Mecca; typically these are successful businessmen) and others who are widely respected, such as judges.

The Somalis who live in Awdal know whose land is where. For the most part, the sub-clans along the coast are part of the Muhad'asse clan. The sub-clans near Borama are part of the Makahil clan. Both Muhad'asse and Makahil are part of the Samaron great clan. The Samaron are a Dir clan.

Assuming that the land prospective of minerals were found and sought, some agreement would very likely be reached. The amount of investment to be made could vary by the type of minerals and the amount of land sought. The use of the land for herding would continue during the exploration phase in all likelihood, and that would be most agreeable to the local population, I think. Any agreement that involved the extraction of minerals would need to involve a revenue sharing program with the people who own the land.

People involved in the mining industry have expressed interest in such arrangements. People in Awdal have expressed interest in reaching such agreements. Once an agreement has been reached with the elders of a community, its enforcement would be backed by the honor of those elders, in the same fashion

that they enforce other property-related contracts (e.g., leasing a shop) or the judgments of courts (e.g., requiring a criminal to pay compensation to his victim).

Leasing Land versus Buying It

I don't think that land is presently for sale in Awdal or elsewhere in Somalia under the terms that you would typically find in, say, Texas. The subdivision of property is anathema to Somali culture.

An anthropologist of my acquaintance, Spencer MacCallum, has written extensively on the subject of subdividing property, and why it is generally a bad thing. (See *Formulations* Issue No. 29—Ed.) He's also researched a number of 999 year leases which have run their course in places like England and Holland. He recently agreed to serve as an advisor to the Awdal Roads Company.

So, I think the buying of land isn't at issue. A lease would be. And, the enforcement of the leasehold would require the involvement of both the leasing company and their landlords. Leases are familiar to the Somalis, are upheld typically, and are part of a number of case precedents in Xeer Samaron about which I've read.

Extortion

What is to prevent warlords from demanding a share of the profit? I don't know. Again, show me the warlords.

In the case of war leaders from neighboring or distant clans, the local community would be eager to enforce the terms of the mineral lease arrangement. Somalis are not complacent when it comes to defending their homes or their businesses. They are very proactive. For example, in 1993, various Somalis from many different clans, fought a long and arduous war with the elite forces of the USA military. A battalion of US Army Rangers and a company of USA Combat Applications Group "Delta Force" operators were defeated in detail during the course of several street battles, ultimately being withdrawn from the region. Somalis in Awdal have defeated platoon-strength special forces operatives deployed from Djibouti and battalion-strength armies from Ethiopia, since 1993. When it comes to defending their homes, Somalis are willing to make sacrifices, are willing to fight, and are quite formidable.

But, what of war leaders from within the community? Their role is to serve in war time, to organize the defense of the community. That's all. They don't have a role in demanding taxes from foreign companies. Indeed, when war leaders attempt to form governments or dictatorships, they are removed from power, sometimes killed.

Moreover, the people of Awdal, a great many of whom I spoke with on this subject, understand that when a company comes with investment capital, for example to do mining, the results are going to be instructive to other companies. If a company leases territory, does mining, shares the revenues according to the agreement, and is somehow screwed over on the deal, that is going to end investment in mining, and may result in other investments being withdrawn. So, it is in the interest of the community, of all those elders, and of the neighboring clans, that everyone honor the agreements.

I have a great deal of respect for the honor, integrity, and faithfulness of many of the people I met in Awdal. I also respect their ability to ascertain their self-interest.

Indeed, as the great Wyoming philosopher Charles Curley has said, in a free market environment, those who are most cooperative gain the greatest rewards. Those who seek to screw over others are rarely able to profit much, or for long, unless they team up with some major power, like a big government.

Military Invasion

I think I've answered the question about Kenya. In the case of Awdal, any military from Kenya would have to fight their way through Ethiopia, which presents a number of 14,000 foot elevation mountains along various ranges, or they would have to fight through all the Somali clans along 3,000 kilometers of coastline. Nor is Kenya really that stable a place right now. A business associate who works frequently in Nairobi sells armored cars and security cameras like they were going out of fashion. Kenya is pretty much a non-starter as far as interfering powers go. I'd be very surprised to see Kenya deploy troops into any part of Somalia. There is even some possibility that the Somali region of Kenya may find its independence in the next decade or so.

The really interesting question is not Kenya. What if the USA government wanted to interfere? What if the UN wanted to interfere? I think the Somalis have shown that they can take on these impressive-sounding nationalist and internationalist groups and come out with their property intact. At considerable cost, mind you. Thousands of dead and thousands of casualties in the case of the 1993–95 violence in Mogadishu. But, the victors were the Somalis. And, in terms of who is going to protect the mine head and the personnel of the mining company, I would expect the mining company to take considerable responsibility in this area. I am quite certain that good Somali individuals who are well-armed and familiar with the terrain and population are available at a good price for providing escorts, guides, and armed guards as needed.

The Cost of Living in Somalia

How about that good price? One of the things that makes Awdal an attractive area for investment is the absence of taxes and regulatory “authorities” to whom anyone pays much attention. So, the cost of living is very low. I was able to feed my team of six adult men dinner for US \$5.50 and breakfast for about US\$3.75, excellent food in each case (dinner consisted of goat and pasta, more than we could eat; breakfast of pancakes and goat liver—yummy! ;-), at good, clean restaurants in each case, in January 2001. A pack of cigarettes cost me 42 cents in Borama, as compared to \$1.95 for a comparable brand in Houston that same month. What's the difference? Not quality, not enthusiasm, not training, but taxes. Mostly, the people of Awdal benefit from not having a bunch of useless jerks fleecing them at every turn, while the people of Texas have all manner of government types on their backs.

The Somali Constitution and Freedom

Now, let's turn to the absence of a state as it relates to a constitution, the freedom of the populace, and property in general. Each of the great clans, such as

the Samaron, have a Xeer or traditional culture and law. It is an oral tradition, though efforts are being made to bring it into a written record. I would argue that the Xeer Samaron operates as a constitution to the same extent that England or Great Britain has a constitution.

The people of Awdal guarantee the freedom of the people who live there, including guests who live and work there. Property rights are respected, agreements are respected, and there is an

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entire body of legal precedent for contract enforcement. There is an *ad hoc* government, which forms militia units or courts to respond to crises or disputes, and which provides for relief for the community from problems, whether acute or chronic.

There is no *standing* government, no huge body of bureau-rats scurrying about on a mountain of red tape. When judges are needed to decide a criminal case or a contract dispute, they are in plentiful supply in the community. When men with guns are needed to fight off invaders, they are ready. Most adult men are armed, and quite a lot of “artillery” is available when needed.

Let me go further, though: nobody gives you freedom. You aren't free unless you claim and defend your freedom. A state doesn't make you free. It taxes you, it imposes upon you, it regulates your conduct, and it may pretend to offer guarantees of safety. But a state cannot make you free, and isn't interested in the task. A state serves the interests of those who control the state; anyone else who derives any benefit from

the state may be getting a “free ride” which is unlikely to last. And, of course, the cost of those perceived benefits are enormous, paid for by taxes.

A constitution doesn't make you free. It also makes a lousy bullet-proof vest. I prefer Kevlar and those nice ceramic inserts.

Your neighbors don't make you free, the police don't make you free, and your education doesn't make you free (though it can be very helpful). You are the only person who is able to make you free. You either arrange for your freedom by cooperative means and fight for it when necessary, or you submit to those who command your obedience. If you are not willing to pay the cost of freedom, you won't have it.

Legal Recourse and Rights

Do local residents have recourse against a mining company that releases toxins into their property? Yes. Under the Xeerai of the various clans, individu-

als and companies are responsible for the harm they do. If it is negligence, or tortious harm, compensation is required. If it is criminal harm, compensation is required. Very rarely, punishment is meted out; for the most part the tradition is for compensatory justice.

Do people have rights? That's a fairly significant issue, and I've had lengthy discussions on it. I think rights are a fantasy, a class of ideas which poorly define and very poorly protect individual freedom. I prefer to consider freedom, recourse, and property, as I think these terms are much more suited to the protection of liberty. Rights theories usually bore me, to the extent that they don't dismay me. Of course, I tend to be exceedingly pragmatic with respect to freedom; I don't think it is theoretically possible to have freedom in the presence of a state, but it isn't important, since in practice it never happens.

The Somalian State

Is Somalia without a state? Perhaps not. In August 2000, a group of elders, some of whom have indicated they were

held there against their will, formed a new government for Somalia during a "peace" conference in Arta, Djibouti. It was announced with much fanfare and installed some distance from the capital of Mogadishu, then transferred to a hotel in Mog, and is now residing in some police barracks there. It has had very little success in controlling territory outside Mogadishu, it has lost most of its battles for control of territory, it has imposed a new fiat money which was not well-received by the shopkeepers in Mog, and it is basically a mess. But, who knows, it may eke out a continued existence.

Visit Awdal

What would tell you about how individuals live in Somalia? A trip there would perhaps do the trick. There are now five individuals who have expressed interest in going on a trip to Awdal in March 2002. Join the group! See our page at <http://www.awdal.com/shop/trip.html> or the link from the home page "Visit Awdal." Form your own opinion.

You'll find that things are not the same as those reports you read on the web from most sources. I do think you'll find that people have freedom, establish property rights, and create wealth.

Anarchy

As for anarchy, I don't think you'll find it there. I'm not an anarchist, by the way, but a propertarian, which is a freedom-oriented philosophy concentrating on private property as the fundamental from which all other freedom derives. Of course, I have been called an anarcho-capitalist without voicing any complaint.

Certainly, among the nomads of Somalia, you won't find anarchy. Kropotkin would be proud of the way individual nomads and their families defend property in grazing lands, wells, and livestock. Bakunin, too, perhaps. Out in the field, you won't find many representatives of government. You'll find people everywhere, even in the vast Guban desert. You'll find self-government, communities of related interests, families, and clans. You'll find elders, leaders, and people concerned about their future. You'll find children who are well-cared for, with very little evidence of coercion in their raising. The land has

a natural beauty which you might find delightful.

Modern notions of wealth don't inspire me. Modernism is an empty philosophy which tied itself, early on, to "scientific socialism" and other nonsense. Postmodernism hasn't always been much better.

Misinformation about Somalia on the Worldwide Web

With regard to the material from the Google search: I disagree with the claim that Somalia lacks natural resources. Gold, frankincense, and myrrh, the hat trick of the magi, are found in Awdal. The major development challenge appears, to me, to relate to a lack of capital investment. That is much easier to remedy than an excess of government.

There remains a great deal of pastoralism and agriculture. Many of the foods produced in Awdal are quite delicious, and the markets are teeming with produce. I think farming is much more widespread than the cite indicates. I've seen numerous maps which identify well sites; these are very plentiful. Where surface water isn't available, there is plenty of potential for irrigation, especially drip-irrigation.

If by "modern sector" the cite refers to industrial-scale farming, then it may well be that banana plantations are it. Certainly, the existence of farms using modern irrigation systems and up-to-date farm machinery in the South should tell us a great deal about the potential for farming all over Somalia.

The fishing industry in Somalia was begun hundreds of years ago. By 1991, it was producing thousands of tons of fish per year. There is great potential for fishing in the waters off Awdal, where shark, tuna, lobster, sea cucumber, giant clam, and other seafood products are obtained. I was recently able to confirm the good prices paid in Djibouti for these seafood products. By the way, there is cold, deep water in the Gulf of Aden, quite near shore in some cases. Analyses I've seen show great potential for mariculture of both cold and warm water sea food. Shrimp farms are found just up the coast in Eritrea.

I'm not sure what constitutes a small forest area. The aromatic woods and gums are widespread. Trees are also found widely, and produce a number of

products used by the Somalis. For example, the ash of the woble tree is used to turn hair a golden color, popular with children. Henna is commonly used by the elderly men of the Muhad'asse to turn their hair red. The French call this clan the "tête rouge."

A map of Somalia put out by the Democratic Republic in 1988 shows tens of thousands of acres of forest in the highlands of the north and in various other areas. Mind you, I wouldn't invest much in woodlands camo for the region.

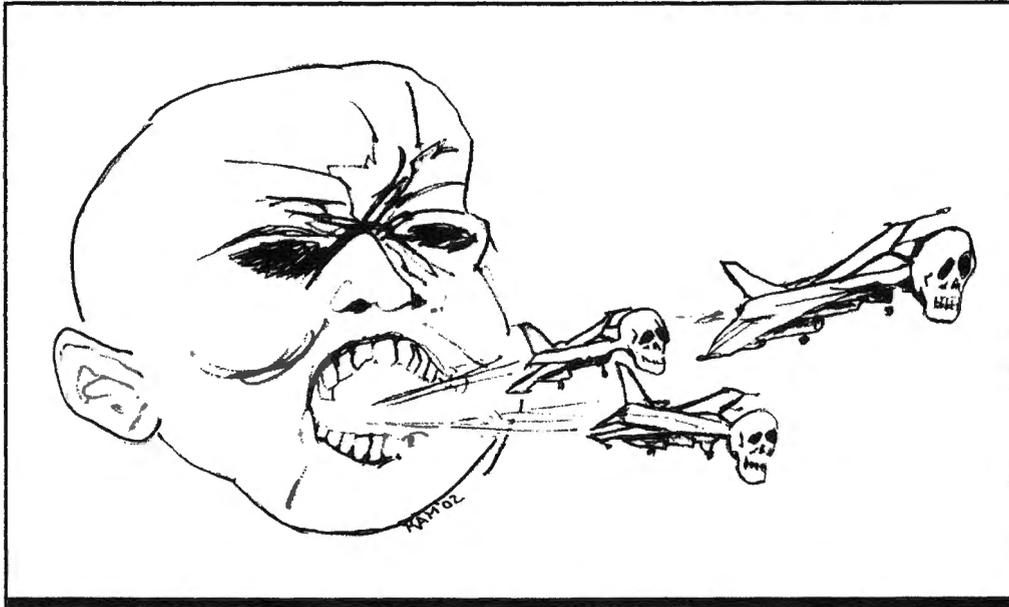
Minerals are found everywhere, if you are willing to count silicon dioxide (sand) as a mineral. It isn't the case that petroleum is found throughout the country, as Chevron was not able to find any in Awdal. Other than a Chinese oil company which recently signed a deal with a group out of Hargeisa, there are no oil companies exploring for petroleum in Somalia right now, to my knowledge. There were several oil companies exploring as recently as 1992, which may be what your citation is referencing. I don't know.

There are a lot of small industries throughout Somalia. I don't know of any that were established with "foreign aid" from governments. Quite a few have been assisted by foreign capital, especially capital from the Somali Diaspora. The Somalis are an industrious people. For example, in 1996, a group of Somalis set up Amoud University, from scratch, based in some buildings left by the British. They raised the money from Somali Diaspora and other sources, they did all the work to refurbish the buildings themselves, and they now staff and operate a successful university which trains hundreds of students a year.

There is a railway that runs through Somali-owned territory, from the port of Djibouti to Ethiopia. It is not in the territory of the Democratic Republic of Somalia, but what is, these days? <smile>

The things that pass for all-weather roads in the north are not all well-paved. The things that are not all-weather roads are impassable when it rains, as it does reliably once or twice a year, and are not much more than well-worn tracks in some places. The coastal road between Bull'ado and Zeila in Awdal is not all that well-worn, either. Of course, our company means to change that situation.

(Concluded on page 36)



Thinking Our Anger

by Roderick T. Long

This talk was delivered at the Auburn Philosophical Society's Roundtable on Hate, October 5, 2001, convened in response to the September 11 attacks a month earlier.

The events of September 11th have occasioned a wide variety of responses, ranging from calls to turn the other cheek, to calls to nuke half the Middle East—and every imaginable shade of opinion in between. At a time when emotions run high, how should we go about deciding on a morally appropriate response? Should we allow ourselves to be guided by our anger, or should we put our anger aside and make an unemotional decision?

D. H. Lawrence once wrote:

“My great religion is a belief in the blood, the flesh, as being wiser than the intellect. We can go wrong in our

minds. But what our blood feels and believes and says, is always true. The intellect is only a bit and a bridle. What do I care about knowledge? All I want is to answer to my blood, direct, without fribbling intervention of mind or moral, or what not.”

(Quoted in Brand Blanshard, *Reason and Analysis* (La Salle: Open Court, 1962), p. 47.)

At the other extreme, the Roman philosopher Seneca argued that we should never make a decision on the basis of anger—or any other emotion, for that matter. In his treatise *On Anger*, Seneca maintained that if anger leads us to make the decision we would have made anyway on the basis of cool reason, then anger is superfluous; and if anger leads us to make a different deci-

sion from the one we would have made on the basis of cool reason, then anger is pernicious.

This disagreement between Lawrence and Seneca conceals an underlying agreement: both writers are assuming an *opposition* between reason and emotion. The idea of such a bifurcation is challenged by Aristotle. For Aristotle, emotions are *part* of reason; the rational part of the soul is further divided into the intellectual or commanding part, and the emotional or responsive part. Both parts are rational; and both parts are needed to give us a proper sensitivity to the moral nuances of the situations that confront us. Hence the wise person will be both intellectually rational and emotionally rational. Emotional people whose intellectual side is weak tend to be reluctant to accept reasonable constraints on their behavior; they are too aggressive and self-assertive for civilized society—too “Celtic,” Aristotle

thinks. They answer directly to their blood, without fribbling intervention of mind or moral, and much hewing and smiting ensues. But intellectual people whose emotional side is weak are often *too* willing to accept *unreasonable* constraints on their behavior; they lack the *thumos*, the spirited self-assertiveness, to stand up for themselves, and so are likely to sacrifice nobility for expediency, ending up as the passive subjects of a dictatorship like the ancient Persian Empire. According to Aristotle, feeling *less* anger than the situation calls for is as much a failure of moral perception as feeling *more*. Only a full development of both the intellectual and the emotional aspects of our reason can yield an integrated personality fit for freedom and social cooperation. (Aristotle notoriously tries to turn all this into a justification for *enslaving* Celts and Persians; but let us graciously focus our attention on the Maestro's smart moments, not his dumb ones.)

To see what Aristotle is getting at (in his smart moments), recall the scene in the movie *Witness* where some Amish farmers, among whom Harrison Ford's character is hiding out, are being harassed and humiliated by local bullies. The bullies are well aware that the Amish, being pacifists, will not use violence even in self-defense; as one Amish farmer explains to Harrison Ford, "it is our way"—to which Ford responds, "well, it's not *my* way," steps out of the wagon, and gives the bullies a taste of their own medicine, to the immense satisfaction of the audience.

This scene appeals to our emotions; it inclines us toward a rejection of pacifism. Seneca would object that scenes like this are manipulative and dangerous, insofar as they work on our emotional responses rather than offering us a rational argument. But Aristotle might well disagree. No one, he insists, becomes wise or virtuous through rational arguments alone; people's emotional and affective responses need to be trained and habituated as well. Scenes like the one in *Witness* may serve to educate our sentiments and hone our

capacity for moral judgment, by making salient the ethically relevant features of the situation and prompting a salutary exercise of *thumos*.

If Aristotle is right, then Seneca is wrong; emotional responses *can* facilitate our moral perceptions rather than either displacing or merely echoing them. But that does not mean that Lawrence is right; Aristotle is not advising us to place blind trust in our gut reactions. Emotions can be mistaken, just as intellect can; as Aristotle puts it, emo-

If, in the anger of our military response, we are heedless of the lives of innocent civilians... then, in the name of our anger, we will have infringed the very principle that our anger is supposed to be expressing.

tions are often like overeager servants, rushing off to carry out our orders without first making sure they've grasped them properly.

The terrorist attacks of September 11th have made us angry, and rightly so. Our anger gives form to our moral perception, putting us in cognitive contact with two ethical facts: the wrongness of the attack, and the rightness of retaliating against it. To that extent, our anger sharpens our vision rather than obscuring it. However, anger too can be an overeager servant, prompting us to act in ways that may not square with the very facts of reason to which our anger is being responsive. Feeling our anger is easy, but we have a responsibility to *think* our anger as well.

Our anger embodies a judgment that what the terrorists did on September 11th was wrong. But what was it that they did? They rained down death from the skies upon innocent civilians in order to express a grievance against our government. If, in the anger of our military response, we are heedless of the lives of innocent civilians in Afghanistan or elsewhere, then, in the name of our anger, we will have infringed the

very principle that our anger is supposed to be expressing: we will be the ones raining down death from the skies upon innocent civilians in order to express a grievance against their government. Those who answer directly to their blood often end up having a lot of blood to answer for.

A number of television and online commentators have said that civilians in enemy nations are not truly innocent, because those civilians could and should have overthrown their governments if they disapproved of them.

In saying this, these commentators take themselves to be expressing a hard-line position against the terrorists. But in fact they are endorsing the terrorists' position. For their argument commits them to saying that I am responsible for any war crimes committed by my government, since if I really disapproved of my government I could and should have overthrown it. (I'm awfully curious to know

how, but they never seem to give details.) But this is precisely the terrorists' position: that any American is a legitimate target for the violent expression of grievances against the American government. When a viewpoint motivated by moral outrage against a terrorist attack ends up endorsing the very principle behind that attack, it's clear that anger has been acting as an overeager servant and needs further instruction.

Some commentators distinguish between, on the one hand, the direct and deliberate targeting of civilians, of the sort that characterized the Allied bombing of Dresden and Hiroshima or the recent attack on the World Trade Center, and on the other hand, what goes by the military euphemism of "collateral damage"—that is, the unintended (though not necessarily unforeseen) civilian deaths that result as a byproduct from an attack on a military or otherwise hostile target, as occurred in President Reagan's bombing of Libya, President Clinton's bombing of the Sudan, and our current President's ongoing bombing campaign against Iraq. It is often maintained that while direct targeting of civilians is immoral, collateral damage is not.

We know that the direct targeting of civilians is immoral, because we know that the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center was immoral. We dare not reject the former judgment without undermining our right to uphold the latter. But why might collateral damage be more justifiable? Well, the argument goes something like this. Suppose Eric straps a baby to his chest and then starts shooting at me. I can't shoot him back without hitting the innocent baby. Yet although it's too bad about the baby, it seems plausible to say that I still have the right to defend myself against Eric, and if the baby gets killed, the blame should lie not with me but with Eric, for bringing the baby into the situation in the first place. By the same token, it is argued, innocent deaths that result as a byproduct from attacks on hostile targets should be blamed on the hostile targets, not on the attackers.

But the moral legitimacy of collateral damage in the Eric case seems to depend importantly on four factors: first, the relatively small extent of the collateral damage (just the one baby); second, the high probability that shooting at Eric will actually stop him; third, the great extent of the contribution (total, as described) that stopping Eric will make to ending the threat; and fourth, the absence of any alternative way of stopping Eric that would be less dangerous for the baby. The case for collateral damage grows weaker as we alter any of these four variables. If Eric is shielded not just by one baby but by a whole city of babies; or if there's some doubt as to whether Eric is actually even in the city; or if Eric is just one cog in a military machine, his individual contribution to the total threat being fairly small; or if there are ways of taking Eric out without bombing the city—to the extent that any or all of these are true, the case for the legitimacy of collateral damage is correspondingly weakened. As these variables move away from the Eric paradigm, the moral difference between col-

lateral damage and direct targeting of civilians becomes more tenuous—as does the case for treating the two as morally different. Since in most real-world cases of collateral damage in warfare, most or all of these variables are shifted pretty far away from the Eric paradigm, I conclude that a general military policy of comfort with collateral damage is without justification. Such a policy may be motivated by our anger, but it contradicts the very lesson our an-

Surely we should wish our enemies to be more virtuous and more rational; after all, if they were more virtuous and more rational, they wouldn't have hijacked two airplanes and sent them crashing into the World Trade Center. Any move, by anybody, in the direction of greater virtue and greater rationality should always be met with approval. But if Aristotle is right about happiness, then to wish for our enemies to be more virtuous and more rational is *ipso facto* to wish for them to be happier.

I think this must be what such moral teachers as Socrates, Jesus, and the Buddha mean when they advise us to wish our enemies well. Obviously we should not wish success to our enemies' projects; for those projects are evil, and they could not cease to be evil without ceasing to be the projects they are. Hence hatred for those projects is quite in order. But people can always cease to be evil without ceasing to be. If they refuse to cease being evil, we may find it necessary, in self-defense, to make them cease to be; but we should always *prefer* that our enemies cease being evil. But what is that, but to prefer that our enemies

become better people—that they live better, more worthwhile, less destructive, hate-filled lives? And if that is what we ought to prefer, then we ought to wish our enemies well. And while that is compatible with being angry at them, and with killing them if necessary, it is not compatible with hating them. Δ

Roderick T. Long teaches philosophy at Auburn University. He is currently writing a book on Wittgenstein and Austrian economic methodology.

A number of television and online commentators have said that civilians in enemy nations are not truly innocent, because those civilians could and should have overthrown their governments if they disapproved of them. In saying this, these commentators take themselves to be expressing a hard-line position against the terrorists. But in fact they are endorsing the terrorists' position.

ger can teach us, if we listen to the voice of our anger with a more subtle ear.

Our topic tonight is hate. Yet so far I've spoken about *anger* rather than hate. One might suppose that what I've said about one will apply *mutatis mutandis* to the other; but I think there is an important difference. Anger is often justified; but hate, I think, is never justified, at least against a person.

Where does the difference lie? Well, we can be angry with a person and still wish that person well; after all, we are often angry with those we love, and we do not stop loving them while we are angry with them. But we cannot hate a person and still wish that person well. I think this makes hate morally problematic in a way that anger is not. For I accept Aristotle's conception of happiness as a life of *virtuous rational activity*.



Libertarian Responses to Terrorism

by Roy Halliday

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, especially the attacks on the Twin Towers, which we saw over and over again so many times on TV, evoked horror, outrage, anger, fear, sympathy for the victims, patriotism, and admiration for the firemen, policemen, and rescue workers. I experienced all of these emotions, but my predominant reaction was amazement and a sense that the images of the planes crashing into the towers were so bizarre as to be incredible.

Three weeks before the attacks my sons and I flew from Raleigh to New York to spend a weekend in the city. We took in two games at Yankee Stadium and spent an afternoon walking around lower Manhattan. We took pictures of the Twin Towers from Battery Park and from the Staten Island Ferry. That is why it is so hard for me to accept that the towers are gone. Intellectually I know it is true, but emotionally I am still adjusting to it.

In general I was gratified by the way most Americans initially reacted to the attacks. Southerners put aside old grievances stemming from the War of Northern Aggression and rallied to help the victims in New York. On the weekend

after the attacks firemen in Raleigh collected more than \$1,000,000 in donations for disaster relief. The outpouring of support was similar all across the country. The attack on New Yorkers was felt as an attack on all Americans. As a New Yorker living in the South I was pleased to see the stereotype of New Yorkers change from cold and unfriendly to brave and humane in times of crisis.

But our emotions are not always rational, reliable, or humane. When we are emotional we can be manipulated into doing things that are wrong. We should not allow ourselves to be swept away by nationalism, outrage, or thirst for revenge.

War, including war on terrorism, is the health of the state.

The number of victims and the amount of devastation were so massive that the September 11 attacks resembled acts of a state at war. But according to all reports, the attacks were committed by members of a terrorist organization that is not a state. The attacks were war-like in scale but not in authorization.

The first politician to call the attacks

an act of war was the war monger and former fighter pilot, Senator John McCain. A couple days later Bush II adopted the same terminology. I believe this was done deliberately to emphasize the magnitude of the crime and, more importantly, to prepare the public emotionally for a massive response by the federal government that will put the nation under war-time restrictions.

The American public has rallied in support of the September 11 victims, firemen, policemen, rescue workers, Mayor Giuliani, Bush II, the FBI, the CIA, and the armed forces. The dying embers of patriotism and religious faith, which had been suppressed by the multiculturalists and secular humanists who dominate the media and the education establishment, were rekindled and set ablaze. I saw CBS news anchor Dan Rather drop his mask of objectivity and break down in tears on the David Letterman show trying to recite the lyrics to a patriotic song. I saw reporters for CNN weep as they tried to describe the memorial service for the victims of the attack on the Pentagon. Fox News, which had been my favorite TV news network because it gives air to the conservative

perspective, became so jingoistic that I can hardly stand to watch it now. Stores are having a hard time keeping American flags in stock because the demand is so great. Young men and women are lining up to volunteer for the armed forces. CIA applications have increased tenfold since September 11. Politicians of both major parties have suspended their petty difference and worked together to increase federal spending for disaster relief and the war on terrorism.

Not only has the war metaphor succeeded in preparing the American public to accept a more intrusive role for the federal government, it has prepared them to allow the government to literally get away with murder. Americans have long been conditioned to accept a double standard for killing innocent people. When it is done by private individuals it is called *murder* or *terror* and the public condemns it as illegal and immoral. But when it is done by the federal government as an act of war it is called *collateral damage*, and the public regards it as regrettable but necessary, legal, and moral.

Libertarian Nationalism

A libertarian is someone who consistently applies the nonaggression principle to determine what actions are crimes. According to the nonaggression principle it is a crime to initiate force, but under some circumstances it is not a crime to use force in self-defense against aggressors. I thought most libertarians regarded the nonaggression principle as a moral law that applies to everybody, but since September 11, I have learned otherwise.

In November 2001, I received a fund-raising letter from Steve Dasbach, the National Director of the Libertarian Party. In it he listed the following increased dangers to liberty resulting from the terrorist crisis:

“We face the prospect of:

A nation at endless war.

Greater federal control over the economy.

Restricted civil liberties.

Higher taxes.

Ever-expanding government.

In short, we face the increased peril of losing EVERYTHING the Libertarian Party has worked to preserve for 30 years.”

The thing that struck me about this list of dangers is that it only includes dangers to Americans. It does not mention the more serious danger to the lives of foreign civilians posed by the American government’s war on terrorism.

The back of my 2001 LP membership card contains the following statement of principles:

“We hold that all individuals have the right to exercise *sole dominion* over their own lives, and have the right to live in whatever manner they choose, so long as they do not forcibly interfere with the *equal right* of others to live in whatever manner they choose.”

The Libertarian Party is not living up to this statement. Instead it is following a limited version of the nonaggression principle as though it only applies to Americans.

The problem with the LP is not limited to its leadership. The LP “leaders” are actually following the will of the LP members. The results from an online poll of LP members and subscribers to the party’s “LP.announce” e-mail list, taken October 9–12, 2001, shows that most respondents only apply the nonaggression principle to fellow Americans.

Almost all (94.8%) of survey respondents said they agree the U.S. government “has an obligation to bring the terrorists who are responsible for the September 11 attacks to justice.” A majority (73.7%) support bomb and missile attacks on Osama bin Laden and his terrorist network. Most (65.1%) support putting more substantial numbers of American ground troops in Afghanistan to try to capture bin Laden. More (68.4%) support American military attacks against Afghanistan’s Taliban government and against Afghan military targets. A majority (54.8%) support American efforts to topple Afghanistan’s Taliban government and replace it with a less repressive government that doesn’t support terrorism. A slight majority (51.9%) support future U.S. military action against any nation that supports or endorses terrorism.

The *Charlotte Observer* and the *LA Times* reported on 10/24/01 that Pentagon officials have admitted that at least three U.S. bombs went astray during weekend strikes against Afghanistan. They caused unknown casualties in a

residential neighborhood northwest of Kabul and near a home for the elderly outside Herat. Also on 10/24/01 the *Ledger-Enquirer* reported that United Nations officials confirmed that American warplanes destroyed a military hospital near Herat in western Afghanistan. According to a 10/25/01 report in *The Dallas Morning News*, “U.S. officials face international criticism after American aircraft struck an Afghan village with a cluster bomb, killing eight people and scattering deadly unexploded ‘bomblets’ through village streets.” On 11/5/01 *The Guardian* reported, “In a further departure from their original ‘surgical’ use of weapons, US aircraft have started to drop BLY-82 bombs on Afghanistan. Billed as the world’s largest conventional bomb, it is the size of a small car and was used in the Vietnam war to clear ground for helicopters. During the Gulf war they were dropped as much for their terrifying psychological effect as for their destructive power.” At a meeting of Wake County Libertarians, two friends of mine gleefully celebrated this news.

The attacks supported by most libertarians in the survey have already killed at least 300 innocent Afghans and four UN workers, destroyed a village and a Red Cross food storage compound, and led to a disastrous refugee crisis and increased starvation. The respondents to the LP survey don’t seem to care about the inevitable consequences of the war on terrorism overseas. But they are very vigilant of their own rights and the rights of their fellow Americans. It is all right to endanger the lives of people in Afghanistan, but it is unacceptable to require Americans to carry a national ID card to fight terrorism (90.3%), or allow law enforcement to use the Carnivore e-mail surveillance system (87.8%), or restrict the right of Americans to use strong encryption programs that might also be used by terrorists (91.8%), or pass new laws that would make it easier for law enforcement to get wiretap warrants (78.6%).

I am sure most of these respondents would oppose missile attacks on terrorist strongholds in Jersey City or Tampa. Why don’t they oppose missile attacks on Kabul? The best explanation I can think of is that Kabul is in Afghanistan so the “collateral damage” will not affect the civil rights of Americans.

Since most of the libertarians in the survey support endangering the lives of people in Afghanistan by dropping bombs and missiles on alleged terrorist sites in that country, how could they object to lesser invasions on the Afghans such as snooping on their phone conversations or reading their e-mail? Why do Americans have a right to privacy while Afghans don't even have a right to be free from bombardment?

Ray Ubinger of Durham, NC, who quit the Libertarian Party after the National Committee endorsed the war on terrorism, also finds the position of the Libertarian Party to be puzzling. In a note to the LPNC e-mail list he wrote, "I find it curious that a party which currently approves of non-evidence-based killing is making such a big deal out of a little non-evidence-based snooping."

Instead of having a jury trial in which evidence is presented, testimony is heard, and the accused is allowed to rebut the charges, the Bush II Administration has reverted to trial by ordeal. They are using "smart bombs" to sort terrorists from non-terrorists in Afghanistan.

Some of those who gave jingoistic responses to the survey were probably not thinking clearly because the emotions evoked by the terrorist attacks were so fresh and strong. Other respondents might actually believe that Americans have special rights because of the *US Constitution*, as though rights are grants from the state to its citizens. This is the opposite of the natural rights view, which holds that all people have inherent rights and a government has only those rights that its citizens grant to it.

Objectivists are less objective than the general public.

As disappointed as I was with the results of the libertarian poll, the Randian reaction to the terrorist attacks has been worse. In "Kill an Arab for Ayn" Jeremy Sapienza reports that *Capitalism Magazine*, which is closely affiliated with the Ayn Rand Institute, has published articles that are so statist and pro-war that only a collectivist could agree with them. He found this sentiment on their website:

"We hold that the government of the United States of America should destroy not just individual terrorists, but employ overwhelming, non-

surgical, nonproportional military force to destroy the governments who harbor, finance, or lend support to those who slaughter Americans, including but not limited to Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, and Sudan."

The hypocrisy and irrationality of the "Objectivist" position should be obvious to anyone who believes in individualism. Jeremy Sapienza puts it this way:

"Interestingly, the regimes that harbor terrorists are denounced for beating, starving, and executing the 'barbarian' population of the countries they rule. Yet it's not evil for us to use those very same victims, their suffering used as evidence of the evil of a certain regime, as expendable pawns to 'send a message to terrorists!'"

So much for the sanctity of the individual."

On October 23, 2001, the Ayn Rand Institute paid for a war-mongering ad in *The Daily Californian* titled "End States Who Sponsor Terrorism." The ad featured an essay by Leonard Peikoff, who is the man Ayn Rand left her estate to. The ad calls for all-out war against Iran.

"Eliminating Iran's terrorist sanctuaries and military capability is not enough. We must do the equivalent of de-Nazifying the country, by expelling every branch of its government."

Down with war, terrorism, racism, Marxism, imperialism, and all other form of collectivism!

War and terrorism are forms of collectivism. Only a collectivist view of morality (one that judges people by their nationality, wealth, economic class, race, gender, geographic location, or other group characteristic), can justify the hijacking of commercial airliners, crashing them into the Twin Towers, and killing thousands of people who happened to be there. No libertarian, and hardly an American of any political creed, needs to be persuaded that the attacks on September 11 were terrible crimes.

Only collectivism can justify the carnage that inevitably comes with modern warfare. Unfortunately, the terrorist attacks brought to the surface the national-

istic and statist forms of collectivism in the hearts of most Americans and, evidently in most so-called libertarians. Before Bush II's war on terrorism is over the number of innocent people whose deaths he is responsible for is likely to exceed the number of innocents killed on September 11. Evidently this is acceptable to most libertarians because (1) Bush's victims are overseas, (2) his innocent victims are "collateral damage" rather than his primary targets, and (3) he regrets killing them and promises to give material aid to the ones he doesn't kill.

I wish more libertarians and Randians had remained true to their individualistic philosophy and responded to the terrorist attacks by adopting an anti-collectivist slogan such as:

Treat people as individuals or leave them alone!

American libertarians, to their credit, are strong defenders of property rights, free enterprise, and free speech. But their love of America makes them blind to war-time atrocities committed by the USA. They fail to oppose mass murder of foreigners when it is done by American military forces.

American leftists in the peace movement generally take the wrong side on property rights and free enterprise, and they turn a blind eye to mass murder when it is done by communist regimes. But, to their credit, they vocally oppose mass murder when it is done by the USA.

In peacetime, the American libertarian position is more moral overall than the position of the radical left. But when the USA is at war, the anti-war position of the radical left is better. Unfortunately, in recent years the USA has been at war most of the time. The USA has been bombing Iraq for the last 10 years. Now they are also bombing Afghanistan. American libertarians support this. The Randians want them to bomb Iran as well.

These days I would be more ashamed to be identified with the libertarian position than with the radical left position. So I have decided not to renew my membership in the national Libertarian Party.

Terrorism against a Libertarian Nation

A libertarian nation would not send troops abroad to intervene in other countries, nor would it drop bombs on or fire missiles at other countries. As long as there are imperialistic regimes that do these kinds of things, those regimes are more likely to be targeted by terrorists.

In so far as terrorist attacks are intended to get the citizens of a country to put pressure on their government to change its foreign policy, there is no point in launching a terrorist attack on a libertarian nation.

In so far as terrorist attacks are aimed at government buildings or military bases, a libertarian nation would have no high-value targets.

Nonetheless, despite its peacefulness, a libertarian nation could be a target for terrorists or anti-terrorists. It would allow gambling, prostitution, pornography, abortion, alcohol, and drugs, which could induce hatred in foreigners who oppose vice. It might be regarded like Sodom and Gomorrah. The freedom that defines a libertarian nation could inspire Muslim or Christian terrorists to make it a target. (But maybe not. The Netherlands have not been targeted yet.)

If being a center for vice isn't enough, a libertarian nation could provoke terrorist attacks from animal-rights zealots by allowing fur coats, kid gloves, veal parmesan, and use of animals as test subjects in research labs. Civil rights advocates would condemn it for allowing racial profiling and other kinds of discrimination. Greens might attack it for allowing clear cutting, strip mining, and DDT.

If a libertarian nation has no government officials patrolling its borders and inspecting shipments that arrive from abroad at its airports and sea ports, and if people could enter it without a security check, well financed terrorist organizations could buy property in the libertarian nation and send operatives there to live, train, and plan terrorist attacks. By permitting itself to be a haven for terrorists (not to mention drug traffickers), a libertarian nation would be a prime target for attack by military forces of the USA and its allies. The Bush Administration is already considering an

attack on Somalia because it has a large Moslem population and no central government.

A libertarian nation would consist of sovereign individuals who would each be responsible for his own defense. The nation as such would not have a defense policy. This is not a bad thing. It is actually an advantage. Governments do a poor job of defending their subjects. In "Fight Terrorism by Protecting Private Property" William L. Anderson writes:

Unfortunately, the terrorist attacks brought to the surface the nationalistic and statist forms of collectivism in the hearts of most Americans and, evidently in most so-called libertarians.

"The first thing we must do is rid ourselves of the quaint notion that government protects us. The mighty armed forces of the United States could not even protect its own headquarters, let alone the sleeping quarters of 241 US Marines killed in a car bomb attack in Lebanon in 1983. The same government that declares that all citizens are potential hijackers is the same government that does not permit employers—including employers who oversee sensitive issues like airport security—to make even common sense judgments about who they may hire."

Another advantage a libertarian nation would have is that its citizens would not be inhibited by civil rights laws. A libertarian nation would have no laws against discrimination. So the people who operate airlines, airports, ocean liners, sea ports, busses, and trains in a libertarian nation will be free to use ethnic profiling or whatever methods they think best to keep potential terrorists from using their facilities.

I could be wrong, but it seems logical to me that if you are looking for Arab terrorists you should pay particular attention to Arabs. Neoliberarians will protest that this is unfair. So what? We

have a perfect right to be unfair with our own property and our own services.

Different airlines, for example, could try different methods for screening passengers. Some might choose to thoroughly search everyone. Some might choose to give everyone an equal but cursory search, or no search. And some might choose to use ethnic profiling to select individuals to be thoroughly searched. The market will help the airline managers decide which method best satisfies the relative demands for safety and equality.

In addition to the right to determine who shall be allowed on their property, another advantage that people in a libertarian nation would have is the right to determine what kinds of weapons to allow on their property. William L. Anderson also makes this point:

"The other thing we should keep in mind is that individuals should be permitted to own and carry weapons, and if airlines are comfortable with some people (like pilots) being armed and other passengers not being armed, so be it. It would seem that the airlines should be able to decide how best to protect their own property and passengers, as it is quite apparent that the Federal Aviation Administration is incompetent beyond belief to protect anyone—except their own bureaucratic hides."

How a libertarian nation would respond to terrorism would depend on whether the nation is composed of people who agree with the majority of libertarians who responded to the October 9–12 poll that foreigners have fewer rights or whether it is composed of individualists who apply the nonaggression principle to everyone.

The difference between these two constituencies is stark with regard to their attitudes toward weapons of mass destruction. People from the first group have proposed that a libertarian nation could defend itself with nuclear weapons. People from the second group re

(Concluded on page 35)



Embracing the New World Order: Libertarians and Terrorism

by Phil Jacobson

Introduction to an Author's Context

This journal *Formulations* was established to explore, from a fairly academic standpoint, abstract issues about the possibilities for forming a libertarian nation. In this edition we are exploring an issue which is highly contemporary. Thus in some ways we are pursuing journalism, even punditry, rather than an academic endeavor. I wish to offer a justification. First, we seek to advise the would-be founders of real libertarian nations who may need to make decisions more quickly than writing at the traditional academic pace would allow. By the time an academic has had time for extensive "objective" study, the entrepreneurs we hope to inform with our writings will have had to do some real-world decision-making. Second, in my case, I have already formulated a lot of the analysis and recommendations which follow anyway. Regular readers of my material in *Formulations* will recognize my themes. The same is largely true of the other contributors. So we are not just reacting to current events. Beyond that, at least for my own analysis, I perceive a real turning point in history is at hand—one which should be taken into account by those who hope to found real libertarian nations. Those entrepre-

neurs will have to adopt a historical perspective, whether they realize it or not, very soon. I seek to give them my own as a viable alternative which they can grasp and use while they make some critical decisions about how they will proceed.

Analysis

Overview

We live in interesting times. We are asked by friends and foes alike to adjust our lives to a "New World Order"—an age when reactions to "terrorism" dominate all other concerns.

For once political opinion makers of all ranks and all ideological persuasions seem to agree with the public, at least at a certain level of abstraction. Generally the theme goes something like: "It's a crisis of historic proportions. Unless something is done quickly, the whole world will be overwhelmed by xxx." At this point each pundit fills in xxx with a horror of their own choosing. For some it is the prospect of a world dictatorship run by "USA nationalists." For some it is the prospect of a world dictatorship run by "Muslim extremists." For others it is the prospect of "chaos." The particulars of xxx are a major point of disagreement. The undesirability of xxx is common to almost all commentators.

They feel victimized by the traditional Chinese curse "may you live in interesting times." But the curse does not apply this time.

Yes, we do live in interesting times. But it is not an especially bad thing. We are not on the edge of perpetual war. Instead, we are witnessing the breakdown of the institution of war as civilized man has always known it. And as war becomes obsolete, so does the state. Libertarian institutions for social cooperation within an advanced division of labor economy will have the best opportunity they've ever had.

World Empire, World Chaos, or what?

What's really new?

On 9/11/01 the world's "only remaining superpower" was struck for the very first time on its own home territory. That very specific thing is new. But hijackings have occurred before. And buildings have been bombed before. Indeed the very targets of 9/11 had been targeted roughly a decade before, quite possibly by the same people. And the "terrorist" network thought responsible has conducted successful bombings on a worldwide basis for years.

The process of technological advance and cultural adaptation which is

undercutting the state goes back even further. Advances in food production shifted the economy away from a predominantly agricultural basis in the 1800s. Advances in manufacturing and transportation based on the resulting new labor were seriously underway by the late 1800s. Advances in mass electronic communication rapidly penetrated the world in the 1900s. By the end of the 1900s no nation could thrive economically unless it gave serious freedoms to private entrepreneurs. Each of these advancements has taken its toll on the institution of war.

But a critical degree of change seems to have been reached only recently. With the collapse of the Soviet Union the last serious credibility for centrally planned economies—the “public” use of force to dictate private lives—was lost. Also lost was the related notion, that international relations would inherently be dominated by competition between huge military establishments. Further, the trade barriers fostered by that competition were dropped, opening the floodgates of international trade so wide that they cannot be closed again. Finally, a revolution in mass communications has addicted the major world economies to a worldwide web offering affordable conduits for massive streams of data between random individuals and institutions. Statists are floundering as they attempt to concoct excuses and strategies to roll back these changes.

War is broken.

As Randolph Bourne said in the early 20th Century, “War is the health of the state.” For thousands of years of civilized history, war had been a means by which nations survived. Resources, especially food resources, periodically had become not only scarce but in too small a supply for all living persons to survive. In such emergencies a war, during which a high percentage of the population would die, had been the only means by which the balance of supply and demand could be reestablished. Often the fittest societies (in these terms) had been those which maintained their war skills through preemptive strikes on neighbors even in the absence of an emergency. Such preemptive strikes had also served to cull a potentially overpopulated region by direct or indirect means. In this setting the state, a perma-

nent institution enabling at least remnants of a given society to engage in and survive war, emerged and thrived. (I will not elaborate my case for this interpretation of the origins of the state here, but I refer the reader to my article for *Formulations* on the subject, written a few years ago.)

But war, as it had functioned for civilized societies for thousands of years, “does not work” any more. As the Twentieth Century closed, the primary underpinnings of the institution of war were overcome by technology. Since then adequate food supplies always exist (from a worldwide perspective) to counter death by starvation. Adequate transportation resources, both for short-term emergencies and for longer-term subsidies are also always available. And adequate communication is available to alert the world to any serious food shortage and to inform it of any measures taken to relieve that shortage.

While famine is still possible, in every case it is a result of military opposition to the delivery of emergency supplies by relief agencies—and most persons have enough information to know this as a fact. So the gut-level fear of famine which called on everyone worldwide to find and give fealty to a military protector is also gone. The institution of war has become obsolete, as is its dependent child the state. This is not to say that combat between humans will eventually cease, nor that government—as a system of voluntary mutual defense between persons—is obsolete. But the motivational basis for collectivized combat on a massive scale is gone, and thus the involuntary system of conscripting resources usually called a “state” has lost its ecological niche. As an institution, war is broken.

Non-Geographic Military Realities

The same technology which can deliver food so fast that famine is obsolete can deliver bombs so fast that combat has been warped beyond recognition. On one side of this equation, it has become possible for one super-rich super-power to defeat any traditional standing army. Quickly mobilized, the super-power’s forces can quickly crush any opposing army which dares to adopt the conventional statist military posture. Traditionally a state relates to all other states by putting troops in a line all along its bor-

der, then concentrating some of them at strategic points along (or within reach of) that border where it is in contact with a rival state. Contests between states are then resolved at such key points, the winner being determined by which side can punch through the other side’s border with a concentration of troops aimed at the enemy’s heartland. Given the likelihood of confrontation between a mass of attacking troops and a mass of defenders along the border, each side dresses in distinctive uniforms, allowing troops to easily target an enemy or assist fellow countrymen during a clash. Today, with air power, a super-power can avoid ground contact with an enemy and simply bomb any troop concentrations the enemy begins to gather. Air superiority is all that counts in any conventional war with the superpower, as long as the super-power does not wish to occupy the territory of the defeated enemy.

But on the other side of the equation, technology allows non-conventional soldiers the opportunity to totally bypass the defensive perimeter of any nation, including a super-power. Traditional statist military tactics assume that a state has the most to fear from an organized block of enemy soldiers massed to penetrate the defensive perimeter of the home state. Alert border outposts watch for signs of such an organized expedition, ready to signal the home defense high command to send out a counterforce to repel the invasion. But modern technology allows effective destructive power to be delivered by small groups of individuals. Powerful bombs can be made of easily obtained materials and delivered with easily obtained civilian transportation. If the soldiers are willing to conduct suicide raids and are well trained, some of them will always be able to reach important targets. Only a few soldiers are needed to conduct such operations. Uniforms are counterproductive since the attackers can easily recognize each other but will want to pose as civilians when crossing or moving within the enemy’s border.

Ironically, even a statist superpower is under considerable pressure to operate a relatively free economy. The healthier its economy, the more wealth it can skim towards the goal of dominating the rest of the world, so competition between world-class states has tended to be resolved in favor of the one with the

most free economy. In addition, one of the sources of any super-power's strength in a modern economy will be its foreign trade. Extensive trade routes with economically essential heavy traffic in both manpower and materials will easily provide foreign soldiers with opportunities to smuggle themselves into the super-power's territory. Once inside the super-power, foreign soldiers can quickly find jobs because the super-power's economy is ever hungry for cheap foreign labor. It can quickly find materials because of the super-power's highly advanced retail markets. It can easily send communications because the super-power's own economy requires a quick and relatively uncensored communication grid capable of delivering huge quantities of accurate messages between random points both within and outside its borders. Thus, as a practical matter, the super-power has no effective defense against such attacks save one—it can, indeed it must for its own survival, demotivate any would-be attacker.

Motivation can occur for positive or negative reasons. The enemy of the superpower can be lured into "better" behavior or frightened into it—in theory. But statism is an essentially negative philosophy; the foundation of its power (as discussed above) is negative. Thus statist leaders have avoided demotivating "terrorist" enemies with overtures of friendship, trying instead to find ways to use the tool of fear. And so long as the majority of the citizens of a statist regime are still receptive to statist arguments, the leaders will tend to prefer to try to fight one form of terrorism with another. The real question then, as we try to predict how long statism can maintain itself as the world's dominant ideology, is how long will the citizens of the super-power accept this strategy?

The State is hanging by its fingernails.

Tradition is a strong force in the human species. While humans can adapt culturally to a lost niche far faster than other species can adapt to such losses genetically, the process still proceeds relatively slowly by the standard of a single human lifetime. The speed of culture change is an order of magnitude slower than the speed with which a single human can learn. Some of us will learn (and can profit from) the fact that

the state is obsolete far sooner than this notion is given general acceptance in any major industrial community.

The traditional appeal of the state is re-enforced in most civilized nations by the emphasis most public schools give to sporting events, wherein the average citizen is trained to give blind loyalty to a team which is assigned to the citizen purely on the basis of residence. As years pass, active participation on such teams is seriously discouraged as the most effective players are isolated and the rest assigned roles as spectators. The spectator role is easily transferred to support for national armed forces in time of war. Evidence that this tactic is wearing thin can be found in the increased market for personal fitness products and services, whereby those culled well before the varsity teams were picked can invest time and energy in their own physical condition instead of limiting themselves to rooting for athletes on TV. A similar breakdown in the appeal of traditional sporting events can be seen in the serious competition to them offered by "professional wrestling," a "sport" which is really a dramatic caricature of actual physical confrontation.

Blind loyalty given from citizens to warmongers will take a while to fade, maybe a generation or two (and it may persist in a few small pockets for a while longer). During this time the state's beneficiaries—soldiers, diplomats and various other functionaries—will try to find ways to maintain their dominance. They will try to rekindle in citizens the sense that an unquestioned loyalty to a state is still necessary for their survival. To do so, the state will need those citizens to see enemies. In the absence of a natural need for men to fight each other for survival, the state needs to generate such hostility artificially.

The post-Cold War policies of the USA, which have preceded and promoted the current conflict with Muslim extremists, are an attempt to provide such an artificial conflict. Various acts of terrorism inflicted upon Muslim civilians by US forces and US allies, generally given little coverage by mainstream US news sources, have generated an enemy. A fairly small number of Muslim extremists have responded with violent attacks on US targets. Finally the US has a direct self-defense interest which ordinary citizens can perceive. This has al-

lowed the leaders of the last major imperial state on Earth (allied to varying degrees, at least officially, with most of the other states on the planet) to call for a "war on terrorism." They openly declare that no one will know when the crisis is over—they now have a permanent justification for an endless war.

But, ultimately, this call for war is based on false premises and is doomed to fail. I do not mean to say that "terrorism" will "win." The terrorists follow the same obsolete goal as the USA imperialists, to establish a statist army capable of repelling "foreign" attack. Instead I predict a growing awareness of the lack of practical justification for statist armies, guerrilla or otherwise, anywhere in the world. Ironically, the call to war has kindled an interest in foreign policy for US citizens—who have typically been well trained by public school civics classes to consider the topic a dreadful bore. Modern media, with oceans of air time and bandwidth to fill and a mandate to "cover the war," are forced to include an unprecedented range of viewpoints and sources. Even "alternative" media, while still a small percentage of the whole, are actually fairly extensive and well received—by Cold War standards. "Third World" media are being forced to broaden their coverage as well. Inevitably, the public's level of understanding is rising. The "terrorists" will prove to be less of a threat than they are portrayed to be. The clumsy "retaliation" efforts by US military forces will be shown to be no cure but rather a fuel to "terrorism." A new generation will be educated to ignore both forms of statism (imperial and terrorist) and will simply withhold its support. On both sides, the "sanction of the victim" will be lost.

Yes, traditional appeals for "patriotic revenge" or "jihad" will attract a following for a while. Various skirmishes will continue. But eventually most persons will lose any real feeling that it really must be "them or us." Rather, it will become increasingly clear that "the problem" comes from only a few of "them," working in a twisted symbiosis with a few of "us."

Opportunities

Lacking a natural reason to wage war against their neighbors, former citizens of states will seek other social ar-

rangements with those neighbors. The tendency of most of our species to engage in predominantly *involuntary* relationships (via statist organization) is, in terms of natural history, fairly recent and it has been fairly brief. It's less than 10,000 years old, out of the more than 100,000 thousand years that anatomically modern humans have been around. And while we have the ability to evolve cultures which are based on *negative-sum*, involuntary principles, this is in no way especially "natural" for us. By contrast, humans evolved with and are more generally adapted to social relations which are very modular and very open to voluntary rearrangement, established by decisions made by individuals. In short, we are much more "naturally" suited to libertarianism than to statism.

So what is coming is an opportunity for individuals around the world to discover their natural tendency to be libertarian. And for those individuals who have already done so, but who wish to form new libertarian communities, the ecology is actually getting better. The "New World Order", when it finally resolves (some years from now), will be a libertarian one. The "war on terrorism" is actually hastening the process. Those social institutions which are truly needed and which will be most functional as replacements for war will be libertarian institutions. Those libertarians who seek to plan and establish libertarian nations should embrace the New World Order as their own. They—we—should begin to plan how best to develop the new niche which is emerging.

Of course the biggest opportunities are still largely unavailable. A transition period needs to be negotiated. The leviathan state is still flopping around, like a great white shark out of water. It should be respected for the still dangerous, though dying, creature it is. Innocent blood will yet be spilled before the beast expires. So part of the task of the libertarian nation will be to find ways to stand back while watching the death throes.

Recommendations

Motivated legitimacy is the key.

The New World Order can make libertarianism a growth industry. But more than little libertarian discussion groups will be required to build a libertarian nation. People across the world will be looking for tangible replacements for the state. Some will be doing so overtly, but most will simply have a vague dissatisfaction as long as they do not have an organizing principle to replace statism in

But eventually most persons will lose any real feeling that it really must be "them or us." Rather, it will become increasingly clear that "the problem" comes from only a few of "them," working in a twisted symbiosis with a few of "us."

their lives. Meanwhile, at least for a time, real statist organizations will exist and be seeking to rebuild statist ascendancy. Libertarian communities need to build their own credibility and strength, while avoiding being the targets of both old-style state armies and new-style state terrorists.

The key to the success of a libertarian nation in a world of transition will be in the behavior of those non-libertarians who come in contact with it. The libertarian nation can survive and thrive, while it is small and getting itself established, only if its non-libertarian neighbors allow it to do so. In other words the neighbors must, at least with respect to relations with the libertarians, adopt a libertarian policy of live-and-let-live. Again, the key to the behavior of the non-libertarian neighbors is their motivation.

By "neighbors" I mean not only people who have geographical residences or workplaces near the libertarians, but any people who might come to notice the libertarians and be in a position to interact with them. Such neighbors may include persons who are philosophically

opposed to libertarianism, who are fairly neutral, and who have some degree of good feeling towards the libertarians. I discussed the topic of relations between a libertarian community and its neighbors in an earlier essay for *Formulations*, and do not wish to repeat that analysis here. I do, however, wish to put it in the context of the New World Order.

My basic premise here addresses the motivational challenge presented by non-libertarian neighbors during the transitional phase we have now entered, between the human era of statist civilization and the libertarian era of New World Order:

Libertarians can fill the statist vacuum with positive enterprises which will earn them legitimacy with their neighbors. Such legitimacy will be a libertarian nation's best defense and best marketing tool.

The rest of my essay is a laundry list of tactics which I believe should be

included in the tool kit of libertarian nation builders who believe as I do, that the New World Order should be embraced, not avoided. Other libertarians may form nations along the model of isolationist religious sects who shun communication with an evil world. They have my best wishes, for I am sure they will harm no one with their strategy. But for libertarians who wish to live free and make the most of opportunities I offer the following advice.

Political Recommendations

Arbitration Services: Justice as a Commodity

As the Roman Empire weakened in the West, it became increasingly corrupt. Roman justice had been one of the strongest elements of the Roman system. As Roman justice lost credibility, the bishops of the early Christian church began to offer their services in resolving disputes between citizens. At first only Christians trusted the bishops, but eventually most citizens who had access to this arbitration service—even non-

Christians—gave it credibility. The strength of the Church during the Middle Ages and the success of Christianity in Western Europe stem directly from that credibility, a resource which depended on the consistent moral perspective of the Christian bishops rather than on any military force at their disposal.

On a world scale, there is a similar crisis today regarding a lack of justice. And while the super-power which hopes to become a world empire makes claims about serving “infinite justice,” it has little world-class credibility in this area. Libertarian arbitration services, which could be based on a strong ethical principle—non-initiation of force or fraud—might develop and find markets. Like the early Christians, libertarians could cultivate a tradition where specific individuals within their communities were revered as excellent judges. If this tradition worked well for the libertarians, others might use the libertarian services as well. This would serve several purposes. Of course, the service could become a business, thus strengthening the economy of the libertarian community. But it would also serve to build ties between the libertarian community and its neighbors. And it would enhance the image of the libertarian community. Last but not least, it would inevitably serve to convert some persons to libertarianism.

I believe that a system of libertarian arbitration services, not one monopoly for all libertarians, should be the cornerstone of the entire outreach strategy for a libertarian nation. The arbitration services would need to have good relations with one another. They might form a loose confederation for that purpose. Even without formal relationships governing all services, some network would inevitably develop to handle relations between services.

This same network could be used by non-libertarians and would, in the absence of a state, become a form of “government” (as the term is used by Jefferson in the *Declaration of Independence*) and the primary diplomatic mechanism for the libertarian nation. Within the network individual arbitration enterprises would exist and would need to solicit business. But in addition, a tradition should be cultivated by the libertarian nation’s media through which all citizens within the libertarian nation would actively evangelize non-

libertarians, encouraging them to become familiar with and to use libertarian arbitration services. Other economic interactions with the libertarians would develop out of the positive interactions with the arbitration services. Good will would accrue to the libertarians. The problem of non-libertarian motivation would be solved. (Yes, the libertarians would still have enemies—see *Caveat*, below.)

Education for Justice

If you want Peace, Work for Justice
If you want Justice, Work for Peace

In an earlier essay for *Formulations*, I discussed education in a libertarian nation. What I said there still applies. But a special educational emphasis on the topic of justice will be necessary during the transition from world statism to the New World Order.

Citizens of the libertarian nation should be aware of the many forms which terrorism can take, and the many motivations which can cause persons to become terrorists. For the most part, successful terrorist organizations (those that can sustain themselves as sizable, dangerous organizations or networks across significant periods of time) have an ideology through which they portray themselves as victims of injustice. True, some terrorists are congenitally insane. But “terrorist” organizations do not thrive because they can recruit crazy people nor simply because they try to justify violence. They thrive because they can recruit highly frustrated but sane victims of injustice. In most cases, during the “lifetime” of a terrorist organization, even a fully “successful liberation movement,” most of its members can envision getting justice for their cause and taking up peaceful lives. And in almost all cases, there is eventually an end to any given terrorist organization’s violent period, whereby many of its members do in fact take up peaceful lives, whether or not they perceive justice to have been served. The crazies that remain active are caught, killed or driven back into the woodwork by their now peaceful former comrades who help the “authorities.”

So the motivation of terrorists to be violent is very open to preemption via efforts to provide them with justice. A libertarian nation can make use of this

fact to create a very powerful tool for defense against terrorism. Serious efforts to research and publicize cases of injustice which are fueling the motivations of terrorists should be made by citizens of the libertarian nation. The militias of the libertarian nation should not only teach martial arts, but they should teach justice arts. “Military” exercises should be paralleled with various educational campaigns and other “justice” exercises, both internal and external to the libertarian community, designed to demonstrate support for victims of injustice. Militiamen should be trained to conduct any field operations with respect for basic human rights, so as not to cause more problems than they solve.

The terrorists, to the extent they believe themselves to be victims of injustice, will avoid harming “peace and justice” activists—even when terrorists are willing to threaten or assault “innocent” victims. This is no cure-all, but it is especially true when the activists are well known for their work in this area. Ironically, “anti-terrorist” forces also have some degree of reluctance to attack peace and justice activists (as long as their activities are purely educational).

The libertarian nation should be internationally known as a place where citizens do not approve of initiated force and where citizens actively support, at least verbally, the right to justice of victims of initiated force. Am I saying that each citizen of the libertarian nation should feel a moral obligation to be an activist who works for the rights of non-citizens? Absolutely not. While I do applaud such activity as virtuous, I do not criticize those who refrain from it on moral or any other grounds. Indeed I respect the right of any individual to invoke the “mind your own business” clause, and simply refrain from doing harm. But as a practical matter, I see that a distinct and significant contribution to physical safety would be achieved, if a significant percentage of any libertarian community did things which caused it to be seen as having a culture which actively called for the right to justice of all victims of initiated force.

Propaganda

Ideological Core

Basic explanations of why libertarian philosophy is a good thing should be

readily available to all citizens of the free nation. More than one perspective should be offered, even from the "insider" point of view. (e.g., "natural law" arguments, "theistic" arguments, "pragmatist" arguments.) In addition, special "diplomatic" ideological tracts should be written and made available to citizens which explain how a libertarian community can have positive-sum relations with each of the various ideologies held by non-citizens who are likely to interact with or be affected by the libertarian nation; e. g., "Libertarianism and Christianity," "Libertarianism and Voluntary Socialism," "Libertarianism and Islam," etc.

Good Will Generation

Active efforts to make positive contact with most of the media of the world should exist. A low-key version of "why libertarians are good guys" is presented to the various opinion-makers and trend setters in all forms of media. It should become second nature for international journalists to think that, while they may not be libertarians themselves, a libertarian community is a good thing to have in the world.

Propaganda Agencies

In some manner, it would be highly desirable if the libertarian community developed a tradition of libertarian evangelism which was recognized as virtuous by the vast majority of citizens. As with other jobs within the libertarian community, no one should be forced to pay for this function, nor to conduct or to endure evangelist lectures. It would be philosophically difficult for this function to stem in any direct way from the activities of a security or arbitration service. There should not be a conflict of interest between the physical security forces (or arbitration services) whereby the propaganda agencies were "in house" and thus received better treatment than other customers. Nor should security officers or arbiters be encouraged to give evangelistic lectures as part of their duties.

Instead, advertising agencies (probably not called such overtly) might

form which functioned as evangelists for the libertarian movement. They would probably have to be financed mostly by charitable donations, or subscriptions along the lines of a chamber of commerce. It is possible that most citizens of the libertarian nation would choose to support such agencies.

Anti-Terrorist Militia Training

The most heroic participants of the 9/11 event were the passengers of

Given the nature of states, that they are based on involuntary human relations, most states will at least experiment with the idea of motivating their enemies with threats.

United Airlines Flight 93, which crashed in Pennsylvania. This is not to make light of the fire and police forces who entered the World Trade Center only to die in an attempt to save lives, or any of the many other honorable efforts to react to the tragedy. The firemen at the WTC knowingly faced real life-threatening danger to be sure, and as it turned out many of them did die. But the passengers of that plane were not professional police. Yet they risked their lives (indeed they all died) in order to physically prevent the hijackers from using their plane as a bomb. That bomb, if the hijackers had been able to deploy it as planned, would certainly have killed everyone on the plane, but could easily have killed many times that number of innocent persons on the ground as well. The passengers formed a spontaneous militia which successfully saved those additional innocent lives.

In the New World Order, the citizens of a libertarian nation should have the skills to form such an anti-terrorist militia spontaneously and efficiently. Overt, well-publicized training of citizens on how to resist would-be terrorist kidnappers should be available to all citizens. Such training should include both mar-

tial arts and hostage negotiation skills. The training should include simulations of a wide range of possible conflicts with terrorists, ranging from one-to-one encounters, through group encounters between small groups of citizens and a "motorcycle gang" sized group of terrorists, through more traditional "military" and or "diplomatic" operations of the sort Bosnian citizens found themselves conducting in the late 20th Century when faced by Serbian militia. Citizens should be able to visualize what they would do if they were assaulted, possibly over a significant period of time, possibly without adequate weapons or any outside support.

Positive Corruption

For decades, prior to the fall of the Soviet Union, hundreds of the best KGB agents were stationed overseas at any one time, along with the diplomats at Soviet embassies. Over

time both diplomats and spies were rotated back to assignments at home and others took their places. Later many of these top agents, who had been exposed to western capitalism firsthand, were promoted to leadership positions. By the time of the fall of the Soviet system, many if not most of the leaders of their system knew first-hand that almost everyone in the West fared better economically than all but the highest paid Soviet bureaucrats and party leaders. This was one reason, perhaps a major reason, why the Soviet system fell.

As a libertarian nation considers its posture relative to Imperial foreign agents, or even with regard to "terrorists," the Soviet pattern should be remembered. Foreign nationals, some of whom will have come to spy on the libertarian nation, should be embraced whenever possible, so as to show them the advantages that the libertarian system has to offer to individuals. Some of these people may defect to the libertarian system overtly, and change their citizenship. Others, hopefully, will go back home, become successful leaders in their homeland, and corrupt it in a libertarian direction.

Diplomatic Realities

Given the nature of states, that they are based on involuntary human relations, most states will at least experiment with the idea of motivating their enemies with threats. The demand “you’re either with us or against us” has been heard a lot. This is a cry for help, uttered in desperation. It is never to be taken seriously by citizens of a libertarian nation. Libertarians should actively avoid an alliance with anyone who utters it. Obviously the enemy of my enemy is not always my enemy. Nor is neutrality a hostile act. If, say, [given world dynamics as I write this] both Pakistan and India, two nuclear powers, make this claim of the USA, the USA cannot invoke “you’re either with us or against us,” without fear of being forced to choose sides in the Kashmir conflict. Are the Muslim rebels in Indian-held Kashmir freedom fighters, or terrorists, or both?

So too, the libertarian sovereignty when asked, “you’re either with us or against us, which is it?” must refuse to make an all-or-none commitment to any other sovereignty. Not even another libertarian sovereignty has a right to demand such a choice. The New World Order will indeed be quite orderly once it is fully established, but that order will not be based on commands given and received in fear. It will be based on mutual self-interested alliances between individuals and groups. These alliances will in some cases be very stable and long lasting. In other cases they will be very transient. Probably no more or no less “order” will be achieved than was the case in past societies. After all, black market forces were always very important, even critical, to civilization. But both the order and the disorder which is achieved (yes, disorder can be an achievement—a good thing) will be much more voluntary. And far less energy will need to be spent by entrepreneurs and consumers in hiding their choices from one another or from “security” interests.

Economic Recommendations

There is no need for me to discuss the need for economic freedom in a libertarian society per se, since this topic has been developed in detail as a part of the existing literature of the libertarian movement. Hopefully the reader will be

very familiar with the notion that economic freedoms will enhance the economic fortunes of the citizens of a libertarian nation. However I would like to emphasize that economic freedoms will also add to the security of the libertarian nation in the New World Order.

By the term “freedom” I mean more than the lack of legal restriction often referred to as “civil liberties.” I also mean wide and inexpensive access to various forms of economic activity. In this sense the notion of “freedom” is not a “right” which can be granted or recognized politically, but rather an economic flexibility. Such freedoms would not stem in any direct way from the activities of a security service or arbitration service. To the extent they were a result of a coordinated effort within the libertarian community, beyond the efforts of the entrepreneurs who directly provided these “freedoms,” that effort would be made by such groups as a chamber of commerce, or the even vaguer “coordination” which might be found amongst various other trade networks, or even “propaganda agencies” (mentioned above) within the libertarian community. So it is to the trade associations and propaganda agencies that I direct the following advice. My advice to them is to develop and encourage the notion I elaborate below, that these “freedoms” are important components of the libertarian nation’s defense system.

Freedom of Communication

The physical ability to communicate is an economic good (more properly, it is typically provided as a service). The political value to a libertarian community of widespread, cheap and convenient communication systems is immense. The more libertarians can communicate with one another, the more they can coordinate political objectives. These objectives may be diplomatic, military, or other concerns. Additionally, there should be a great deal of “freedom” for citizens to communicate with persons outside the libertarian nation. Sometimes this will be communication with libertarian friends, allies or non-resident citizens of the libertarian nation who are working on the same projects as citizens inside the libertarian nation. Other times, citizens will be communicating with “foreigners.” Still other times, resident non-citizens will be

communicating with their fellows in foreign lands. The more people communicate, the better the “market” for ideas will function. Truth is best served by this “market” being healthy and active. In this way the facts about the libertarian nation will be made known to more and more persons worldwide. It will be increasingly clear that the libertarian nation is not organized as a state, nor is it fostering a climate of fear and/or initiated force. In short, it is not the sort of social force which fosters terrorism or statism—not the sort of threat which states were invented to defend against. So it will be hard for either terrorist leaders or state leaders to try to mobilize a following to attack the libertarian nation.

Financial Freedom

One way for an attack on a libertarian nation to occur would be for its enemies to try to block or disrupt financial transactions. Such an attack could come from either “anti-terrorist” forces or “terrorists.” Financial “freedom” is a defense against such attacks. By financial “freedom” I mean that alternative currencies and banking systems should be available to the libertarian community.

Ironically the “war on terrorism” is stimulating the market for trace-proof banking and for alternative currencies. Thus the technology of free banking will probably be advanced even faster than it otherwise would have been. Yet despite the many illegal and immoral uses such vehicles can be put to, there are always legitimate reasons why honest people want and need privacy. The libertarian nation’s citizens should be able to enter this market on a low-key basis, blend in, and thrive.

It would be best if there were many banks and multiple currencies in use within the libertarian nation itself. It would also be best that there be at least one currency and one banking system commonly used which is not dependent on any one physical location, or is based at a physical location outside the borders of the libertarian nation. I predict that a free market will tend to provide this structure anyway. But that market should be encouraged and well defended by ethical and propaganda systems which point to its value both in economic terms and in defense terms.

Freedom of Transportation

“Freedom” of transportation, by which I mean widespread, cheap and convenient transportation systems, would provide the libertarian nation with similar defense value to the defense provided by “freedom” of communication. This is partly because transportation enhances opportunities for communication. But other advantages exist. If no one feels trapped in the libertarian nation, there would be less likelihood that an enemy would seek to corner them there. If goods and services could be sent and received easily, more trade would ensue and the good will of the libertarian nation would be enhanced.

Virtual is virtuous.

I have argued before that a libertarian nation does not need to be located in some single province—that it could be an alliance of persons who reside in scattered locations, who are not neighbors in the geographic sense. Such an arrangement could exist as a “virtual nation.”

To some extent this form of organization is vital to any human organization. Informal associations form the core of all formal organizations. They are essential to the enforcement of any formal law or contract. But they can exist without any formal association to back them up.

Effective alliances of this sort have existed throughout humanity. International corporations function this way today. In the Middle Ages, in Europe, the system of the Law Merchant was organized to provide a justice which transcended national boundaries—based solely on ostracism as a sanction. Greek and Phoenician merchant networks explored and settled the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts. Before them, traders developed regular working relations with each other along the shores of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. It is hard to tell how formal the associations of ancient traders were. Anthropological studies of preliterate peoples from the islands off Southeast Asia can suggest various sys-

tems which might have been used. But clearly they respected each other’s property rights enough to engage in regular trade. And just as clearly no imperial navies existed to police the oceans. Yet trade relations were maintained across hundreds of miles of sea routes. They were dependent on predictable voluntary mutual respect based on mutual self-interest. And this is a form of government (again in the Jeffersonian tradition), a virtual government.

Effective alliances of this sort have existed throughout humanity. International corporations function this way today. In the Middle Ages, in Europe, the system of the Law Merchant was organized to provide a justice which transcended national boundaries—based solely on ostracism as a sanction.

Such voluntary trade relationships will become more common and more overt in the New World Order. Most readers will be thinking by now that successful “terrorist” organizations operate well without a territorial base. Many criminal syndicates have operated this way for years. So do the social networks patronized by the rich and powerful—even when these persons are not engaged in criminal activity. But while the rich and powerful have continued to use “good old boy” networks, fraternal associations, and other virtual organizational tools, they have backed public policies which encouraged most citizens to avoid these tools (as I discussed in an earlier issue of *Formulations*). Part of the process of liberation which will cultivate the New World Order is the rediscovery, by the average citizens of industrial societies, of the value of virtual government. Libertarians, both in and out of a new

libertarian nation, need to be at the forefront of this rediscovery.

Caveat

Still not a utopia—never said it would be.

As I said earlier, even with the best of plans, the libertarian entrepreneur must still contend with the fact that a dying leviathan is flopping around dangerously with its last strength. And beyond that there are still truly crazy people

who can and will harm innocent persons who happen to be near them. But at least some random danger has always been a problem for humans—and will very probably continue to be a concern, no matter how libertarian human societies become. This is not just a byproduct of the human condition. It is a fact of life. The interesting times we live in will generate strange and exotic dangers as do all major changes in culture or ecology. And whatever stable state emerges—no matter how stable it actually is—will contain random danger as well. So I do not advise libertarians to

assume that unprecedented new opportunities for libertarians equates with an end to life’s inherently risky nature.

Given that, it’s still a great time to be a libertarian entrepreneur. This fact will not be in the headlines of the mainstream media. But then the best new opportunities never are until they’ve already been partially developed by insightful entrepreneurs. Go for it. Δ

Phil Jacobson has been an activist and student of liberty in North Carolina since the early 1970s. For a living he sells used books, used CDs, and used video games.

Operation Atlantis & the Radical Libertarian Alliance: Observations of a Fly on the Wall

by Roy Halliday

We are not to expect to be translated from despotism to liberty in a featherbed.—Thomas Jefferson

In the late 1960s and early 1970s I simultaneously participated in the movement to establish a libertarian nation outside the USA and the campaign to stand and fight against the tyranny of the Nixon administration. Like Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin, I was on the leading edge in more than one field. Unlike Jefferson and Franklin, who were great men who accomplished great things, I was an unimportant, part-time member of the choir—too timid to stick my neck out and possessed of talents better suited to be an aficionado than a star performer.

How I Became the Second “Immigrant” to Atlantis

In 1968, I was a young libertarian (of the Rothbardian-anarcho-capitalist persuasion) working for IBM as a technical writer and trying hard to stay out of the army and Vietnam. I was paying \$85 per month for a small, roach-infested apartment attached to a liquor store next the railroad tracks on Albany Avenue in Kingston, NY. (A few years later the building was condemned, razed, hauled away, and not replaced.) Somehow, probably because I subscribed to every libertarian magazine or newsletter in existence at that time, I came across a notice about an organization called Operation Atlantis that was working to create a libertarian country. The address for more information was in Saugerties, NY, which is the next town north of Kingston. I was intrigued.

I contacted Operation Atlantis and arranged to meet Werner Stiefel, who was the man in charge. Mr. Stiefel turned out to be a respectable businessman in his late 40s who was an admirer

of Ayn Rand, but who had discovered her cult too late in life to lose the habits of thinking for himself and being tolerant of people with different opinions. He lived with his wife and family in a big house near one of the labs of the international pharmaceutical company that he and his brother owned. The lab was about 25 minutes by car from Saugerties, NY.

Mr. Stiefel explained to me that the first stage of Operation Atlantis was to recruit libertarians to work with him on the project. As part of this stage, he bought the Sawyerkill Motel in Saugerties and renamed it the Atlantis—Sawyerkill Motel (or “Atlantis I” in the parlance of Operation Atlantis). His idea was to use the motel and the few acres of land with it as a staging ground and as a place where recruits could live near each other in a proprietary community and work on the project in their free time. He chose this location because it was easy to commute from it north to the Stiefel lab or west to the Rotron facility in Woodstock or south to the large IBM plants in Kingston and Poughkeepsie. He already had one recruit living in the motel—a full-blooded Randian named Phil Coates, whom Stiefel had recently hired to work for his pharmaceutical company. Stiefel also had a long-time employee who was interested in Operation Atlantis. I met the man one day when Mr. Stiefel took me on a tour of his lab. I think his name was Paul Rehm. He was a LeFevreian-pacifist libertarian.

Mr. Stiefel showed me one of the rooms in the motel and offered to install a small refrigerator and electric range and rent it (the room) to me for \$90 per month. My sheets and towels would be changed every week. The room was clean, air-conditioned, and only a 15-minute drive on a scenic, country road

to my job at the IBM plant in Kingston. So I accepted the offer and became the second “immigrant” to Atlantis.

As part of the recruitment program, Mr. Stiefel published a semi-monthly newsletter called *The Atlantis News*. Stories in the *News* were often full of “hype” designed to make Operation Atlantis seem larger and more exciting than it actually was. Mr. Stiefel formed one corporation after another and announced in the newsletter that these companies had joined Operation Atlantis. Mr. Stiefel supplied all the funding and most of the energy that went into Operation Atlantis. As far as I could tell it was basically a one-man show made to look like a movement. The Atlantis Trading Company, the Atlantis Publishing Company, the Atlantis Development Corporation, and the Atlantis Commodity Purchasing Service, were all Werner Stiefel. So too was Warren Stevens, the author of *Operation Atlantis* and editor of *The Atlantis News*. I believe he preferred to do most of the work himself so that he could maintain control and make sure things got done.

The first issue of *The Atlantis News*, which announced the launching of “Atlantis I” (the motel), was published on September 6, 1968. That issue also announced the creation of the Atlantis Development Corporation, which owned the motel, and the Atlantis Publishing Company, which published the newsletter and soon would publish *The Story of Operation Atlantis*.

The story of my immigration to “Atlantis I” was published in the November 1, 1968, issue. It accurately reports facts about my history from high school through college, my job at IBM, and the influence of Jack Schwartzman and Murray Rothbard on my thinking. However, the article greatly inflated my interest (which was close to zero) in the newly formed Atlantis Trading Company, which was going to sell sterling silver Deca coins (the basic monetary unit of Atlantis), ship-wheel lapel buttons (the “Atlantis Freedom Symbol” to serve an identification role like the dollar-sign emblem worn by Randians in those days), freedom bumper stickers, bars of soap, and other items.

The Story of Operation Atlantis

The November 15, 1968 issue of *The Atlantis News* announced that the Atlantis Development Corporation was about

to expand the "Atlantis I" site by purchasing a two-bedroom brick house on an acre of land adjacent to the motel. This would allow a family with children to join the first stage of Operation Atlantis. That same issue also announced that page proofs of *The Story of Operation Atlantis* had been received from the printer and printed copies of the booklet would be available within a few days. Werner gave me the type-written manuscript to keep as a souvenir. I still have it in my files.

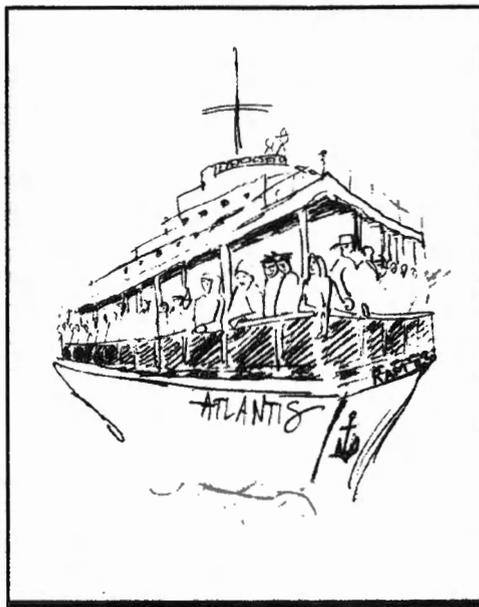
The Story of Operation Atlantis is a clear and logical plea to libertarians to create a new country for ourselves and let the socialists keep the USA. It's like John Galt's speech in *Atlas Shrugged* after a good editor got hold of it and deleted the preachy mumbo-jumbo and redundancy and translated most of the rest from Rand-speak into standard American-English. It shows that Werner Stiefel considered all the moral issues, financial issues, and pitfalls involved in such a radical project and that he is good at analyzing problems and coming up with reasonable solutions.

The original plan for Operation Atlantis consisted of three stages: (1) gather libertarians in a single location (the motel) "where they can work together to build an integrated community" and prepare the way for the next stage, (2) acquire an ocean vessel and declare it to be an independent nation while in international waters, and (3) create "an artificial island as close to the shores of the U.S. as international law will permit and Uncle Sam will tolerate." Each of these stages was designed to make a profit for the initial investors and to ultimately be self-supporting. By establishing Atlantis as a proprietary community inhabited only by individuals who voluntarily agree to the terms of their lease contracts, Stiefel endowed it with a limited government that does not violate the non-aggression principle, thereby making Atlantis acceptable to both limited-government libertarians and anarcho-libertarians.

Atlantis Freedom Forums

As part of the recruitment program, Stiefel advertised that Operation Atlantis held Freedom Forums in the lobby of the motel every Sunday. I missed the January 19, 1969, meeting when Erwin

Strauss, who later wrote the book *How to Start Your Own Country*, described his idea for ocean-worthy floating platforms. I may have missed some of the other Sunday visitors because I often went away on weekends to visit friends in New York City and relatives in Connecticut, New Jersey, and Long Island.



It is my impression that on most Sundays nobody showed up. I only remember meeting two groups of visitors during the two years I lived at "Atlantis I."

Mario Rizzo and Jerry O'Driscoll Jr. drove up from New York City one weekend to visit me and to check out the place. (They were undergraduate students at Fordham University at the time, and I knew them already from get-togethers at Rothbard's apartment in Manhattan. They both went on to get PhDs and to become prominent scholars in the field of Austrian economics.) I think I took them to my favorite watering hole, the Cafe Espresso on Tinker Street in Woodstock, for a few drinks.

The other group that I recall meeting was a contingent of ten members of the Society for Rational Individualism who drove up from Maryland. They were led by Jarret Wollstein who published *The Rational Individualist* magazine, wrote one of the first booklets (*Society without Coercion*) to explain anarcho-capitalism, and helped to found the Society for Individual Liberty. Phil Coates got along well with them, but they were too reverential to Ayn Rand for my taste.

"The Animal" Becomes the Third "Immigrant"

Another visitor who came the same weekend (December 21–22, 1968) as the contingent from Maryland was Myles Lieberman, who flew in from Los Angeles. Stiefel offered Myles a job as a management trainee at Stiefel Laboratories. A few weeks later Myles became the third immigrant to Atlantis.

Myles was reported to be a follower of Andrew Galambos rather than Ayn Rand. The good thing about the Galambosians is that they respect his ownership of his ideas so much that they don't talk about them lest they infringe on his rights. You have to pay to find out what Galambos' philosophy is, which few people are willing to do, so it is destined to always be marginal at best. As far as I could tell from his behavior, Myles had an eclectic philosophy that embraced as many cutting-edge, radical, anarchistic, science-fictional, California ideas as possible. He was a close friend of Durk Pearson and Sandy Shaw, who later wrote best selling books on life extension. He believed LSD would bring about love and world peace. He was full of enthusiasms, which caused him to come in conflict with the forbidding Randians involved in Operation Atlantis. So he hung out with me because I was more tolerant, even though I was socially conservative. I nicknamed him "The Animal," and soon everybody in the Rothbard circle was calling him that. Rather than fight it, he started referring to himself as "The Animal."

Operation Atlantis Seeks a Caribbean Island

On January 4, 1969, *The New York Times* published a story about a court ruling by a judge in Florida that prohibited Louis M. Ray, Acme General Contractors, and the Atlantis Development Corporation (not Stiefel's company of the same name) from building a new country on top of coral reefs off the coast of Florida. Stiefel reprinted the story in the January 17, 1969 issue of *The Atlantis News* along with a revision of the Operation Atlantis work plan. Stiefel wrote:

From Judge Fulton's decision it is logical to infer that Uncle Sam will tolerate no new offshore nation which utilizes existing reefs or other

natural structures. Furthermore, it is reasonable to project that the Feds would use the “security of our nation” doctrine as an excuse to move against *any* off-shore nation that they felt was “too close”—international law and the “open seas” principle notwithstanding.

To accommodate the court ruling without giving up on the objective of obtaining an off-shore location close enough to reach the U.S. mainland via a short hydrofoil ride, Stiefel amended the plan for Operation Atlantis by adding step IA, between steps I and II. Step IA would be the purchase of a remote island or sandbar, “with independent sovereignty as part of the contract, for the purpose of (1) establishing a subsidized colony, (2) running up the flag, and (3) gaining recognition.” The Stage II ship would then sail under the flag of this new country, and construction of the Stage III platform, as close as possible to the U.S., would be an undertaking of the new sovereign country. Stiefel, in this unsigned article, promised that the Atlantis Development Corporation would purchase a suitable island before the end of 1969.

In March 1969, Stiefel flew down to the Caribbean to look for a suitable island for Stage IA.

Meanwhile Back at the Revolution...

My contribution to Operation Atlantis, in addition to giving it moral support by living in the motel, consisted of writing a few articles for *The Atlantis News*. My first piece, published in the March 7, 1969 issue, was a letter to the editor in which I defended Murray Rothbard’s support for revolution in response to Werner Stiefel’s February 7, 1969 report on Rothbard’s speech at the first Libertarian Forum, which was held at the Great Shanghai Restaurant in New York on January 31. Stiefel was appalled by the idea of violence, even for a worthy goal such as liberty.

Revolutionary talk was common in those days because of the war in Vietnam, the draft, and the rise of the New Left. In the April 18, 1969 issue of the *News*, I reported on the speech given by Karl Hess at the second Libertarian Forum (on April 11) in which he urged libertarians to ally with the New Left. In the May 16, 1969 issue (published about three weeks late), I reported on Leonard

Liggio’s speech at the third Libertarian Forum (on May 17) in which he outlined the history of the New Left. I concluded my summary of Liggio’s talk this way:

Because the New Left lacks ideology it is not consistently against the State. Most of them are only situationally against the State and could be co-opted back into the establishment like the Old Left. Another basic flaw in the New Left is that the great majority of their scholars and theoreticians are Old Guard types who will try to bring them back into the mainstream. If this is to be prevented the New Left must be presented with a consistent anti-state ideology which can only be provided by libertarians.

My report made Mr. Stiefel uncomfortable, so he appended this caveat:

The Atlantis News occasionally publishes reports of events which shed light on the state of Liberty in the U.S. and other parts of the world. Such reporting does not necessarily imply our endorsement. For the record, we are diametrically opposed to “action without ideology” and to the initiation of force against innocent people.—Ed.

What I left out of my report was that the Radical Libertarian Alliance was born on May 17 right after the Libertarian Forum, and that I was one of its founding members. The purpose of the RLA was to put the ideas expressed in the Libertarian Forums into action by assembling groups of radical libertarians, on college campuses and elsewhere across the country, who would attempt to steer the New Left in a libertarian direction by joining forces with them in opposition to war, imperialism, conscription, and other areas where the New Left was already on our side.

Murray Rothbard lauded the creation of the RLA in the June 1, 1969 issue of *The Libertarian*. Jerry Tuccille depicted the RLA less propagandistically in his 1971 book *It Usually Begins with Ayn Rand*, where he described us as “a clique of porcine revolutionaries.” I was not porcine then (as I am now), but the adjective fit Murray Rothbard, Roy Childs, Karl Hess, and some of the others, and I agree with Tuccille’s assessment that, “A barroom full of inebriated wire lathers taking time out from a foot-

ball game could have wiped them out in a single encounter.”

Tuccille’s realistic appraisal of our fighting prowess did not prevent him from joining the RLA. He became a contributor to and eventually editor-in-chief of our magazine *The Abolitionist* and of our follow-on magazine *Outlook*. It didn’t matter that we couldn’t hurt a fly. We were propagandists and theoreticians for a libertarian revolution rather than front-line troops. I supported the idea of revolution in theory just as I supported the free-haven idea of Operation Atlantis and as I still support the Libertarian Nation Foundation—which is not the same thing as believing that the conditions are right for these ideas to prevail.

The Preform Movement

In March of 1969, Stiefel reported on his trip to Los Angeles where he learned about the rise and fall of the Preform movement, which, he thought, was remarkably similar to Operation Atlantis, was well organized, made highly professional presentations to much larger audiences than Operation Atlantis, and yet failed.

Stiefel sought to learn from the failure of Preform and to avoid making their mistakes. In his analysis there were three reasons why Preform failed: (1) there was too much disagreement among the members as to nature and size of government the new country should have (we have the same problem within the Libertarian Nation Foundation), (2) they overestimated the number of libertarians who would be willing to actively work for a new country, and (3) they didn’t have enough capital to finance the project. To avoid these pitfalls, Stiefel advocated a policy of starting out on a small scale, which doesn’t require a meeting of many minds, the work of many hands, or the raising of much capital. The existing Atlantis Development Corporation (Stiefel) had enough money to buy a small island. Initially, the company would own the island and would make land “available to newcomers only on a long-term lease basis, the terms of the contract being the only ‘law’ the lessee will have to obey. As far as the outside world is concerned, the officers and board of directors of the Corporation will be the ‘government.’ Anyone who at that point wishes equity participation in Atlantis IA can do so by buying stock

in the Company. This device avoids all the altercation about the proper way to 'govern' a country, yet presents to the world the 'duly constituted authority' which it requires for recognition."

On April 4, 1969, *The Atlantis News* printed a letter from Tom Marshall, which corrected some of the statements that Stiefel made about Preform. It never tried to create a new country or to raise capital for such a project, so it is not correct to say that it failed. Preform was more like Stage I of Operation Atlantis (or like FNF or LNF) in that it "was essentially a study group to examine the feasibility and do advance planning of a laissez-faire freeport At accomplishing this it was generally successful. After two years most participants concluded that such a 'Free Isle' was probably not feasible. ... The single most important reason for not proceeding with implementation—not mentioned in your article—was the increasing harassment and threats of the U.S. and other major governments against international movements of capital, people and goods, on which 'Free Isles' (as conceived) would depend. ... present-day activities under the name 'Preform' concern self-liberation through neo-nomadic living, not the freeport development."

Land Ho!

In the March 21, 1969 issue of *The Atlantis News*, Stiefel reported that he had found a possible site for Atlantis IA: Two uninhabited cays in the Caribbean Sea that are easily accessible from the U.S. and that are part of the territory of a weak and impoverished nation which places little value on them. Stiefel met the governor and most of the legislators and came back with the opinion that they might lease the cays but would not sell them. Then he reported that leasing might be better anyway because "Their [the bureaucrats'] sense of contractual responsibility is limited, and they might very well accept our purchase money and then repudiate the sale a few years later—conveniently forgetting to refund the purchase price. With a lease, the regular annual payments make their benefits highly visible and continuing." One undesirable aspect of this arrange-

ment is that we would have to settle for dependency status rather than outright sovereignty.

In the May 16, 1969 issue Stiefel announced that he had made a formal proposal to the government of whose territory his prospective Stage IA site is a part. In the June 6 issue he announced that he was in the process of establishing residency in the Bahamas. In the July 18, 1969 issue, Stiefel announced the name and location of the islands he was

In the summer of 1970,
I was seriously considering
fleeing to a more free country
to escape slavery
in the United States

trying to lease for Stage IA. They are the Prickly Pear cays located six miles northwest of Anguilla in the British West Indies.¹

The August 1, 1969 issue (published about four weeks late) announced that plans for the first building on Atlantis IA had been completed. Such plans, though admittedly premature, were required by local law before foreigners could purchase land. In the September 19 issue, Stiefel announced plans to rent a house on Anguilla as a base camp.

At some point during my stay at "Atlantis I," Werner offered to pay me to write a prospectus for the Atlantis Development Corporation. He showed me a prospectus for another company that I could use as a model. It was a thick document full of legal and financial terminology. I declined the offer on the grounds of incompetence. Eventually, he got Spencer MacCallum to write the part of the prospectus that would be the lease contract between the Atlantis Development Corporation and residents of Atlantis III.

Report from the Home Front

In the same issue in which Stiefel reported about the base camp in Anguilla, I reported on the two-day libertarian conference at the Hotel Diplomat in Manhattan. Karl Hess praised the Black Panthers in his address on Saturday night. Murray Rothbard was critical

of them on Sunday afternoon, which provoked student activist Wilson Clark Jr. to stir up emotions by saying that only the Left confronts the state, and while they are heroically risking life and limb, the right-wing libertarians fret about the theoretical purity of those who protest oppression. Tempers and voices rose and the assemblage splintered into several factions, each denouncing the others. The leftists complained that the right-wing libertarians are not really

radicals: they don't regard the state as the enemy, and, in fact, are more concerned with fighting alien ideologies than with abolishing the state. I reported that:

The reason for this impotence, they claim, is that many of them got their libertarianism via Ayn Rand who refuses to give her moral sanction to any

person or group that disagrees with any of her opinions. Accordingly, the people must first be made disciples before they can be condoned.

Rothbard argued that we need to radicalize libertarians so they can work with left-wing activists, provide them with correct theoretical justifications for their opposition to government policies, and prevent them from engaging in "left-wing adventurism." But, as Rothbard reported in the November 1 issue of *The Libertarian Forum*, "Goaded beyond endurance by the right-wing's attack on the very concept and morality of revolution, not only the ultra-left but even the bulk of the center responded swiftly and emotionally to the cry of 'On to Ft. Dix!' It was as if, after defending the very concept of action against the State, the center and left felt that they had to rush out and seize the opportunity for any action whatever." Rothbard's Leninist plea for forethought, strategic insight, tactical timing, and sanity persuaded many centrists to remain at the conference, but did not stop Karl Hess and a score of left-wing anarchists from going to New Jersey to join the march on Ft. Dix. Several of them returned in tears a few hours later to scream at us for staying in New York instead of manning the barricades. In conclusion, I wrote:

Such things as "liberating" parks and

public buildings may be justified by the homesteading principle, but they may still be foolhardy. This point seemed to have been validated Sunday when those libertarians who participated in the peaceful attempt to "liberate" Ft. Dix got tear-gassed. The important final panel discussion of the Libertarian Conference—"What is to be done?"—was aborted as a result of the Ft. Dix caper which led to rumors of an imminent FBI raid.

The Atlantis News Proves the New-Left's Point

In the March 6, 1970 issue of *The Atlantis News*, Werner Stiefel published a favorable review of Nathaniel Branden's book *The Psychology of Self-Esteem* in spite of the fact that Branden had by then been condemned by Ayn Rand. This provoked Phil Coates, the first immigrant to Atlantis, to write the following letter to the editor.

In your issue of March 6 you recommend Nathaniel Branden's book *The Psychology of Self-Esteem*.

Given the fact that Mr. Branden by his own admission maintained a policy of dishonesty toward Ayn Rand and others while advocating and teaching (in the essays which comprise the above book, among other places) that one should not fake reality in any manner whatsoever, my policy is that I will not give Mr. Branden the sanction and support of dealing with him and his knowing representatives.

Instead of shrugging off this pettiness and moving on, Stiefel published a long editorial in the April 17 issue to defend his reading of Branden's book. This is a good example of Randians showing their priorities. They spend more time and ink excommunicating one another from their sect than they do protesting war, imperialism, and oppression.²

Operation Atlantis Opens Two More Fronts

Stiefel found out that the cays he wanted to buy are owned jointly by about 36 individuals, divided into five family lines represented by elders. By November 1969, he had succeeded in getting agreement from all five spokesmen to sell the cays to the Atlantis De-

velopment Corporation for \$100,000. But the sale of land to a foreign company cannot be consummated until the government issues a purchase permit, and the bureaucrats involved were better at making excuses than decisions.

Rather than idly waiting a year or more for the bureaucracy to act, Stiefel began to investigate the possibility of starting a shoal landfill (also called a Texas-tower) and the possibility of building a floating platform as alternative ways to create a free nation. The December 5, 1969 issue of *The Atlantis News* (published three weeks late) reported on Dr. William Nierenberg's design for floating platforms, which "raises breathtaking possibilities for Operation Atlantis ... we could leap-frog all the intermediate stages and have freedom, sovereignty and independence immediately."

The January 16, 1970 issue announced that Operation Atlantis had retained "an outstanding professor of international law to advise us on avoiding trouble with Big Brother and other governments, if we should, for example, want to anchor a floating island 50 miles beyond the U.S. continental shelf." Unfortunately, the professor's work load made it necessary for him to resign on April 18.

The February 20, 1970 issue announced that several areas of shallow water had been located that would be suitable for a shoal-landfill project. That issue also included a solicitation by the Atlantis Development Corporation for a manager of the shoal-landfill project. On May 3, 1970, Werner Stiefel and six other men formed a new company to create an artificial island in the Caribbean. Also in May, Werner Stiefel and Thurlow Weed made a survey trip to two of the proposed sites for Atlantis III, took aerial photographs of the sites, and found a charter-boat captain "crazy enough to be willing to take his vessel into these dangerous shoal waters."

Multitasking for Personal Freedom

In the summer of 1970, I was seriously considering fleeing to a more free country to escape slavery in the United States. But I wasn't thinking of moving south to an island in the Caribbean. Instead, Canada was beginning to look very attractive to me. You see, I had more reasons than Werner Stiefel did for seeking a safe haven. Uncle Sam had

taken a personal interest in my future. He wanted to make a soldier out of me and ship me to South Vietnam to prevent America from being overrun by the communists, or to get our POWs and MIAs back, or whatever.

I had managed to get deferments from the draft up to this time (four years of student deferments while I was in college and two and a half years of occupational deferments for having a "critical" job as a technical writer for IBM—I believe I hold the record for the most months of occupational deferments at IBM, but that's another story). Now the Nixon administration needed more young men for the Vietnam war. So they instituted a lottery to select inductees. This turned out to be a brilliant move. Not only did it simplify the selection process and give them all the soldiers they needed, it also drained energy from the anti-war movement.

The first draft lottery, which pertained to conscriptions for the year 1970, worked like this: All men between the ages of 19 and 26 who had not already served in the armed forces and did not have deferments were included in the lottery. (Subsequent lotteries would be held each year thereafter for those who had turned 19 or lost their deferments since the previous lottery.) Three-hundred and sixty-six capsules with a different day of the year printed on a piece of paper inside each one were put into a glass bowl, scrambled, and withdrawn one at a time. The order in which the days of the year were pulled out became the order in which young men with corresponding birthdays would be called by their local draft board to report for pre-induction physicals. All those who passed their physical examinations would be inducted into the army—no excuses. It was widely known that most local draft boards would be able to meet their quotas from the first 135 or so birthdays pulled out of the bowl.

The drawing was held on December 1, 1969. It was televised live across the USA and watched by most of the young men who were at risk. Those who were lucky enough to have their birthday pulled out after 150 or so others could breathe a sigh of relief because they no longer had to worry about being drafted and sent to Vietnam. Most of these winners immediately stopped complaining about the injustice of the draft and the cruelty of war.³

As the dates were being pulled out of the bowl, I noticed a trend that made me realize it was a mistake on my part to have been born in December. Of the first 78 birthdays selected, 12 were December birthdays. My birthday (December 25) was the 84th out of the bowl, which mean I could expect to be called up for a pre-induction physical in the summer of 1970 unless I could get another deferment.

On May 1, 1970, I was classified 1-A, which meant I no longer had a deferment and I could be ordered to report at any time. I got IBM to send a letter to my local draft board. I followed this up on June 8 by sending a letter in which I wrote, "My employer, IBM, has submitted for your consideration a letter (June 2) confirming my present status as an Associate Writer-Programmer working on Advanced Programming Systems. Surely I can't be less valuable with three years experience than two. I hereby appeal for renewal of my 2-A classification."

Back in the winter of 1966-67 and the spring on 1967, when I was in my final semester of college, I exchanged correspondence with the personnel department of the Canadian Pacific Railroad and with the Canadian Department of Citizenship and Immigration. But my interest in Canada suddenly waned when I received employment and occupational-deferment offers from IBM. Now, three years later, my occupational deferments had run out and I experienced a renewed interest in our northern neighbor. So in addition to filing an appeal on the revocation of my occupational deferment, I studied the Canadian immigration laws, received an Application for Permanent Residence in Canada from the Department of Manpower and Immigration, and contacted the Toronto Anti-Draft Programme.

I didn't stop there in defending my freedom. On June 16, I wrote a letter to my local draft board asking them to send

me SSS Form 150 so I could apply for conscientious objector status. I filled out the application asking to be exempted from both combatant training and non-combatant training and service in the armed forces by reason of my religious training and belief. I included an 8-page explanation of my objections to military

ply any act of aggression. ...

War consists of a furious succession of crimes, that is, war consists of aggressive acts of violence against innocent people on a gigantic scale. ...

I believe that wars are caused and sustained by the collectivist fallacy

of mentally lumping people into groups called nations and then making judgments about the aggressiveness of the nations and overlooking justice for the individuals involved. ... Modern war is the worst kind of war in history because the weapons used (bombs, artillery, chemical and biological weapons, etc.) kill indiscriminately and cannot be used without killing innocent people. ...

The very existence of weapons of mass destruction is a crime since these weapons can only be used to slaughter people indiscriminately. ...

War is not only wrong because it requires the slaughter of innocent people, it is also wrong because of its purpose. ...

Soldiers in war do not fight to protect their society, they fight for their State; either to defend it from losing control of its subjects to another State, or to help it expand. It is wrong to fight for such

purposes even if it were possible to do it without killing innocent people. States are criminal organizations, and it is wrong to defend them or to help them expand their control. ... All States act aggressively against their innocent subjects. No government has ever ruled with the consent of the governed. ...

A government is an organization which claims a monopoly on violence and coercion in a certain geographic area and supports itself by demanding money from its subjects in the form of taxes. If a person is unable or unwilling to pay tribute to his rulers, the government's agents

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service and copies of anti-war articles that I had written for my college newspaper and the Radical Libertarian Alliance. I also included a copy of Murray Rothbard's essay, "War, Peace and the State." Here is a condensed version of the arguments I sent to my local draft board in my application for conscientious objector status:

It is the fundamental tenet of my religious training and belief that the basic, God-given, inalienable right possessed by each individual is the right to be free from aggression. By "aggression" I mean the use of force against an innocent person. An innocent person is one who is not threatening anyone. A crime then, is sim-

will initiate threats of violence against him, throw him in prison, and even kill him if he resists.

I am convinced that it is wrong to serve in the military in any capacity whether as a combatant or noncombatant. ... Even if the army did nothing but march in parades it would still be wrong to be a member of it because it is not composed of volunteers. ... The U.S. Army is not made up of volunteers, but rather of slaves compelled to do two years of involuntary servitude Since the army is a slave society, it is wrong for any soldier to give an order to any other soldier, even though the order might be something as trivial as "forward march." If a man sees no worthwhile purpose in marching, no one has the right to resort to threats of violence and punishment, which are implicit in orders, to make him march.

I listed Murray Rothbard, Jack Schwartzman, and Werner Stiefel as references on my application for conscientious objector status. I am proud to say they all sent letters to my local board on my behalf.

What was my local draft board's response to my appeal for reinstatement of my occupational deferment and my application for conscientious objector status? Did they see the error of their ways and join the anti-war movement? No. Did they give my arguments due consideration and then reject them? No. They didn't consider them at all. They never even acknowledged receiving them. Instead they ordered me to report to Brooklyn, NY, for a pre-induction physical.

My future was looking grim. But suddenly my luck changed. Shortly before I had to report for my physical I met some young men at a cafe in Woodstock who told me about a doctor in Manhattan who was very proficient at discovering disabilities that disqualify men from military service. I drove down to the doctor's office on the next busi-

ness day. His waiting room was filled with young men interested in their health. The doctor was so good at his job that he only had to spend a few minutes with each patient. Even though there were 20 boys in line ahead of me, it wasn't long before my turn came up.

In less than five minutes he found that I had several disqualifying disabilities that might go unnoticed in a routine physical examination. There is more to this story, but suffice it to say that because of this heroic doctor, I failed my pre-induction physical and ultimately attained the status IV-F, which means I am forever disqualified from military servitude.

Operation Atlantis Gets Cited in *Esquire* Magazine

The September 1970 issue of *Esquire* magazine contained an article by Hugh Gardner called "Your Global Alternative: Communes, Experiments, Jails and Hidey-Holes," which included the following remarks related to Operation Atlantis:

There are at least three publications devoted to oceanic freedom: *The Atlantis News*, the *Atlantis Quarterly* and *Ocean Living*. One of them, the *News*, is involved in a project called Operation Atlantis. Operation Atlantis is a real mind-blower, for they're not just interested in a floating community, but an honest-to-god independent *country*. They are reportedly well-financed, well-managed, and *very* serious. How are they going to do it? They're going to build an island, baby, in the middle of the ocean.

Operation Atlantis Builds a Geodesic Dome and Becomes More Secretive

The August 7, 1970 issue of *The Atlantis News* (published in November 1970) announced a change in policy for the newsletter: "our policy here at the *News* is shifting away from the discussion of future plans, and in the direction of reporting the actual news after it has happened." The same story also reported that (1) the Atlantis Development Corporation obtained a license from Buckminster Fuller for the construction of a geodesic dome 50 feet in diameter and 23 feet high on the grounds of the motel, (2) construction of the dome was almost complete, and (3) the purpose of the dome would be made public some time in the future.

I don't remember whether I knew the purpose for the dome at this time. Although I was still living at the motel and I noticed the progress on the dome each evening when I returned from my job, I was paying less attention to Operation

Atlantis than I had been before. Having gained my freedom from the draft, I was ready for the first time in my life to seriously pursue a woman, and I had found the one I wanted.

Operation Atlantis Decides to Build a Ferrocement Boat and I Leave

The September 4, 1970 issue of the *News* (published in December 1970) announced that the Atlantis Development Corporation was in the process of building a 38-foot boat inside the geodesic dome and that the boat was being made of cement. (Maybe Stiefel wanted something concrete to show visitors.) I didn't have time to think about it. I was engaged to be married and was making plans to move out of Atlantis by the end of the month.

In January 1971, I moved from Atlantis to a little house a few miles away in West Saugerties, NY. On January 30, I got married, and after a brief honeymoon in Montreal, my bride moved down from Hudson Falls, NY to join me in West Saugerties. We lived there for about a year and a half before moving to Eddyville, NY. During that time I drove past "Atlantis I" every day on my way to and from my job in Kingston. I continued to receive *The Atlantis News* through the January, 1 1971 issue (published on May 21, 1971), when it seems my subscription expired and I neglected to renew. I never saw Werner Stiefel again, and I lost touch with the whole operation.

My association with the Radical Libertarian Alliance lasted only a little longer. We published a monthly magazine called *The Abolitionist* from March 1970 to March 1972. I was listed as a contributing editor because I contributed money to help subsidize the magazine and because I wrote a few articles for it. In March 1972 we changed the format of the magazine and changed its name to *Outlook*. I was listed as a contributing editor again for the same reasons. In a personal letter to me dated October 31, 1972, Walter Block wrote that the magazine has almost 2000 subscribers and is on the way to economic self-sufficiency. Yet, the last issue of *Outlook* that I have is dated December 1972. I don't remember what happened, but I think that was the end of the RLA or at least the end of my involvement with it.

Post Departum

The few issues of the *News* that I received after leaving "Atlantis I" reported on the progress made on building the cement boat to be named *Atlantis II* (which it turns out was intended to shuttle people and supplies to Atlantis III), photographs of the first coins minted for Operation Atlantis, preliminary plans to issue Atlantis postage stamps, and a brief summary of the overall project.

Erwin Strauss' book *How to Start Your Own Country* contains information about the subsequent activities of Operation Atlantis. He indicates that the cement boat was launched in December 1969, but he must have meant December 1971. The boat was launched into the Hudson River at high tide, but when the tide went out, the boat was left lying on its side in the mud. A kerosene lantern broke in the process and started a fire, but the damage was limited by the inflammable cement structure. The boat was righted and sent down river.

It appears that the Atlanteans took a few liberties with the ship's design to make it more suitable for their purposes. For example, a (concrete) deckhouse was added. This made the vessel extremely top-heavy. All gear was stripped from the ship except what was needed to make it operable, and replaced with ballast. It still almost capsized from superstructure icing while crossing the mouth of New York harbor. Then it broke a propeller shaft off South Carolina, and finally limped into the Bahamas. There it stayed until it sank in a hurricane.⁴

The site that Werner Stiefel chose for Atlantis III was the Silver Shoals area in the Caribbean Sea, which got its name from the large number of Spanish galleons loaded with treasure that ran into the reefs and sank there. Haiti and the Bahamas both claimed the area and the rights to its sunken treasure. Stiefel acquired land on Tortuga island in Haiti to use as a base. "But the Haitians soon learned about his designs on the Silver Shoals, which had been published in the *Atlantis News*, and this forced Operation Atlantis into a low-profile posture from which it has never emerged."⁵

Operation Atlantis began landfill operations on the Silver Shoals, using a vessel owned by Stiefel Laboratories,

and they actually retrieved some silver from sunken galleons.

The most recent information I have seen regarding the fate of Operation Atlantis comes from our very own *Formulations*. Stiefel commissioned Spencer MacCallum to write the lease contract for residents of Atlantis III. A revised version of this lease was published in *Formulations* Vol. III, No. 3. The prefatory note written by Carl Watner and Spencer MacCallum indicates that the lease has outlived Operation Atlantis:

The following article began as a commission in exchange for equity in Atlantis. Unfortunately, Stiefel's efforts came to nought when he was chased off the site by Duvalier's gunboats. Although nothing remains of Atlantis, the master lease for this proprietary community has survived and been revised during the intervening years. Since Stiefel wanted to retain a low profile while he was building Atlantis, when the lease was published it was promoted as being for ORBIS, the name of a hypothetical proprietary community in outer space.

I don't know what became of Phil Coates and "The Animal." Spencer MacCallum is still in communication with Werner Stiefel, who is living in the Caribbean area (he must be 80 years old now) and still working to create a free country. I wish him well.

This anecdotal history probably does not provide enough evidence to warrant any particular conclusions about strategies for achieving freedom, but it does illustrate some points that might be worth keeping in mind. As Werner Stiefel learned from trying to create a free country and as I learned in trying to dodge the draft, when dealing with government bureaucrats who have power over your life-plans, an open and honest approach is not necessarily effective. Stiefel has switched to a less open but still honest approach, and he has yet to succeed. I succeeded in dodging the draft when I switched from the open and honest approach of my appeal for conscientious objector status, which the bureaucrats ignored, to a deceptive and dishonest approach that was certified by a corrupt and well connected doctor whose position in the power structure was superior to that of the doctors who

gave me my pre-induction physical. (If they had deemed me fit for military service, I would have appealed, and the appeal would have been heard by the five-member board of physicians who handled all such appeals for the New York metropolitan area. My doctor was one of the five members on that board. That is why my letter from him, on his official stationery, was so effective.) This suggests to me that in planning the creation of a free nation, finding corrupt officials to bribe should be taken into consideration. Idealistic libertarians are trying to create a place where corruption and bribery will be obsolete because no one will have arbitrary power over other people's lives—but to create such a place it may be necessary to grease some palms.

My experience with the RLA left me ambivalent about allying with those who partially agree with us. One of the dangers is that some of us will be absorbed by our allies and start spending more resources on their agenda than ours. On the other hand, if we insist on working only with people who agree with us on all the major issues, we may find that each of us will have to work alone. There is so much work to be done to define the framework for a libertarian nation that I support LNF's willingness to work with all kinds of libertarians. In the future we may grow to the point where we have separate divisions for minarchists and anarchists and subdivision within each division. Eventually, if we continue to grow, one or more of our subdivisions may have enough support to implement its plan for liberty. The purpose of LNF is to hasten the day when one or more visions of a libertarian nation becomes a reality. Δ

¹ In February 1969, Anguilla made headlines by voting to secede from the three-island federation of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, declaring its independence, adopting a constitution more capitalistic than that of the U.S., and expelling the federation constabulary, all British social workers and teachers, and most other foreigners. Then on March 19, 1969, two hundred British paratroopers landed and took over. In July 1969, Stiefel reported that a Royal Commission is supposed to be formed in December to make recommendations about Anguilla's political future. They are expected to recommend that Anguilla be separated from the three-island confederation and be given domestic autonomy with Britain responsible for its for-

(Concluded on page 36)



Nonviolent Civilian Defense

by Robert Mihaly

Whence the Threat?

In North America in 2002 the notion is becoming more and more firmly established that the overwhelmingly destructive, invisible *bête noire* of terrorism has successfully supplanted the Evil Empire as the omnipresent evil necessitating our great protectors in Washington. I'd like to address the question of how a stateless "nation" might protect itself against terrorists. To take, for example, the threatening organization currently occupying the media of North America—Would al-Qaida wish to terrorize a stateless region? Most anarcho-capitalists and (small "l") libertarians would think this about as likely as angry Arabs crashing hijacked planes into Somalia, Sealand or Antarctica—or into non-threatening states such as New Zealand, Switzerland or Finland, for that matter.

Terrorist threats from animal rights, neo-Luddite and pro-choice groups cer-

tainly seem possible in a free, stateless nation. However, these groups tend to target very specific businesses and individuals. As such, I think, they generally do not strike fear in the hearts of millions. So from where might the greatest terrorist threats come? And how might individuals in a free nation make preparations to protect themselves?

A recent book discussing attempts of UN and other international bodies to define terrorism runs 1,866 pages devoid of any firm conclusion. The definition of terrorism preferred by the US state department circumscribes terrorism as acts committed ONLY by non-governments. I prefer the *Oxford English Dictionary's* definition "government by intimidation." The use of "terrorist" in an anti-government sense is not recorded until 1866 (referring to Ireland) and 1883 (referring to Russia).

The stated purpose of al-Qaida's

killing of innocent noncombatants is to stop acts of terror of the US government such as the medieval siege of Iraq, extralegal killings of Palestinians, and US soldiers protecting a repressive monarchy in Saudi Arabia.

The stated purpose of the US government's killing of innocent noncombatants is to stop acts of terror by various organizations.

A reading of postings at the Awdal newsgroup at Yahoogroups.com suggests the fear in the stateless region of Somalia is not of the prospect of angry Arabs launching suicidal missions against this nation, but rather killing of innocents by the world's most interventionist military superpower, the United States government. It seems plausible that any peaceful, *stateless* region could face a potential, massive threat from this same source—particularly since the US government could further offer the inevitable excuse of their other "war,"

drug dealers. Further, the American president has proclaimed from high, "you're either for us or you're against us." It seems clear that a stateless region cannot be, *officially*, "for them."

"It is not obvious that the national security of a country demands a conventional armed defense. Nonviolence requires the same strategic thinking and courage as armed conflict does. But instead of weapons different social, political, psychological and economic means are used to defend the nation."—Mahatma Gandhi

There are various conceptions of the "free nation" described in the charter of the Libertarian Nation Foundation. Among them are a minimal state composed of Virtual Cantons, as proposed by Roderick Long in the Autumn 1993 issue of *Formulations*, a region populated by a number of competing non-territorial "governments," and a stateless region with competing businesses or other organizations offering services previously provided by monopolistic governments. Each of these arrangements would, by its very nature, produce a plurality of responses to any given challenge. One possible response to the challenge of the massive violence brought by an interventionist military superpower such as the United States government is *nonviolence*.

The military might of the United States is a terrifying force. The question, I believe, that must be addressed is what is the most effective and practical response to Washingtonians, in supple armchairs, launching years of air strikes, if not immediate massive annihilation. So overwhelming are the resources of death at the fingertips of American leaders, I do not believe it is a practical, prudent or possible course for a free nation to plan to meet its violence in kind. Like a penniless poker player, a young, free nation could probably not withstand its share of an escalating cycle of violence. There is even a good argument to be made that violent resistance to the US government's policies strengthens the government, providing the opportunity for it to assume new powers offering more "protection" services to those who give it support.

"There is more power in socially organized masses on the march than there is in guns in the hands of a few desperate men. Our enemies would prefer to deal with a small armed group than with a huge, unarmed but resolute mass of people."—Martin Luther King, Jr.

Nonviolent response, or *struggle*, has been the choice of millions of ordinary people throughout history. In many instances it has been the most practical response available. I'm just old enough to remember the certainty with which the West believed "the evil empire" had the ability and intent to crush any potential opposition. Though nonviolent response cannot be given full credit for the rapid disintegration of the totalitarian regimes behind the Iron Curtain, nonviolent tactics such as mass demonstrations and fraternization with soldiers were certainly key elements. So too was the patient, steady eroding of (communist) government legitimacy by millions of anonymous, heroic individuals.

In 1968, invading Soviet troops were met with Czechs who refused to obey their orders. The Czechs simultaneously attempted to befriend, difficult as it was, and fraternize with the Soviet troops. This peaceful, nonviolent response so challenged the invaders it took five hundred thousand soldiers eight months to gain control of the country. Twenty-one years later the "Velvet Revolution" of the Czechoslovakians succeeded in a relatively peaceful liberation from their totalitarian dictator. Essentially, these same tactics worked for the East Germans and the "People Power" of the Filipinos.

Global Threats, Global Solutions

As September 11, 2001 has shown us, increasingly the theaters of war for military conflicts are transnational and non-territorial. The approach of "taking the war to the enemy" long employed by the United States government, the Israeli government, al-Qaida and other terrorist organizations can be employed by non-violent defenders as well.

Technologies such as the Internet are helping to build communities whose members have ideas, principles and dreams more in common than genes, longitude or latitude. Without even try-

ing, we are rapidly building networks of caring, intelligent, like minds. This is the key to the defense of a non-territorial nation. Just as terrorists threats can be encouraged to spontaneously burst into life anywhere on the globe, decentralized, spontaneous peaceful defenses for a given stateless territory can burst into life at any given spot on the globe from among the networks of like-minded, peaceful individuals. The global approach taken by military aggressors can be taken by the forces of peace, love and creativity.

In 1517, Martin Luther (the original) wrote his grievances against the power structure with a quill. Weeks later high-tech German entrepreneurs were selling typeset copies. This meme-replication technology produced self-organized masses that astonished even Luther.

Of course not all individuals, groups or virtual states within a region unburdened by a traditional, territorially monopolistic state will respond in the same manner. Nonviolent response to a militaristic superpower is my personal choice. Others may well choose to respond in a way more in keeping with their own values.

Nonviolent Approaches

"In politics, its [power's] use is based upon the immutable maxim that government of the people is possible only so long as they consent either consciously or unconsciously to be governed."—Mahatma Gandhi

"Ruling the people in the conquered regions is, I might say, a psychological problem. One cannot rule by force alone. True, force is decisive, but it is equally important to have that psychological something which the animal trainer needs to be master of his beast. They must be convinced that we are the victors."—Adolf Hitler

When Gandhi and Hitler address an aspect of government with eerily similar words, they may well be onto something. Changing the minds of the invading or oppressive leaders should not be

the defender's goal. Changing their policies should. The ultimate power behind foreign policies of interventionist military powers such as the United States government is the support of a great number of citizens whether grudging, rabid, or "patriotic." The nonviolent approach focuses on arousing international support both in and out of the invading government's camp.

Political regimes, like other terrorist networks, are empowered by and constituted from decentralized resources such as belief in their legitimacy and other ideologies. This structure can be shaken by committed supporters of liberation painting a *human* picture of the invader's enemies. In other words, the key to nonviolent resistance is reversing the dehumanized caricature often created by Big Government and their courtesans Big Media. This power structure can be weakened by the erosion of active citizen support for its policies. Its positions can be *immediately* reversed with application of enough "heat."

Compared with traditional warfare operations, non-military types such as the elderly, children, and handicapped individuals can participate effectively and at lower personal cost in nonviolent defense. The following list is only a beginning to what I hope will be an ongoing lengthy brainstorm on nonviolent responses to superpower government military aggressions.

1. Internet
 - a. Newsgroups
 - b. Web pages
 - c. News outlets
 - d. Alternative media
 - e. Petitions
2. Public demonstrations in the stateless region
3. Public demonstrations in the interventionist military-power nation
 - a. Student protests and strikes
 - b. Public speeches
 - c. Vigils
 - d. Guerrilla theater
 - e. Consumer boycotts
 - f. Draft resistance

- g. Tax resistance
4. Fraternalization with invading citizens of the country of the threatening government
 - a. Soldiers
 - b. Soldiers' families, churches, clubs
 - c. Voters
 - d. Politicians. Even some *politicians* will listen to *some* citizens, former citizens, tourists to the region, et al.

In 1517, Martin Luther wrote his grievances against the power structure with a quill. Weeks later high-tech German entrepreneurs were selling typeset copies. This meme-replication technology produced self-organized masses that astonished even Luther.

- e. Media
- f. Celebrities
5. Radical nonviolence
 - a. Sit-ins
 - b. Occupying or surrounding government buildings
 - c. Blocking roads
 - d. Overloading government computer web pages and resources
 - e. Fasting
 - f. Hunger strikes. Surely more politically effective by a respected former American citizen than, say, an Afghan.
6. Shrines
 - a. Internet-based
 - b. Marble and bronze memorials and shrines at sites of government violence to individuals seeking liberation. The Czechs and Slovaks (I've some Slovakian ancestry) built such shrines to those injured by statist. (communists) Beautiful, inspirational expressions, I believe, to heroes of liberation who've faced down tyrants.
 - c. Film

- d. Print
7. Send delegations to the invading government's territory
8. Send delegations to nations around the world

A credible nonviolent defense system no doubt requires as much care with creation as any other defense system: strategy, financing, courage, preparation, volunteers, weapons testing, study of past conflicts, leaders, and public support for the myth of the heroic participation. Many of the "preparations" can be started now. Contacts can be made and strengthened. Relationships can be built *now*.

Divergent Approaches

The self-organization of groups, virtual states and protection corporations will pave the way to a new kind of international diplomacy—one more akin to building allies among internal factions than to the tête-à-têtes of kings.

One voluntary virtual state might be willing to certify

its properties drug-free or al-Qaida-free. A virtual state might choose the nonviolent route. If, say, 40% of the individuals in a stateless region chose this route they could pursue the nonviolent struggle with the superpower government independently, with or without a contiguous territory. The most salient difference between a virtual state and a traditional, territorially monopolistic state would be the voluntary characteristic of its "citizens" and therefore its fluid, non-contiguous borders. It would be absolutely incumbent upon a virtual state to keep a published map of its borders immediately available at all times. I think the only way this could be practically accomplished is by an online updated-in-real-time map of the borders of the properties of the members of the virtual state.

The Druze of the Golan Heights

Most of the native population fled after Israel seized the Golan Heights from Syria in 1967. Five villages of Druze, an Islamic sect and ethnic group, remained. The Israelis began gradually

annexing the territory and pressuring the population to accept Israeli identification cards. The Druze resisted and responded with a nonviolent campaign that included a general strike, peaceful demonstrations and curfew violations. They ignored military restrictions against public demonstrations. Children and adults eagerly sought arrest. Many engaged in a "reverse strike," defiantly installing a sewer pipeline that the occupation forces had refused to support.

In spite of 15,000 Israeli troops occupying the Golan, and a 43-day state of siege, destroyed homes, hundreds of arrests and gunned-down suspects, the Israelis finally ended their insistence that the Druze accept Israeli citizenship. They even promised not to conscript Druze into the army, to allow them to open economic relations with their fellow Syrians across the armistice line, and to stop interfering with Druze civil, water and land rights. When the Israelis refused to live up to these promises, mass protests and civil disobedience resumed.

The resistance forced the Israelis to compromise further. Palestinian attorney Jonathan Kuttab observed, "The [Israeli] soldiers were really being torn apart, because they couldn't handle that type of nonviolence." American peace activist Scott Kennedy quoted an Israeli division commander's complaint that the Golan situation was "ruining some of his best soldiers."

Let's Get Started!

As we formulate the creation of a society without a monopolistic government, how might we plan and act *now* to lessen the likelihood or impact of military actions that may be directed against us or those who follow in our footsteps?

"Nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral questions of our time: the need for man to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to oppression and violence. Man must evolve for all human conflict a method which rejects revenge, aggression and retaliation."—Martin Luther King Jr.

"Help your brother, whether

oppressor or oppressed."—
The prophet Muhammad

We can offer our support to organizations dedicated to supporting nonviolent national defense around the world, such as Peace Brigades International (<http://www.peacebrigades.org/>), Witness for Peace (<http://www.witnessforpeace.org/wfp>), and Christian Peacemaker Teams (<http://www.prairienet.org/cpt>). We can stand as brothers with peaceful Christians, Muslims, atheists, Americans, Afghans, blacks and whites and help our fellow human beings resist the temptations of terrorism, militarism, fundamentalism, revenge, retaliation, repression, etc.

We can build alliances with other individuals and groups that can support us in the future. Hundreds of thousands of African-Americans supported the dream of Marcus Garvey, even if they personally were not interested in accompanying him back to the continent. Zionists all over the world supported the goal of Jews establishing a state in Palestine. We can build alliances, formal and informal, and we can do it in the open.

Frank Morales, an Episcopal priest, visited the World Trade Center in the immediate aftermath of the tragedy there. He said the firefighters expressed no desire for revenge. "Hey, Father," they said, "tell them out there that they should organize buses for people to come through here. Everyone should see this." They told me that everyone should get this inoculation against the sheep-like murderous idiocy that was rising like the smoky spirits of the dead from the ruins in front of me. Morales said, "one loses the ability to replicate the violence, loses the desire to duplicate that which one becomes akin to: the murder of innocent people."

Nonviolent response is not about disarmament. It is about transarmament: finding tools to add to, and in some cases replace, our traditional defensive armaments of lead and steel. Ownership of defensive weapons in the manner of the Swiss militia may always find a useful place in our tools of defense. However, I think it possible that many of the past's great battles of liberation could never have been won in the absence of nonviolent activism, with or without the sword. Δ

Robert Mihaly and his wife, Tina are sculptors building a castle on a mountaintop in Rougemont, North Carolina. They have 16, he thinks, pet beasts ranging from llamas, miniature horses, pygmy goats, miniature pigs, Siamese cats, dogs, etc.

Libertarian Responses to Terrorism

(Continued from page 15)

guard the mere possession of a weapon of mass destruction as a crime, because it is a murder threat hundreds of times worse than aiming a loaded gun at an innocent person. In a libertarian nation whose courts support the position of the second group, terrorists would have a hard time developing or possessing weapons of mass destruction. Anti-terrorist regimes would have one less excuse to attack us, but they would also have less fear of attacking us.

A nation whose courts uphold the right of individuals to possess weapons of mass destruction might be safer from attack by the anti-terrorist powers, but it would correctly be regarded by them as a terrorist nation.

There are no smart bombs that distinguish between terrorists and antiterrorists. There is no way a state or a private organization can guarantee safety from terrorists. In a free nation, each sovereign individual will take precautions against terrorism as he sees fit.

We should oppose the war on terrorism for the same reason that we oppose terrorism itself—because it necessarily involves the murder of innocent people. Δ

Roy Halliday is the author of Enforceable Rights: A Libertarian Theory of Justice, available at his website <http://royhalliday.home.mindspring.com/ROYHOME.HTM> Roy is pleased that both of his grown-up sons are libertarian AND are now living in Raleigh.

Somalia and Anarchy (Continued from page 8)

Air transportation to Borama, Hargeisa, Kismayo, Mogadishu, and a great many other cities in Somalia is provided by scheduled air service. Da'allo Airlines has daily and weekly flights into all major cities and many towns throughout Somalia, from Dubai, Djibouti, Addis Ababa, and among the various cities as well. Scheduled air service into Djibouti by Air France, Da'allo flying Air Luxor equipment, and Yemenia Airlines is very reliable. Ethiopia Airlines has scheduled service into Hargeisa. I would not call any of these companies "small air charter firms" because they just aren't. I've seen UN aircraft in Hargeisa. If we may count the European Community agency for overseas assistance (ECHO) as an NGO, then I've seen an NGO aircraft in Hargeisa.

Drugs, such as qat, and many pharmaceuticals are brought into all parts of Somalia quite openly. If there is a drug smuggling trade that extends beyond bypassing the occasional Ethiopian checkpoint to avoid the duty on qat, it was not much in evidence.

As far as government anti-drug policy papers I've seen, there is some indication that Ethiopia is a transit center for drugs coming from Southeast Asia and destined for South Africa or Europe. I have no direct information on the subject. I have been told that marijuana grows well in Ethiopia and the highlands of Awdal, but I have no firsthand data on that matter, either. As I'm not in the market, I didn't look for shops offering items like coke, hash, or heroin. I suppose one can find these, if one is diligent. Based on the night clubs in Djibouti, it shouldn't be hard to find such items there.

So, let me wrap up my comments on the Google search material: it is mostly incorrect or out of date. There are a great many misconceptions, preconceptions, and myths about Somalia. Not everyone is motivated to have the truth about the process of individual self-government and community relationships in Somalia made known. Nor is everyone willing to go there to see for themselves. Much that is reported about Somalia is based on reports from Mogadishu, which are about as relevant to things in Awdal as reports about Washington, DC are to

conditions in Montana. (About as relevant as conditions in London to events in the Orkney islands.)

Shops in Awdal sell all manner of equipment, tools, and machinery. Digital watches are cheap and plentiful, and as good as Casio and Swatch anywhere. I bought a Casio in Borama for \$9, and it is running fine six months down the road, which is much more than I can say for the brand new Ironman Timex I brought in with me (don't trust that 100 meters rating in sea water, in my experience). Computers are also found widely. There are three telephone companies providing service in Borama two of which offer Internet connectivity, four in Hargeisa, and I've heard of as many as six in Mogadishu. Electric power is widely available from private generators to utility grids in the major cities, though it is not uniformly reliable.

Currency exchange and international money transfers are handled by two "banking" concerns, Barakat and Dahab Shiil, though neither engages in usury.

They don't launch space shuttles there. Yet. But in other ways, the 21st Century is coming to Awdal and Somalia.

So, if you'd like to know more, my best suggestion is to go there and see for yourself. Or, take in that movie *Black Hawk Down* coming in March, and see how well Hollyweird does at telling the story. Oh, and don't believe everything you read. <grin>

Regards,
Jim Davidson
Awdal Roads Company

Observations of a Fly on the Wall (Continued from page 31)

eign affairs. It is expected to take about two years to complete the changeover. Stiefel put a good spin on it by writing "the above solution would be ideal, meeting all our criteria." Stiefel's report proved to be accurate. In July 1971, Anguilla became a dependency of Britain and two months later Britain withdrew its troops.

² I was amused by this exchange because I had already heard from Murray Rothbard about the long-time love affair between Ayn Rand and Nathaniel Branden, which they had

kept secret from all but a few people in their inner circle. With syllogistic logic, Rand had convinced her young disciple that he should be in love with her. The variables of age and physical beauty did not enter into her theorem. She was pleased with his ministrations for several years and publicly lauded Branden as her intellectual heir. Eventually, Ms Rand began to resemble an old cow and human nature got the better of Branden. Rand went into a jealous rage when she found out that he was cheating on her with a younger woman. This was the reason for Branden's excommunication. Neither Rand nor Branden was entirely forthcoming in their initial explanations of the breakup. If Rand had been willing to make the affair public, she could have denounced Branden on the grounds that his behavior violated the principles of her nutty theory of romantic love, which meant that he had rejected reason itself. (Reason tends to be an all or nothing character trait in the Randian world.)

³ Rothbard published an obituary of the New Left in the March 15, 1970 issue of *The Libertarian Forum*, although he didn't mention the role that the lottery played in diminishing the ranks of the draft protesters. Rothbard ended his short-lived alliance with the counterculture by publishing "Farewell to the Left" in the May 1 issue, which also announced that Karl Hess, who remained with the ultra-left, was no longer the Washington editor of *The Libertarian Forum*. Rothbard believed the New Left had changed its focus from libertarian issues such as war, oppression, imperialism, and nuclear disarmament to irrelevant issues such as feminism, discrimination, gay rights, multiculturalism, and environmentalism such that there was no longer much commonality of interests between the left and libertarians and, consequently, there was no longer a good reason for us to ally with them. The final nail in the New-Left's coffin, in my opinion, was driven in by the bullets that killed four students and wounded eight others at Kent State University on May 4, 1970, which sobered up a lot of students and woke up a lot of their parents. Rothbard viewed the after-effects of this as a welcome change from street protests to peace politics, which cleansed the peace movement of the crazy left and brought in responsible people who were able to exert political pressure on Congress and the Nixon administration.

⁴ Erwin Strauss, *How to Start Your Own Country*, p. 72.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 74.