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Libertarianism and Civil Society

The Romance of Free Market Capitalism

BY JEAN HARDISTY

Libertarianism is not yet on the screen of American public debate. Popular magazines and journals contain few articles on the subject, and many of those are short, snappy opinion pieces that imply that libertarianism is an oddity on the ideological landscape. Even well-informed people usually know little about libertarianism. Few know, for instance, that the Libertarian Party has been the longest-running and largest third party presence in US politics for the last two decades. Its lack of a public profile masks the important contribution that libertarianism has made to the Right's resurgence.

Libertarians approach the state without ambivalence and without nuance. Because libertarians see the freedom of the individual as the greatest good, they believe the state, which possesses the power to coerce and thus limit individual freedom, should be as minimal as possible. The state's only legitimate role, in their view, is to provide an adequate defense and secure a reasonable level of social order. *Caveat emptor*— let the buyer beware— might be said to be the libertarian motto in all realms, not just the economic sphere. Anti-trust laws, so-

cial safety net programs, redistribution of wealth schemes (e.g., a graduated income tax), involvement in foreign affairs, and regulation of environmental pollution are just a sampling of government roles that libertarians oppose.

Libertarians are often asked: How would a society remain orderly if individuals were allowed complete freedom? What would hold chaos at bay if the state were to become minimalist? For many libertarians, a "Nightwatchman" state is needed to preserve order and a modicum of justice.¹ For right-wing libertarians, however, freedom is the paramount issue, order is a distant second, and justice is an even more distant third. Fortunately for their ideology, right-wing libertarians have identified a mechanism that provides freedom, and as much order and justice as necessary.

It is, of course, free-market capitalism, with its "invisible hand" that regulates and allocates with a precision surpassing that of any other political, economic, or social system ever tried. The invisible hand is the concept developed by Adam Smith and popularized by F. A. Hayek and Milton Friedman, the economic gurus of libertarianism. Functions traditionally associated with state power— distribut-

ing resources, punishing criminals, educating children, building highways and bridges and other physical infrastructure— all are assigned by libertarians to the free market.

Because libertarians believe in radical individualism in relation to the state, they also maintain that individuals should be free to follow their own preferences in the conduct of their personal lives. Thus, ideologically-consistent libertarians favor gay rights, choice on the issue of abortion, complete artistic freedom, free trade, legalization of drugs, and the right of individuals to immigrate/emigrate freely across borders. Holding so many positions that are clearly *not* the positions promoted by the contemporary Right, libertarians are often at odds with the Right. However, in the 1980s and '90s there has been a convergence between libertarians and the Right— especially the secular Right— on the

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From the Editors

We are particularly pleased to publish Jean Hardisty's article on libertarianism in this issue because we feel that the political ground is especially fertile for an increase in the role of libertarian policy-makers and the popularity of libertarian thought. Libertarianism rests on the primacy of the individual as the only valid actor in society. Government is seen as a negative force, primarily oppressive and illegitimate. The constructive interaction of the individual and government, in the service of larger purposes of social harmony and justice, is discounted as a bogus goal. For libertarians, justice is located not within the larger society and its well-being, but solely within the freedom of the individual.

Libertarian principles of individualism dovetail with the political principles of the larger Right—which exalts the synergy of the individual and the free-market system as the only viable model for a successful society. Because the Right has been so effective in promoting this model, many people are now conditioned to see individualism and free-market capitalism as its only option. As a result, social justice is eclipsed by the "greater" goal of individual freedom.

Interestingly, Hardisty notes that libertarianism is little-known, despite the fact that the Libertarian Party has been the longest-running and largest third-party presence in US politics for the last two decades. Its importance has been overshadowed by the confusing relationship between libertarian principles and those of the Right in general. Libertarianism's appeal lies both in its overlap with the Right's agenda, and in the ways it differs from that agenda. The libertarian *economic* agenda nicely matches that of the larger Right. Libertarian social principles, however, differ markedly from those of the Right, especially the religious Right.

By advocating an unfettered free-market system, libertarianism captures the loyalty of economic rightists who oppose any governmental regulatory role. It especially appeals to the interests of the most privileged in society by freeing them to maximize their profits within the free-market system, without the moderating influence of governmental oversight. Tragically, the libertarian view of the free-market system is so pervasive that even many of those most injured by it are now adherents.

On the other hand, libertarianism differs from the rigid social backwardness of the Christian Right, because libertarians advocate the freedom of the individual to practice whatever social behaviors he or she enjoys. Thus, libertarianism allows yuppies and others more oriented to modern social mores, to have their right-wing economic politics without giving up more permissive social practices. It therefore makes sense that upper-income young professionals would be the most fertile recruiting ground for libertarianism.

One would hope that libertarianism might represent a moderating influence on the Right's politics, but in fact, in the economic sphere, libertarians are closer to the anti-government sentiments of the militias than they are to the freedom-oriented individualism of civil libertarians.

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primacy of the free market in economic policy, and the need for privatization of many of government's roles. Libertarians have provided much of the ideological guidance for the Right's agenda in these areas.

WHY IS LIBERTARIANISM SO CONFUSING?

Libertarianism is often confused with anarchism and sometimes confused with liberalism because it shares ideological aspects of each. This ideological eclecticism allows libertarians to claim to be "neither right nor left." To add to the confusion, there is a distinct difference between right-wing libertarianism and left libertarianism, and within right-wing libertarianism itself there are two distinct ideological sectors. To sort out the distinctions, I will discuss them one-by-one.

Libertarianism is often confused with anarchism because of a shared opposition to government control over the individual. In some cases, it's a toss-up whether a person, an organization, or an author should be labeled anarchist or libertarian. Europeans often use the words interchangeably. However, there is one important distinction between the two. Whereas anarchists seldom relate to the state at all, except to oppose it or to unmask its abuses, libertarians are much involved in reforming government to meet their criteria. The Cato Institute, the largest and most prolific libertarian think tank, is prominent in creating and advocating for legislation to promote its political principles. It works hand-in-glove with the Right, often providing valuable research to bolster and tailor the Right's policy proposals.

Both libertarianism and anarchism are broad enough to accommodate a rightist wing and a leftist wing. The greatest confusion between anarchism and libertarianism derives from the overlap between right-wing anarchism and right-wing libertarianism. The clearest contrast between anarchism and libertarianism is that between left-wing anarchism and right-wing libertarianism. Anarchism of the social revolutionary (leftist) kind advocated by 19th Century Russian-born

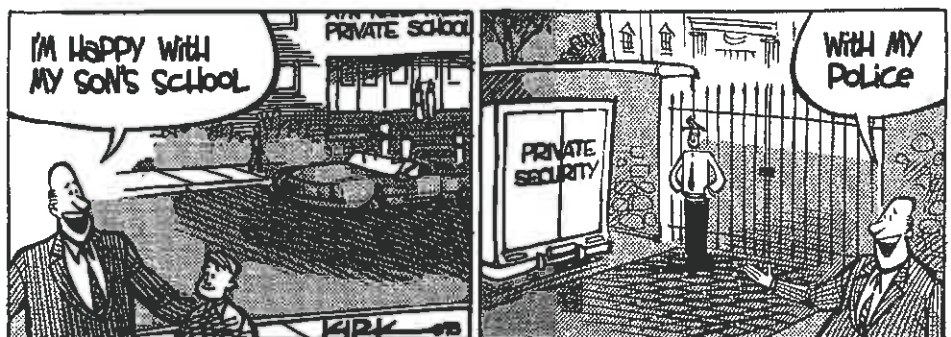
philosophers Michael Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin is a reaction to abuses of individual rights by government, and especially government's role in protecting private property. Benjamin R. Tucker (1854-1939), an historically-important US journalist and proponent of left libertarianism, promoted the notion of a just capitalism that was anti-monopoly. He defined his version of an ideal society "within the spirit of early socialism as a form of virtuous harmony. The protection of private property and of the person by means of voluntary associations and cooperation is, according to him, only a temporary necessity, because with the realization of his utopia, poverty and with it crime will disappear from the world."² On the other hand, right-wing libertarianism opposes the state because it *interferes* with the possession and accumulation of private property.³ This right-wing libertarianism is currently so dominant that most Americans are unaware of left libertarianism. The closest contemporary manifestation of left libertarianism is the American Civil Liberties Union, which historically has eschewed the label "libertarian"—perhaps because the label is so closely associated with the Right.

Libertarianism is also often confused with contemporary liberalism.⁴

Both are rooted in respect for individual rights, and oppose government attempts to limit those rights, including the right to take unpopular stands and commit unpopular acts, such as burning the flag or smoking marijuana, being a "practicing homosexual," or immigrating across borders. In policy debates, libertarians and liberals are on the same side in defending these rights (though, in both cases, instances of straying from these philosophical positions for political expediency are common). Voting records indicate that it is not uncommon for a libertarian politician and a liberal politician to vote together on many of the social issues. Libertarians and liberals often appear on the same platform in support of the freedom of some marginalized group or practice.

For liberals, however, libertarianism is too attached to the marketplace to serve as arbiter of social conflicts and injustices. Liberals recognize that the self-correcting mechanisms that libertarians claim are built into the free-market system are inadequate to assure security for the more vulnerable members of society, especially those who have little or no private property.

The confusion of liberalism and libertarianism paves the way for libertarianism to present itself as "neither



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right not left," but a third political option that could draw from across the political spectrum. This was the life-long dream of the late Murray Rothbard, known as "Mr. Libertarian," who believed that, by attracting followers from across the political spectrum, libertarianism might become a viable alternative to liberals and conservatives. The success of the Libertarian Party in the past has, at times, encouraged libertarians to believe that this coalescing of various political allegiances was possible.

THE ROOTS OF LIBERTARIANISM

Libertarians often call themselves "classical liberals." The same claim to be "the real liberals" is often made by other conservatives. The claim to the mantle of liberalism is a reference to the philosophical writings of the American founding ideologues—John Locke and John Stuart Mill. In *The Second Treatise of Government* (1690), Locke argues for representative government by the people. Mill refined this founding principle in *On Liberty* (1859) by adding the concept of individual rights and individual freedoms. Since these principles continue to resonate with most Americans, many contemporary politicians lay claim to them.

Libertarians also claim two other American icons as the progenitors of their political ideas: Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine. Paine's pamphlet *Common Sense* (1776) was widely circulated at the time of the American Revolution and remains a popular statement of the superiority of "society" over "government." In his denunciation of monarchy, Paine provides libertarians the concept of "civil society" which will become the basis of their alternative to government as the arbiter of people's needs and the protector of their freedoms.

In 1776 Thomas Jefferson drafted the Declaration of Independence, which libertarians adopt as their manifesto for freedom from government interference in citizens' lives. In his later years Jefferson became even more suspicious of government power, to the delight of libertarians,

who rely on his writings to boost the legitimacy of their ideas.

In asserting their belief that they are the true repositories of American values, libertarians can be as rigid and self-righteous as any member of the Christian Right. In contrast with the Christian Right, however, libertarians are also sometimes accused of being *libertine*. That is, when they oppose any restrictions on individual behavior that does not harm others, they are often defending behaviors that other sectors of the Right consider self-indulgent, sinful, or even Satanic. And it is not just the Christian Right that ridicules libertarians. The secular Right, with its traditional support for

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aggressive foreign policy and its authoritarian tendencies in the name of social stability, finds coexistence with libertarians to be difficult.

Imagine, for instance, the average middle-aged, traditional-values rightist encountering the centerpiece of the libertarian canon, *The Fountainhead*, by Ayn Rand. Written in 1943, it is the story of a misunderstood but brilliant architect, Howard Roark, who struggles against the forces of conformity and mediocrity, but ultimately is beaten by these enemies of all genius. Along the way, he "takes" the beautiful young heroine Dominique Francon by force. She ultimately submits to his power, brilliance, and superiority. The novel was a favorite of college students in the 1960s. It is Nietzschean in its glorification of power and its exalta-

tion of an idealized Aryan male superhero.⁵

To libertarians Ayn Rand is the "mother" of contemporary libertarianism. From her position at the libertarian Nathaniel Brandon Institute in New York, she ruled with an iron hand over the "movement" in the 1950s and early 1960s. During the same period, Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises, who in 1922 had published an influential critique of socialism simply titled *Socialism*, taught libertarian economics at the Graduate School of Business Administration at New York University. Von Mises came to the United States after fleeing the Nazis and came to be considered the father of the Austrian School of Economics and the intellectual giant of libertarian economics. His students included Friedrich Hayek, who was trained by von Mises to be an uncompromising supporter of the free-market, and became an extremely influential libertarian economist in his own right.

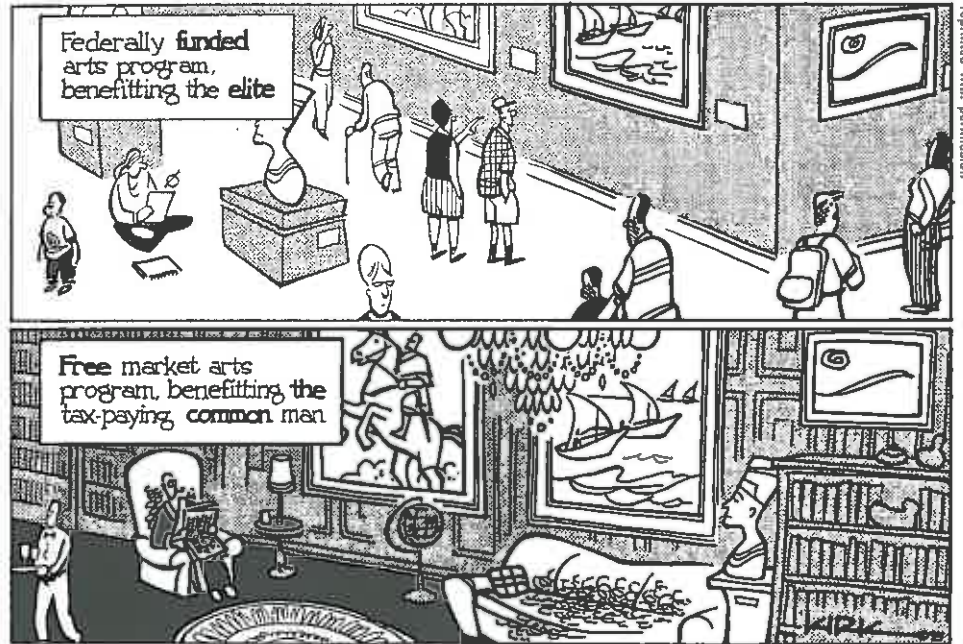
Von Mises and Hayek rested much of their argument for free-market capitalism on the concept of the "invisible hand," originally developed by Scottish economist Adam Smith in his influential book *The Wealth of Nations* (1776). Smith argued that, through the voluntary cooperation promoted by the free-market system, individuals pursue their own objectives and at the same time produce what is needed for their survival. The balance between needs and the goods produced to meet those needs is maintained by an "invisible hand"—market forces. Von Mises and Hayek build on Smith's defense of the free market to argue against collectivism in any form, especially in Hayek's most influential book, his 1944 critique of socialism titled *The Road to Serfdom*. In 1974, Hayek won a Nobel prize, though at that time Keynesian economics, which called for a strong government role in stabilizing the economy, still dominated the thinking of economists.⁶

Another free-market economist, Milton Friedman, began his long career as an advocate for free market capitalism at the University of Chi-

ago. Friedman, who won a Nobel prize in 1976 for his work in monetary economics, has been no ivory tower economist. His long-running column in the popular magazine *Newsweek* has made him an important opinion-maker for the last thirty years.

Friedman's influence extended far beyond his own writing through a cadre of his students known as "The Chicago Boys." It was these students who delivered the major stain to Friedman's career when they put themselves in the service of the Chilean military junta under General Augusto Pinochet. In the 1970s, Pinochet's military dictatorship carried out a brutal terror campaign to destroy "communism" in Chile. He imported a number of "Chicago Boys" to advise him on the establishment of a free-market system. The result was a laboratory in which they conducted a controlled clinical trial for libertarian economics. It was a cruel and bitter experience of political repression and economic exploitation for the poor of Chile.⁷ Libertarians have never been able to respond adequately to the charge that this hero of libertarian economics lent his name and reputation to this project, and did it not reluctantly but enthusiastically.

Ayn Rand, Ludwig von Mises, Friedrich Hayek, and Milton Friedman produced a generation of future libertarians while the country's attention was focused on the "red menace" and the civil rights protest movement. Perhaps it was this early training by powerful ideologues that resulted in a movement characterized by intellectualism and ideological rigor. When they maintain their intellectual integrity, with the usual libertarian arrogance (part of the libertarian culture), libertarians have difficulty "bending" their principles to conform to those of other conservatives. This adherence to principle caused them to split with Young Americans for Freedom in 1969 over YAF's support of the Vietnam War. Those who split from YAF ultimately became the core group who launched the Libertarian Party in 1972. Similarly, libertarians did not join in William F. Buckley's "fusionism,"



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the political compromise arrived at in the 1960s that united the traditional conservative economic agenda with the right-wing social issues agenda, by merging two formerly distinct branches of conservatism. This intellectual construct created a politically appealing ideological cocktail that is credited with the rise, in the later 1970s, of the New Right.

Libertarianism does not blend well with other ideologies, in part because libertarians tend to be dogmatic and combative, rather than pragmatic and compromising. They are ill-suited to be team players within the larger Right. As a result, they cling to a vision of a libertarian future, in which their ideology has carried the day and they prevail in all spheres—political, social, and economic. Unwilling to collaborate in ways that threaten their central political tenets, they remain a rigid and somewhat shadowy movement.

RIGHT-WING LIBERTARIANISM

Right-wing libertarians combine anti-government fervor with an almost mystical belief in the free market system of unfettered capitalism. The association of these ideas with conservatism leads most people to see libertarianism as just a variation of traditional conservatism. However, when we contrast right-wing libertarians' ideas of a good society with

those political philosophers who articulated a more traditional conservatism, such as British philosophers Thomas Hobbes in the seventeenth century and Edmund Burke in the eighteenth century and, more recently, Michael Oakeshott and Leo Strauss, the contrast demonstrates that traditional conservatism supports "establishment" power, which resides in societal institutions such as the church, the state, and the family. Traditional conservatives, exemplified by the *mainstream* of the Republican Party, therefore, most fear the chaos which they associate with too much democracy and too few institutions of authority.

Right-wing libertarianism, in contrast, is revolutionary in its desire to eliminate the state and restore men to their rightful place as masters of their own fate. And let there be no mistake that it is *men* (specifically white men) who are captivated by the libertarian vision, with the occasional exception of an icon like Ayn Rand or a token woman like sociologist Anne Wortham or Virginia Postrel, editor of the prominent libertarian magazine, *Reason*. Right-wing libertarians are reactionaries who are vicious in their condemnation of liberal programs for social justice, sharing with the larger Right their abhorrence of liberalism. Like the Right, they justify their anti-

liberalism as “getting government off the backs of the poor,” and point to complete freedom to own private property and compete in the marketplace as the true roads to prosperity for all. The similarity to the Reagan Administration’s bogus scheme to cut taxes in order to generate more revenue and “lift all boats” shows the parallels between economic libertarianism and the Right’s economic agenda.

To right-wing libertarians, government is an evil conspiracy to rob the individual of his money, his freedom, and his soul. This hostility extends to any government endeavor— from schools to foreign aid. Liberals are “dictators.” The rhetoric of right-wing libertarians rivals (and sometimes surpasses) that of the New Right. While avoiding the Christian Right’s language of morality and setting aside the social issues as the centerpiece of their agenda, rightist libertarians condemn liberal programs with all the fervor of the most reactionary members of the New Right.

Among the many factions of right-wing libertarianism, two ideological schools stand out; they might be called “hard” right (often called “paleo”) libertarianism and “rightist” libertarianism. Paleo-libertarians retain the ideological principles of the Old Right, complete with explicit racism, anti-Semitism, and sexism. Their titular leader was the late Murray N. Rothbard. Two publications that either represent hard right libertarianism or live in close harmony with it are *Triple R* (formerly the *Rothbard Rockwell Report*), a “paleo” newsletter published by the Center for Libertarian Studies in Burlingame, California, and *Chronicles* (formerly *Chronicles of Culture*) published by the Rockford Institute in Rockford, Illinois.

Rightist libertarianism is a more moderate, Washington, DC-oriented variety that promotes a softer face for libertarianism, including claiming to support the rights of women, people of color, gays and lesbians, immigrants, and other unpopular groups. It is best represented by the Cato Institute and *Reason* magazine, which have exerted impressive influence within the Right’s policy initiatives, especially about

downsizing government and privatizing public services.

In 1995 Murray Rothbard and his colleague Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr. hosted a meeting intended to promote unity among paleo-libertarians. Rothbard and Rockwell were proud of their paleo-libertarian credentials. At their unity meeting, they invited representatives from the Ludwig von Mises Institute and the Center for Libertarian Studies to discuss their shared political values. They made the case that all those in attendance were united as “paleos” in opposing the Right’s elites— whom they called “welfare-warfare” elites because they supported welfare reform rather than promoting

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its elimination, and also supported the Gulf War. Particularly hated were the “neo-conservatives”— by which the “paleos” seemed to mean the entire New Right, the Christian Right, and members of the Neo-conservative movement, such as Irving Kristol and Midge Decter— and the Cato Institute, which they ludicrously labeled left-libertarian. Rockwell claimed that the most telling evidence of the triumph of paleo-conservative libertarian ideology was the election in 1994 of a class of Congressional “new Republicans”— right-wing Representatives and Senators who were isolationist, conspiracy-minded, and radically reactionary in their opposition to all government programs.⁸

Within the paleo wing, there is no “pandering” to the poor. In the words

of Llewellyn Rockwell, Jr:

The term “poor” is not a designation of material status; it is a political term designating a political status. It has become a synonym for the parasitical class that the middle class is supposed to support at increased levels until the entire stock of the national wealth is gone. The poor are not the victims of the present system, unless you think that criminals are the victims of the people they rob.⁹

Right-wing libertarians constantly and passionately debate points of ideological distinction, both between the two sectors of libertarianism and within each sector. *Triple R*, for example, devotes most of its pages to vicious and snide attacks on rightist libertarians, accusing them of various forms of perfidy, including the extreme “crime” of being a Neo-conservative. Libertarian infighting (usually in the form of personal attacks) occurs over the “correct” vision of a future libertarian society, but the vision of this future society is so drastically different from contemporary reality that the entire discussion is speculative, though never acknowledged as such. The result is a sense of the debate as a game, in which each ideologue argues for his own version of a fantasy future, bitterly trumping his opponent’s version. These exchanges generate great heat among the debaters, their differences often looming so large that libertarians are unable to coordinate their actions and create a unified, effective movement to change present-day society.¹⁰

LIBERTARIANISM’S DIRTY SECRET

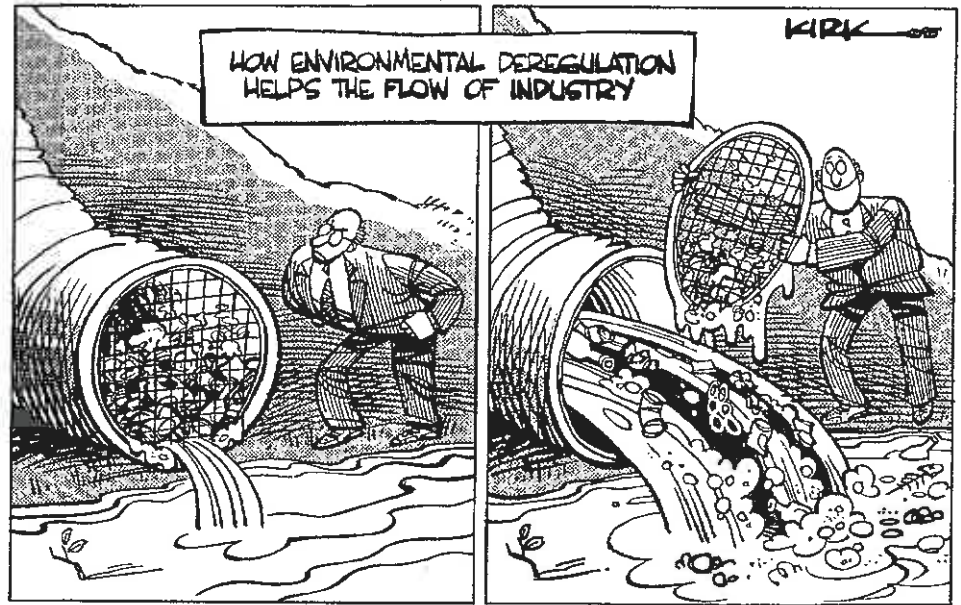
Libertarians view all government programs as coercive and prefer existing inequality to government programs designed to decrease that inequality. They base their well-established disdain for social programs on philosophical objections to any limitations on individual freedom. The individual who is free to sink or swim is, therefore, freer than the individual who is subjected to government sanctions and victim-producing government

"help." But the reality of libertarianism is far more perfidious than this superficial review would suggest. In fact, high-profile "paleo" libertarians have embraced the most bald-faced racism and anti-Semitism, basing their theories of the superiority of whites over Blacks and Christians over Jews on "real" evidence, as opposed to the "myths" they claim are promoted by liberalism.

Their Old Right racist ideology is evident when paleo-libertarians talk about social justice programs that address racism. They do not argue, as do Black conservatives, that Blacks will do better if they are "set free" of government assistance. They argue instead that whites are superior to people of color. For instance, here is Samuel Francis, notorious racial nationalist, writing in the *Rothbard-Rockwell Report* in 1993 about the policy implications of "white superiority":

In the first place, the natural differentiation of the races in intellectual capacities implies that of the two major races in the United States today, only one possesses the inherent capacity to create and sustain the level of civilization that has historically characterized its homelands in Europe and America. ... And secondly, the recognition of racial realities implies that most of the efforts now deployed to combat racism...are misplaced, based on a profound misconception of racial capacities...Those policies and laws are the fruit of a discredited egalitarian mythology that animates the federal leviathan's perpetual war against civil society and debilitates white resistance to the gathering storm of racial revolution that the enemies, white and non-white, of the white race and its civilization now openly preach and prepare.¹¹

Another example of libertarian racism is the writing of Charles Murray, right-wing sociologist and author of *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life*, which argues that Blacks are genetically inferior



to whites. Murray has recently gone public with his libertarian identity by publishing a book titled *What It Means To Be A Libertarian*.¹² In praise of the publication of *The Bell Curve*, Murray Rothbard wrote:

Until literally mid-October, 1994, it was shameful and taboo for anyone to talk publicly or write about home truths which everyone, and I mean *everyone* (italics in original) knew in their hearts and in private: that is, almost self-evident truths about race, intelligence, and heritability... Essentially, I mean the almost self-evident fact that individuals, ethnic groups, and races differ among themselves in intelligence and in many other traits, and that intelligence, as well as less controversial traits of temperament, are in large part hereditary.¹³

To be sure, any political sector can have a few bad apples who can unfairly give it a bad name. This is particularly true in the case of libertarianism, where the individual is seen as an independent actor, and even such media creations as New York City shock radio host Howard Stern can declare themselves to be libertarians and run for governor as such. In fairness, the label racist can only stick when racism is part of a movement's ideology, or when members of a movement's leadership

exhibit racism and the movement as a whole does nothing to challenge and remove them.

By these standards, libertarianism has a significant problem with racism, as well as anti-Semitism. The late Murray Rothbard, who was ideologically aligned with the Old Right, never renounced the Old Right's racist attitudes during the decades he occupied center stage in the emergence of libertarianism. In his own publication, *Triple R*, Rothbard is described posthumously as "Dean of the Austrian School of economics, founder of modern libertarianism, and restorer of the Old Right."

Anti-Semitism also is prominent in Rothbard circles. Rothbard describes himself as "a pro-Christian Jew who thinks that everything good in Western Civilization is traceable to Christianity."¹⁴ Llewellyn Rockwell served as a Senior Advisor to Pat Buchanan's Presidential campaign in 1992. Buchanan has been accused repeatedly of being an anti-Semite. When the accusation was made by William F. Buckley, who also leveled it against another Rothbard ally, Joseph Sobran (who was serving at the time as one of only two Contributing Editors at the *Rothbard-Rockwell Report*), the *Report* ran an article by David Gordon attacking Buckley, calling him a hypocrite and "hypersensitive."¹⁵ *Triple R* has repeatedly run articles that not only praise Buchanan, but vehemently align with his Old Right views. Rothbard so

admired Buchanan that he once compared Buchanan with two of the Hollywood heroes of the Right— John Wayne and Gary Cooper.¹⁶

After Rothbard's death in 1994, the *Rothbard-Rockwell Report* ran a lengthy article by Paul Gottfried titled "Why must Christians routinely grovel and apologize for crimes against Jews which they never committed?" Gottfried not only makes his own case for the superiority of Christian behavior over Jewish behavior, but he describes the difference between his reasoning on this subject and Rothbard's. Gottfried says of accusations of anti-Semitism against Buchanan:

...it is not Christian anti-Semitism but, as Murray Rothbard used to note, Jewish goy-bashing which has become the characteristic act of tastelessness in our time. On the reasons, however, Murray and I disagreed. He attributed this "blatant wrong" to Christian niceness combined with Jewish antipathy (toward Christians). My own reading of the dominant culture is more critical. If Christians want to be punching-bags, others will take advantage of their masochism.¹⁷

As a "pro-Christian Jew" who held Jews in disdain for their liberalism and what he called their "antipathy" toward Christians, a supporter of high-profile racists like Charles Murray, and a reactionary who bragged of his Old Right beliefs, Rothbard may have been an embarrassment to the libertarian movement. It is telling that when he died, his death was not mentioned in *Reason* magazine. He was not, however, dethroned or disowned by the movement. In fact, he presided over the far right wing of the movement for several decades, and is depicted in flattering terms in Cato Institute Vice-President David Boaz's recent book, *Libertarianism*.

LIBERTARIANISM AND THE RIGHT

Libertarianism is a sort of stepchild of the Right. For three decades it has been consigned to the sidelines of the Right's resurgence. But that

doesn't mean that it has exerted no influence over the Right. In fact, it has played a vital role in providing the rationale and policy recommendations that benefit big business, while being sidelined when its ideology is anti-business or pro-individual freedoms. The Right uses libertarian ideas and policies as they suit the movement's goals. Many libertarians are "closet" or "pseudo" libertarians who publicly distance themselves from the label in order to maintain a less-complicated membership in the New Right or among the "new Republicans." Among these are Senator Phil Gramm (R-TX) and House Majority Leader Dick Arney (R-TX).¹⁸ It is hard to name one prominent libertarian politician who will identify as such, and only the Cato Institute has a national profile outside the confines of the Right.

The Right's large and well-coordinated infrastructure is a well-documented phenomenon; libertarian organizations (even the Cato Institute) are merely a small part of that infrastructure. Among right-wing think tanks, for instance, the weight of the Heritage Foundation in influencing (and in some cases, writing) the policies promoted by the Reagan and Bush Administrations dwarfs the role of the Cato Institute.

So, is libertarianism a significant part of the Right? The answer to that question has changed since the November 1994 elections, when many "new Republicans" came to Congress to implement the Contract with America— a document laced with libertarian influence. The "new Republicans," so-named by journalists because they are ideologically to the right of the New Right, are not necessarily a part of the Christian Right, despite a great deal of overlap among the three groups. Right-wing libertarianism, especially the thinking of those at the Cato Institute, is ideologically compatible with many "new Republican" ideas.

Cato was founded in 1977, as an outgrowth of the Libertarian Party, by Edward H. Crane with money from industrialist Charles Koch. It describes itself as a public policy research organization with the goal of expanding "civil

society" and minimizing the role of "political society," the current system which it sees as based on "rigid rules and mandated relationships." By 1996, Cato operated with a budget of \$8 million.

Cato's influence has blossomed since 1994. Its role has been described by Michael Lind in his book *Up From Conservatism: Why the Right is Wrong for America*:

The economic program of Newt Gingrich's Republicans, when it has not been written by business lobbyists, has been drafted by experts from the libertarian network, such as Stephen Moore of the Cato Institute... Whether they admit it or not, the libertarians play an assigned, and subordinate, role in the conservative Republican coalition. Their support for the decriminalization of marijuana and gay marriage is tolerated and indulged by the Republican elite because the libertarian policy analysts are so useful in providing the business community with what it wants.¹⁹

While Cato often seems to accept this subordinate role and panders to the Right to gain national influence, other libertarians look down on the Right as insufficient and slightly wayward. In the eyes of many right-wing libertarians, it is *they* who are the grandfathers of the Reagan revolution and the ideology of minimal government. They maintain that *libertarian* ideas underlay the Right's success. From this perspective, if the Right were to examine its own ideology, it would see the superiority of libertarianism's ideological package.

Indeed, libertarians certainly have played an important role in the success of the New Right, and, more recently, in formulating the even more extreme anti-government policies of the "new Republicans." In the words of Robert W. Poole, Jr., publisher of *Reason* and President of the Reason Foundation, it was articles in *Reason* that "foresaw the breakup of the Bell monopoly, and made the case for airline deregulation and energy price decontrol long before

these actions were taken. *Reason* was the first magazine to write about privatization of public services.²⁰ In its 1997 Annual Report, the Cato Institute brags that libertarians originated the ideas of school choice and privatizing Social Security, and exerted influence in promoting telecommunications deregulation and fundamental tax reform. More recently, its proposals to privatize the national and state parks, and the interstate highways exemplify the right-wing libertarian policy proposals that appeal to the "new Republicans."

Perhaps the greatest source of tension between the New Right and libertarians is that libertarians are *not* necessarily anti-modern. Libertarianism appeals to the "me" generation that wants its indulgences—such as an unconventional lifestyle, gender identification, or drug habit—and a pattern of material consumption made possible by success in the free market system. Researcher Stephen L. Newman, analyzing data collected by the Cato Institute, points to evidence that yuppies—young professionals who are white, economically-successful, well-educated, and socially-individualistic—make up the bulk of libertarians.²¹ While Newman is careful to say that Cato's data does not meet social science standards, it does conform with his and my own sense of who libertarians are.

Another major source of tension is that libertarians ironically resurrect an Old Right theme that is highly out of favor with the New Right— isolationism. The most recent manifestation of the passion of its isolationist commitment was libertarian opposition to the Gulf War. Seen by the Right as a necessary and noble exercise in "drawing a line in the sand" against bullies and authoritarians such as Saddam Hussein, libertarians applied their isolationist lens to the Gulf War and saw it as adventurism for the sake of the profits derived from Middle East oil. Paleo-libertarians agreed with Pat Buchanan (an honorary paleo-libertarian himself) when he denounced George Bush as an "internationalist." These are strong words indeed, because to both the Old

Right and libertarians, to be an internationalist is by definition to put the "real interests" of the US second to those of the "new international order." True, the United States may dominate in this new order, but only an isolationist foreign policy agenda will provide protection for US interests first and foremost. Libertarians and Old Rightists found themselves allied with the political left in their opposition to the Gulf War, though leftists' reasons for that opposition were markedly different. Is it any wonder that libertarians claim to be pursuing an agenda that is "neither left nor right?"

LIBERTARIANISM APPEALS TO THE "ME" GENERATION THAT WANTS ITS INDULGENCES, SUCH AS AN UNCONVENTIONAL LIFESTYLE, GENDER IDENTIFICATION, OR DRUG HABIT, AND A PATTERN OF MATERIAL CONSUMPTION MADE POSSIBLE BY SUCCESS IN THE FREE MARKET SYSTEM.

There is no better illustration of the differences between libertarians and the larger Right than the 1997 conflict over the nomination by President Bill Clinton of William Weld, former Republican Governor of Massachusetts, to serve as Ambassador to Mexico. Weld's nomination required the assent of Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC), chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, standard-bearer of the Old Right, and influential leader of the New Right. Helms rejected Weld's nomination, refusing even to hold hearings on it, ostensibly on the grounds that Weld was not sufficiently tough in his stand on drugs to be Ambassador to a drug-sensitive post like Mexico.

William Weld is a rightist libertarian. Jesse Helms is a scion of Old Right racism and authoritarianism, but, more important for this battle, he is a rabid

adherent to the New Right's social issues. Weld's libertarianism makes him a leader in right-wing economic issues, such as privatization of government services, elimination of welfare, and elimination of government regulation in the private sector. In all these respects, he and Jesse Helms are comrades in the Republican Party. But as a rightist libertarian, Weld is pro-choice, pro-gay, and has supported the medical use of marijuana— all positions that are abhorrent to the "paleo" politics of Jesse Helms.

Some interpret the stand-off between Weld and Helms (won easily by Helms) as a personal feud between two men who don't like each other. Whatever its motivation, it serves as a stark illustration of the split within the Right posed by libertarians, especially rightist libertarians. Should the Republican Party now be forced to choose between Jesse Helms and William Weld, it would no doubt choose Helms. However, Weld did find some support within the Republican Party, and it is possible that he was ahead of his time (or inadequate to the role) in attempting to split the Republican Party and assert a new role for rightist libertarians.

CATO'S "CIVIL SOCIETY"

Libertarians are often criticized for a heartless indifference to the social contract, or any other civic-minded concern for the larger social good. Even prominent libertarian funder Richard Dennis has complained that libertarians lack sufficient "points of light" and show too little interest in promoting values that lead to moral social outcomes.²² Libertarians respond with their notion of "civil society," which they claim is nurtured by libertarianism more successfully than by any other political ideology.

The many definitions of civil society have made it nearly impossible to distinguish among those using the term in different ways. For some, it is simple civility among society's members; its breakdown is reflected in "road rage" on freeways, locked doors, and unchivalrous men who sit while a pregnant woman stands on the bus. For

others, civil society is the voluntary sector praised by Alexis de Tocqueville in his 1835 book of observations on early American society, *Democracy in America*. In this definition, the concept of civil society is the key to the long-standing dilemma of western democracy— how to harmonize the conflict between individual rights and the need of the larger society to promote peace and prosperity for all its citizens.

For libertarians, civil society is the alternative to the current "political society" in which government controls (i.e., coerces) citizens' decisions about pursuing their lives and happiness. In contrast, civil society involves the voluntary interaction of individuals and associations. A strong civil society is the libertarian answer to the "welfare state." Libertarians believe it will provide the same level of security for the individual, at the same time as it leaves the individual's liberty intact. Civil society will, therefore, fill the holes left when the business sector takes no responsibility for the social good, and government no longer plays a role in assuring it. Civil society, then, becomes society's social glue, acting to moderate the chaotic competition of radical individualism. As described by Edward Crane, founder and President of the Cato Institute, "Civil society...is based on volunteerism and predicated on giving the widest possible latitude to the individual so that he has sovereignty over his own life, so long as he respects the equal rights of others in society."²³

Here again, libertarians claim they are promoting a plan that they claim is "neither right nor left." But in reality, libertarianism's civil society is simply the private sector, and the assertion that it is superior is based on a blind faith in the free market, and an assertion that people will collaborate and create needed social services when they are freed from government restraints and dependence. But why would they? And even giving them the benefit of the doubt, haven't we learned that social services do not assure social justice?

In the free-for-all competitive private sector they call civil society, libertarians show no concern for a level

playing field. Further, they attack those who do show such concern as "redistributionists" and claim that "redistributionists" (liberals) are pursuing a world in which everyone is *the same*, rather than the actual liberal argument that everyone must have the same opportunity. For example, P. J. O'Rourke, well-known author and Fellow at the Cato Institute, delivered a speech at Cato's 20th Anniversary celebration in May, 1997 that defined egalitarianism as making everyone the same, and then lambasted his own twisted definition of egalitarianism as "worse than stupid, it's immoral."²⁴

This complete indifference to people's very different abilities to access the "bounty" of the free market

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system points to a barely submerged elitism in libertarian ideology, for which libertarian ideologues take no responsibility. Embedded in this elitism is libertarians' arrogant neglect of the coercion that is an integral— though rarely acknowledged— part of the free market system. Listen to Steve Forbes, editor-in-chief of *Forbes* magazine and 1996 Republican presidential primary candidate, speaking at the same Cato Institute 20th Anniversary celebration:

Just think about what we take for granted. We don't think about the extraordinary web of trust and cooperation that exists in a country like the United States. There is no coercive agent that says that the cooks must cook the food tonight and the waiters must serve it in a timely manner. They do it because of our free system. They have an interest in it and we have an interest in it,

but no coercion is involved. No rack is outside the room if they don't do it. This extraordinary web is a tribute to what our Founding Fathers launched over 220 years ago.²⁵

The elitism in this description of the free market is stunning. First, note that the cooks and waiters are not the "we" in this account. "We" are those consuming the food. "They" work because they are exercising their individual freedom, not because they are forced to do so by the need to compete for low wages in a brutal environment that provides no security but a job.

Libertarians' faith in radical individualism makes it impossible for them to support any of the traditional methods of promoting a "glue" to hold society together. They abhor traditional values and state-mandated support for religious beliefs because these limit freedom. Liberalism's notions of "brotherhood," "the people," or "positive" freedom— the freedom to pursue a fulfilling and meaningful life by being assured of basic necessities, such as shelter, food, and a livelihood— are more than laughable to libertarians; they are dangerous ideas that underpin support for state-sponsored programs.²⁶

For libertarians, the free market, if left unfettered, will deliver more justice and more prosperity than any configuration of government programs. But, in response to the common-sense assertion that society needs a shared purpose, a shared vision, a guarantee of fairness to its members, or a set of institutions that exercise control and define boundaries, libertarians have no answer but their infatuation with the magic of the free market and their thinly-justified expectation of a "civil society" that will prove stronger and more just than liberalism's mixed economy tempered with government programs.

LIBERTARIAN ENVIRONMENTALISM

Libertarians oppose environmentalism, although the two sectors of right-wing libertarianism hold two distinct libertarian positions on the en-

vironment. Paleo-libertarians are characteristically rabid in their denunciation of liberal environmentalism, calling it "Marxist" and "statist." In the words of Llewellyn Rockwell:

Chicken or chicory, elephant or endive, the natural order is valuable only in so far as it serves human needs and purposes. Our very existence is based on our dominion over nature; it was created for that end, and it is to that end that it must be used through a private property, free-market order. The environmental movement is openly anti-human and virulently statist. Is it any coincidence that the Nazis exalted animals, nature, and vegetarianism above humans, civilization, and civilized eating, or that our environmentalists have an air of green goose step about them?²⁷

There are parallels, in tone and content, between such paleo-libertarian anti-environmentalism rhetoric and that of the "wise use" anti-environmentalism movement in the western states. The murderous rage and rabid self-righteousness of both paleo-libertarians and wise use activists justify nearly any action taken against "tree-huggers" and federal employees enforcing national environmental regulations regarding land use, logging, or mining.²⁸

Libertarians from the more moderate "rightist" branch of libertarianism use less violent language. In describing federal wetland regulations, for instance, the Libertarian Party of California calls these regulations "vicious governmental idiocy," and labels them irrational and absurd.²⁹ The anti-environmentalism alternative proposed by rightist libertarians is what they call "free market environmentalism." In the late 1980s, the Competitive Enterprise Institute, a libertarian think tank in Washington, DC, published a bellwether collection of articles and newspaper clippings that delineates the rightist libertarian approach to environmentalism titled "Readings in Free Market Environmentalism."³⁰

As these readings make clear, free market environmentalism rests on two

fundamental principles: resources are not fixed, and free market capitalism is the best manager of environmental health. The first principle refers to the libertarian belief that there is a safety net built into the environment—the ability of humans to find a *substitute* for that which the environment no longer provides. According to this principle, resources are a function of science and technology. Human imagination and free action can always replace, replenish, or substitute depleted or endangered resources.³¹ This faith in technology and creative thinking runs throughout rightist libertarianism. In promoting it as a libertarian value, Virginia Postrel calls it "dynamism" and contrasts it with liberal utopian visions that require massive social change, but then result in "statis."³² The second principle—that the free market is the best environmental manager—promotes the conversion of all property now publicly-owned to private ownership, whose owners would then exercise "creative stewardship" over their property. As always in libertarian policy, the advantages accrue to *individuals*. Creative stewardship would allow "greater scope for minority tastes, independent of political consensus." Individual tastes often would be superior to government regulation and controls, as there would be "minorities or those with vested interests (who) have the will to protect individual species or resources." Air and water rights would be handled by the same property-rights approach.³³

Within their paradigm—New Resource Economics, also known as the "property rights approach"—libertarians endlessly debate complex and arcane schemes to maintain the environment through the free market system. Cost-benefit analyses, efficiency criteria, cost sharing, "polluter pays" plans, "end-state criteria," and self-interest calculations are just a few examples.

In the end, however, the logic of libertarian environmentalism rests on the same total faith in the marketplace that we've seen in their other policy recommendations. Sometimes a libertarian author simply cannot avoid admitting it. In "How Capitalism Saved the

Whales," James S. Robbins, an editor at *Liberty* magazine, tells the story, now well-known in libertarian circles, of how the distilling of kerosene from petroleum made the use of whale oil obsolete. Robbins brags that "stopping technology in its tracks in the 1850s would have doomed the whales." Robbins concedes that this benefit and others like it were unintended consequences of technological change, but goes on to argue that "the fact that technological development under capitalism manages to produce such consequences consistently argues in favor of the system."³⁴ Such illogical and naive faith that the free market will control the greed and hostility of "man" strikes a discordant note within libertarianism's rigid devotion to logical reasoning.

FREE MEN

It is obvious to even a casual student of libertarianism that it is a white, male movement. Rarely do women appear in a libertarian organization or publication. The 1997 Annual Report of the Cato Institute, for example, consists almost entirely of photographs, page after page of white men. Only toward the back of the report, when the organization's administration staff is pictured, do women appear in any numbers. The 16-member Board of Directors has one woman member. People of color are pictured in the report in even smaller numbers.

True, *Reason* magazine's long-term editor is Virginia I. Postrel. She works, however, under Reason Foundation President Robert W. Poole, Jr., and presides over an editorial staff of 10, eight of whom are men. Cathy Young, a contributing editor to *Reason*, is listed with the 16 "Fellows" at the Cato Institute, though she alone is given the qualifying description "Research Associate." Year-by-year more women are appearing in the pages of libertarian publications and at libertarian conferences. Nevertheless, the homogeneity of the movement, and the absence of women in positions of leadership, are striking.

In 1987, Marsha Hoffman, a libertarian writer and artist, wrote what is to

this day the most impressive critique of the male culture surrounding libertarianism. Her "Women and the Libertarian Movement— Will They Ever Get Along?" was published in *Nomos*, a modest libertarian publication whose editor and managing editor at the time were women. Hoffman thinks that a more libertarian society would benefit women because it would reduce "authoritarian-ness." So why, she asks, are there so few women in the movement? She answers her own question with a convincing account of the movement's "Good Ol' Boys' Club" image, its infatuation with high-tech innovation, its rich men's identity, and its cult-like culture whose secret terminology is open only to those with a demonstrated ability to "reason." Hoffman complains that libertarians neglect both education and child care because they consider these public policy issues to be "women's issues." Much of the culture, Hoffman suggests, comes from the Randian roots of libertarianism, with its emphasis on physical power and a male-identified definition of logical reasoning.

Hoffman admits, with regret, that such a movement puts off most women. No doubt, most people of color are put off for many of the same reasons. However, she fails, perhaps because she is so committed to libertarianism, to identify another crucial turn-off for women— the toxic combination of sexism and *elitism* that characterizes both sectors of libertarianism. She doesn't acknowledge that libertarianism rewards successful men with an ideology that sees the aggressive free-market competitiveness that led to their success as evidence of their superiority. It ignores differences in skills and opportunity, and especially in abilities to master the game of free-market capitalism. It is little wonder that nearly all the members of the Board of Trustees of the Cato Institute are successful businessmen. Even the one woman is a corporate "Chairman."

Despite the male culture of the libertarian movement, many successful professional women and businesswomen are attracted to libertarian ideology. Unsupported within the male-dominated libertarian movement, they

find a more hospitable outlet in the small but influential sub-movement known as "equality feminism." Its two flagship organizations— The Women's Freedom Network and the Independent Women's Forum— are difficult to "fix" on the ideological spectrum, a confusion over their ideological identity much like that which often attaches to libertarianism.

Equality feminists do not oppose sex, do support the free market, and do hate feminists, but don't identify with Christian right-wing anti-feminist women's groups. They are economically conservative, professionally-oriented, media-savvy, chic, and male-friendly. They reject any notion that

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men and women are not equal, or that women are victimized by sex-role stereotyping or patriarchal oppression. They reject what they call the "women-go-home" anti-feminism of Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum or Beverly LaHaye's Concerned Women for America, as well as "radical" feminism's "male-bashing" and "rhetoric of victimhood."

It helps in decoding the ideological underpinnings of these organizations to identify the libertarian content of their platform, and to note the libertarian women who affiliate with them. This is particularly striking in the case of The Women's Freedom Network, which has attracted the two women most prominent in the male-dominated libertarian movement— Virginia I. Postrel, editor of *Reason* magazine and

member of the Board of Directors of the Women's Freedom Network, and Cathy Young, a Vice-President at WFN.

Cathy Young brings to The Women's Freedom Network her record as a trend-setting researcher in anti-feminism. In 1992, before the founding of either The Women's Freedom Network or the Independent Women's Forum, she published an important article in *Reason* attacking feminists and right-wing anti-feminists alike for making victims of women.³⁵ Her formulation of the attack on feminism and the research that has flowed from it are barely noticed in the white, male libertarian movement. The many successful women who are ripe for recruitment by libertarianism are more likely to be attracted by the "equality feminism" organizations that take them seriously than by the larger movement that seems organizationally and intellectually stuck in its male culture.

**WHY IS LIBERTARIANISM
IMPORTANT?**

There is some truth to libertarians' claim that they are the intellectual grandfathers of the current right-wing resurgence. Nevertheless, in the near future, libertarianism will remain in the shadows, failing to get the power, recognition, and credit libertarians feel they deserve for the Right's ideas, and limited by a following largely made up of yuppies and quirky ideologues. And it will remain an *intellectual* movement, making only occasional forays into the policy sphere, under cover of the Right's electoral success.

But, as the Right moves beyond its initial wave of victories and its agenda becomes increasingly disputed, libertarianism may very well again play the spoiler role it has played in the past. Its free-market extremism will continue to parallel the Right's economic agenda, but its laissez-faire social agenda will increasingly challenge the Christian Right's narrow social agenda. Libertarianism offers a loyal opposition within the Republican Party that could act as a wrench in the gears of the Right's movement machinery. Increasing numbers of libertarian-minded voters

could make it harder for the Christian Right to move its social agenda. However, there is more to libertarianism than just its potential to cause a split within the Right. Its "rightist" wing could, by itself, gain popularity as an ideology that is "neither right nor left," and that allows secular self-indulgence and materialism while preserving the Right's anti-government, anti-tax agenda.

There are several specific ways that rightist libertarianism could come into its own. First, rightist libertarianism could gain strength, through its platform of social tolerance, by seducing a sector of people who see themselves as liberals. Libertarianism could win the allegiance of those who are economic conservatives and socially attuned with libertarianism's indulgent attitude toward personal freedom, such as gays and lesbians, feminists whose principal concern is protecting abortion rights, drug users, or those concerned with immigrant rights. Just such a coalition of conservative businessmen, professionals, white, middle class gays and lesbians, and some feminists resulted in William Weld's widespread popularity as a Republican Governor in Democratic Massachusetts. Because a large sector of the US public is now convinced that the free market delivers prosperity, especially if it is "left alone" by government, the economic message of libertarians will be easier to sell to these constituencies. Without a strong progressive movement to counter the Right's seductive message, rightist libertarianism could achieve tremendous popularity among middle-class, and some working class, voters. It could offer an alternative to the values of the Christian Right for those who agree with the Right on economic matters, but cannot accept its Christian content.

A second path to success for rightist libertarians would be to capture the allegiance of the "Rockefeller wing" of the Republican Party, the now-defunct "Republican moderates," a once-vital sector able to command large numbers of Republican votes. Should that sector make a comeback, it will fly a different ideological flag than it flew when it was

soundly defeated by the Party's right wing. It will be a more conservative version of moderate Republicanism that rises from the current ashes. Rightist libertarianism may be a good fit for this currently-disenfranchised constituency; the Cato Institute would like to lead just such a comeback.

Though the rightist sector of libertarianism is the most obvious candidate for future success in U.S. politics, paleo-libertarianism also might catch on in the near future. "Angry white men"—both conservative Republicans and independents—may be brought to libertarianism, if paleo-libertarians reach out to them by giving a nod to traditional values. Two influential right-

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ists, Pat Buchanan and Charles Murray, represent a "bridge" between Old Right conservatism, with its appreciation of traditional values enforced by strong social sanctions, and libertarianism's anti-government rhetoric and commitment to individual freedom. There is precedent for this bridge. After all, both John Locke and Thomas Jefferson, two "fathers" of libertarianism who promoted representative government with a hefty component of populism, theorized within the boundaries of a "Christian" consensus. Much more recently, we may have seen a glimpse of the future in the popular support for Pat Buchanan's 1996 Presidential primary bid.

There are two strategies for winning power in the U.S. system of representative democracy—by extensive

grassroots organizing to create a groundswell of political sentiment, or by influencing elite opinion-makers and decision-makers. Because it is in many ways two movements, libertarianism has a chance for success using either strategy. Paleo-libertarianism attracts grassroots voters who are resentful of change and avidly anti-government. Rightist libertarianism attracts conservative elites and some special interest groups. An economy in which elites benefit dramatically gives an edge to rightist libertarianism. Any economy in which the working person bears a dramatically disproportionate burden of stagnant wages and inflation benefits paleo-libertarianism. In either case, there's a brand of libertarianism in place in the 1990s to catch the political fallout.

Jean Hardisty is executive director of Political Research Associates.

ENDNOTES

¹ For an elegant philosophical defense of the "Nightwatchman" state, see Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (NY: Basic Books, 1974).

² Ulrike Heider, *Anarchism: Left, Right, and Green* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1994): 98. See also Benjamin R. Tucker, *State Socialism and Anarchism: How far they agree and wherein they differ* (London: A. C. Fifield, 1911).

³ *Ibid.* 95.

⁴ See Paul Franco, *The Political Philosophy of Michael Oakeshott* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990); and Stephen L. Newman, *Liberalism at Wits' End: The Libertarian Revolt Against the Modern State* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984).

⁵ Ayn Rand, *The Fountainhead* (Chicago: Signet, 1971).

⁶ David Boaz, *Libertarianism: A Primer* (NY: Free Press, 1997): 53-54.

⁷ Joseph Collins and John Lear, *Chile's Free-Market Miracle: A Second Look* (Institute for Food and Development Policy, Oakland, CA, 1995).

⁸ Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr., "Paleoism: Past, Present, and Future" *Rothbard-Rockwell Report*, Vol. VI, No. 12 (December, 1995): 1, 3-9.

⁹ *Ibid.* 7.

¹⁰ An example of the vitriolic warfare among libertarians is the "debate" that occurred between Richard Cornuelle, who criticizes libertarianism in his article "The Power and Poverty of Libertarian

Endnotes continued on page 18

BOOKS RECEIVED

A Selected, Annotated List

Brenda E. Brasher

Godly Women: Fundamentalism and Female Power

New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998. 216 pages, notes, references, index.

An extremely respectful and insightful study. Brasher provides an excellent analysis through interviews with fundamentalist women and personal experiences at two fundamentalist churches. Brasher does what she sets out to do: provide a vehicle for these women to speak their voices while also offering the reader an understanding of lived religion. She does stop short, however, of providing any analysis of the sometimes politically-charged statements some women made, such as support for ex-gay ministries, or the notion that people are homeless because God wants them to be so.

Scott Lively

The Poisoned Stream: "Gay" Influence in Human History Volume One: Germany 1890-1945

Keizer, OR: Founders Publishing Corporation, 1997. 128 pages, bibliography.

A highly conspiratorial work which lays the blame for the Holocaust squarely at the feet of the gay rights movement. Lively makes the argument that Hitler and his inner circle were homosexuals, perverts, and pedophiles, and their self-hate caused anti-Semitism and the Holocaust. What about gays who died in concentration camps? Don't worry, Lively tells us, "homosexuals were never targeted for extermination." Lively compares Nazi Germany to the present-day gay rights movement, warning that the movement seeks to destroy Judeo-Christian values and the family unit and that widespread de-

struction will surely follow. Look forward to other upcoming volumes of this series: "I have come to discover, through various leads, a dark and powerful homosexual presence in other historical periods: the Spanish Inquisition, the French 'Reign of Terror,' the era of South African apartheid, and the two centuries of American slavery."

Norberto Bobbio

Left & Right: The Significance of Political Distinction

Chicago, IL: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1996, (translated, original Italian edition 1994). 124 pages, notes.

Bobbio labels those who resort to authoritarianism and reject democratic method "extremists," and those that accept the rules of democratic conduct "moderates." He also argues that the duality of freedom v. authoritarianism is a separate dimension that spans left and right. His arguments, however, do not deal with the complexities of fascism and its parasitic adoption of left and right themes. Still, this book commands attention and consideration.

Elisabeth Young-Bruehl

The Anatomy of Prejudices

Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996. 632 pages, notes, index, bibliography.

Many older studies of prejudice had a "tendency to collapse distinctions between types of prejudice..." observes Elisabeth Young-Bruehl. They assumed "that a nationalism and racism, an ethnocentric prejudice and an ideology of desire, can be dynamically the same..." Furthermore, she observes "there is a tendency to approach prejudice either psychologically or sociologically without consideration for the interplay of psychological and socio-

logical factors." This is a profound and subtle contribution to the field.

Lawrence L. Langer

Admitting the Holocaust: Collected Essays

New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1995. 202 pages, notes, index.

Langer raises the inescapable issue regarding the Nazi genocide: "The widespread absence of remorse among the accused in postwar trials indicates that we may need...to accept the possibility of a regimen of behavior that simply dismisses conscience as an operative moral factor. The notion of the power to kill, or to authorize killing of others, as a personally fulfilling activity is not appealing to our civilized sensibilities; even more threatening is the idea that this is not necessarily a pathological condition, but an expression of impulses as native to our selves as love and compassion." This is a book that is both tragic and lyrical, full of anger and hope, and throughout, a steadfast refusal to shy away from the cold facts of genocide.

Eli Sagan

The Honey and the Hemlock: Democracy and Paranoia in Ancient Athens and Modern America

New York, NY: Basic Books, 1991. 429 pages, notes, bibliography, index.

Eli Sagan argues that what he calls the "paranoidia" of greed and domination exemplified by "fascist and totalitarian regimes of this century" is present in less extreme forms in many societies. "The normal, expectable expressions— imperialism, racism, sexism, aggressive warfare— are compatible with

the democratic societies that have existed so far."

Daniel Pipes

Conspiracy: How the Paranoid Style Flourishes and Where it Comes From

New York, NY: The Free Press, 1997. 258 pages, notes, index.

A modest yet thorough overview from a very conservative perspective that adopts centrist/extremist theory. The author essentially considers Marxism to be a conspiracy theory. Still, there is enough food-for-thought to make a meal worthwhile.

Arthur D. Colman

Up From Scapegoating: Awakening Consciousness in Groups

Wilmette, IL: Chiron, 1995. 140 pages, notes, bibliography, index.

An interesting approach linking Jungian psychology to interventions against scapegoating in dysfunctional small organizations and groups.

Daniel Jonah Goldhagen

Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust

New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996. 622 pages, notes, index.

Goldhagen argues that the commonplace bigotry, demonization, and scapegoating of Jews throughout German society was the central factor in the willingness of ordinary Germans to participate in the genocide.

Jack Levin and Jack McDevitt

Hate Crimes: The Rising Tide of Bigotry and Bloodshed

New York: Plenum Press, 1996. 287 pages, appendices, notes, references, index.

A useful overview of hate-based criminal acts of assault and violence. The sections on police response and the current state of the law are especially informative. The authors go beyond the simplistic formulas of mainstream human relations rhetoric to stress that "Popular culture often represents a more pervasive, if less extreme, version of the same underlying hostilities that trigger criminal behavior."

Valerie Jenness and Kendal Broad

Hate Crimes: New Social Movements and the Politics of Violence

New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1997. 215 pages, appendix, references, index.

Same title, equally useful book, but from a critical theoretical perspective that raises questions about the social and political construction of the idea of the hate group and the hate crime. They show how incidents based on race, religion, ethnicity, and sexual identity are treated differently from attacks on women that otherwise seem to fit the model of hate, but are treated legislatively under the category of "Violence Against Women." They examine the role of different social movement organizations in getting their constituencies represented in hate crime or anti-violence legislation.

Catherine McNicol Stock

Rural Radicals: Righteous Rage in the American Grain

Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996. 219 pages, notes, index.

Stock's book contains a very good discussion of producerism and vigilantism throughout US history. Her reliance on

mainstream centrist/extremist theory is clearly indicated in her use (and dismissal) of sources, but her command of the material and her empathetic understanding of rural populism and anti-elite narratives makes for a substantial contribution to the field. Easy to read while maintaining intellectual integrity.

Lise Noël

Intolerance, A General Survey

Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994. 278 pages, notes, thematic bibliography.

An important work that deserves to be read by any serious student of prejudice and bigotry. Noël agrees with the thesis that when persons in scapegoated groups are attacked, they are often described as having brought on the attack themselves because of the wretched behavior falsely ascribed to them as part of the enemy group. She challenges the conventional wisdom, however, by locating intolerance not so much as psychological dysfunction but in societal systems of domination and oppression, especially when the members of demonized groups are challenging the *status quo*.

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A Selected List

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Steven M. Buechler and F. Kurt Cylke Jr.

Social Movements: Perspectives and Issues

Mountain View, CA: Mayfield, 1997. Reader, 578 pages, notes with each chapter.

John Lofland

Social Movement Organizations: Guide to Research on Insurgent Realities

New York, NY: Aldine de Gruyter, 1996. 421 pages, references, index.

Sidney Tarrow

Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics

New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1994. 251 pages, references, notes, index.

William B. Hoxson, Jr.

Search for the American Right Wing: An Analysis of the Social Science Record, 1955-1987

Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992. 357 pages, bibliography, index.

JESSE HELMS VS. "BIG LABOR"

A recent direct mail appeal sent by Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) targets unions as the "greatest threat to working American people." Helms is a co-sponsor of the "National Right to Work Bill" which, according to Helms, would "repeal forever Big Labor's power to force workers to pay union dues in order to work." In trying to "ignite massive public opinion" in support of his anti-labor bill, Helms plans on running television and radio ads; placing full-page newspaper ads coast to coast; sending a 10 million-piece direct mail appeal; personally briefing hundreds of "favorable columnists, radio talk show hosts and editorial writers nationwide;" and using "massive, paid phone banks in the days before the vote."

Helms claims that "union kingpins" don't want the American people to know that "millions of workers are forced to surrender part of every paycheck to keep their jobs. This cash funds violent 'organizing' drives, a limousine lifestyle for union bigwigs, and bankrolls radical, Tax-and-Spend politicians like Ted Kennedy and Bill Clinton." Also claims Helms, "Big Labor's power is deadly to millions of small businesses. Big Labor politicians and Clinton-picked bureaucrats are strangling small businesses with confiscatory taxes, destructive laws and strait-jacket regulations."

PROMISE KEEPERS ANNOUNCES FREE MEN'S CONFERENCES

In the wake of laying off its 345-person paid staff, Promise Keepers (PK), the mass-based Christian men's movement, announced 19 regular men's conferences for the 1998 season. This year's theme is: "Living a Legacy: Make a Difference in Your Lifetime." Conferences are scheduled from May 15 through October 10 in a number of cities including Detroit, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Sacramento, Knoxville, Los Angeles, Little Rock and Omaha among others. According to a Promise Keepers email message, all 1998 confer-

ences are free of charge. PK's clergy conferences, also free of charge, took place in nine US cities from January 15 to March 12.

To promote its events, Promise Keepers, in association with the Christian Community Network (CCN), has launched CCN Events, a web site dedicated to "Get the Word Out (TM)" on local Christian events. CCN Events holds the official PK event listings, as well as other PK-related events across the United States and Canada.



PROMOTING THE "EX-GAY" MOVEMENT

The Washington-DC based Family Research Council (FRC), originally spawned by James Dobson's Focus on the Family, has produced a video, "Coming Out of Homosexuality: Stories of Hope & Healing." The 30-minute video features testimonies from several men and women who have "successfully left the homosexual lifestyle." The bulk of the footage was shot at the 1997 "National Coming Out of Homosexuality Day" press conference in Washington, DC. FRC was a sponsor of the 1997 press conference and has been a visible supporter of Exodus International, the umbrella organization for the "ex-gay" movement.

Meanwhile, Love in Action, a Memphis-based Exodus International ministry is using billboard advertising to spread its message. The billboard features a picture of John Smid, director of Love in Action, with contact information for the ministry as well as the message, "I used to be a homosexual. Finding Freedom in Jesus Christ." Rented by Love in Action, the billboard is on a main thoroughfare heading into downtown Memphis. The January, 1998 issue of *Exodus Update* reports that two local television stations have done news stories about the billboard.

Conferences are yet another vehicle for promotion used by the "ex-gay" movement. This year, Parents and Friends of Ex-gays (P-FOX) the "ex-gay" movement's Christ-centered answer to PFLAG (Parents and Friends of

Lesbians and Gays), held its second annual conference on March 6-8 in McLean, VA. Featured speakers included Alveda King, the anti-gay niece of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., FRC President Gary Bauer, FRC Director of Cultural Studies Robert Knight, as well as Exodus members Don and Jan Frank, Anne Paulk and Stephen Short.

RUTHERFORD INSTITUTE CLAIMS TOLERANCE OF HOMOSEXUALITY

John W. Whitehead, founder and president of the Rutherford Institute, a Christian right legal organization, claims he is growing more tolerant of homosexuality. Whitehead was quoted in the *New York Times* on January, 18, 1998 saying he had evolved markedly, changing the focus of Rutherford and growing more personally tolerant of homosexuality. "I've changed a lot in recent years," Whitehead told the *New York Times*, adding that he had even taken on some gay clients, most recently in Boston. A staff member confirmed the report saying there had been some communication between the Rutherford Institute and the Pro Life Alliance of Gays and Lesbians (PLAGAL), a Washington-DC based organization with a chapter in Boston. In June, 1995 PLAGAL was forced to leave a gay and lesbian Pride festival after a group of lesbians heckled them out of the festival. While many progressives would agree that PLAGAL's First Amendment rights were trampled, PLAGAL's relationship with Rutherford seems disingenuous at best.

Whitehead has gone to great lengths to conceal the basic worldview of the Rutherford Institute in statements to the mass media. However, a review of its newsletters, reports, and direct mail appeals going back seven years shows an apocalyptic conspiracist vision of Christian activists under concerted attack by corrupt and repressive government officials allied with godless and immoral secular humanism. In a 1997 Rutherford Institute mailing which included a "State of the Nation Survey," Whitehead outlined the critical issues facing the nation: "abortion, sex education, gay rights, and religious liberty."

Whitehead has been heavily influenced by Christian Reconstructionism, although in recent years he has evolved toward a version of the softer dominionist theology. Nevertheless, the Rutherford Institute distributes tapes from Reconstructionist leader R.J. Rushdoony, and Rushdoony is credited with supporting the founding of the Rutherford Institute. In *Eternal Hostility: The Struggle Between Theocracy and Democracy*, author Frederick Clarkson quotes Whitehead, "The challenge of the Christian attorney...is to be a vocal, dynamic spokesman for the true legal profession—the one with Christ at its center—and to stop at nothing less than reclaiming the whole system."

GLOBAL WARMING IS GOOD?

In the January, 1998 issue of *The Phyllis Schlafly Report*, Schlafly rails against the Climate Change/Global Warming Treaty produced in Kyoto, Japan in December, 1997. Schlafly calls it the "Hot Air Treaty," and writes that "the only warming we are experiencing is the hot air manufactured by politicians who seek higher taxes and more regulations, wacko environmentalists who want to make humans serve the Earth instead of vice versa, and envious Third World regimes that seek to transfer US wealth to themselves." Schlafly goes on to imply that global warming is a good thing. "Many observers think that global warming, if indeed it is taking place, would be a good thing and would generate net benefits and savings to the United States."

ROTHBARD ROCKWELL REPORT CHANGES NAME

The *Rothbard Rockwell Report*, published monthly by the Center for Libertarian Studies, has changed its name to *Triple R*. The overall format, content and editorial make-up remain unchanged. Contributing editors still include Justin Raimondo, Paul Gottfried David Gordon and Jeffrey Tucker.

MONITORING CULTURE

The Family Research Council has added a new publication to its roster. Called *CultureFacts*, the new publica-

tion "will monitor groups and individuals on the cultural left who are campaigning to redefine traditional moral values." According to a letter by *CultureFacts* editor, Peter LaBarbera, the publication will focus primarily on the "homosexual activist lobby, but also on other agendas that threaten America's moral foundations and endanger our children, such as liberals' use of the schools to indoctrinate children in radical ideas." *CultureFacts* will be sent out by fax and email each Wednesday and is produced by FRC's Cultural Studies Department, led by Robert Knight.

CHRISTIANS MUST EXIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The February, 1998 *President's Report* of the National Association of Christian Educators/Citizens for Excellence in Education calls for Christians to take their kids out of the public school system by the year 2010. Robert Simonds writes, "Deception in our schools is the rule, not sincerity; arrogance, not cooperation. Therefore, after 15 years of sincere efforts to gain parental rights, a 'safe passage' curriculum for our dear innocent children, the Lord has counseled me, and an impressive array of those associated in ministry have confirmed God's leading, that Christians must exit public schools as soon as it is feasible and possible."

Simonds believes that as Christians exit the public school system, the "liberal establishment will see first hand the massive problems that will run completely out of control without Christian influence." He urges all Christian organizations and all churches to join him in removing Christian children from public schools and place them in Christian schools or home school them. "America must not just get vouchers and tax breaks for parents in private schools— those are good and necessary steps. We must go back to what worked best for America. The only way to do this is to privatize all public education," writes Simonds. Calling his public school exodus Rescue 2010, Simonds wants to fill existing Christian schools and start a school in every church facility by the year 2010.

"God has given CEE incredible victories in our efforts to save our Christian children in public schools— and thereby guiding CEE to save America's public school children from atheism, homosexuality, the occult, drugs, children having children, abortion, brainwashing and crippling psychology."

BEVERLY LAHAYE STEPS DOWN FROM CWA PRESIDENCY

Beverly LaHaye, founder of Concerned Women for America (CWA) has stepped down from her 20-year presidency of the organization. She will remain chair of the board of trustees of CWA and continues to host her daily radio program. Carmen Pate, former CWA vice president has taken the helm as president. LaHaye made the announcement at a reception for CWA on January 31, 1998.

Eye Lashes

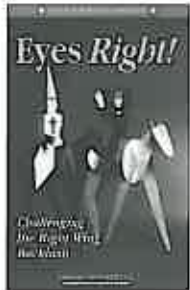
"The civil-rights movement was orchestrated by Washington elites who sought an end to states rights, property rights, and freedom of association. They also wanted the humiliation of whites. As has been well documented, it was led by communists in league with statistis of all sorts. Far from giving people rights, the result was to take away rights from people who merely sought to govern themselves and use thier own property any way they saw fit."

— Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr. in the January 1998 issue of *Triple R*, formerly *The Rothbard-Rockwell Report*, published monthly by the *Center for Libertarian Studies*.

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Endnotes continued from page 13

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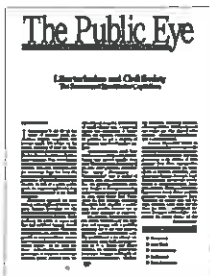
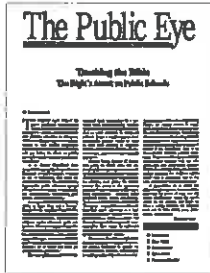
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The Rights of the Poor, American Civil Liberties Union Handbook written by Helen Hershkoff and Stephen Loffredo is an excellent resource written for people with low incomes and their advocates. An essential reference for anyone seeking her or his way through the maze of changing and bewildering laws and regulations governing people with low incomes. Particu-

larly easy to read, this handbook uses a simple question-and-answer format to provide a comprehensive account of a myriad of programs and services, including income support, food assistance, health services, housing, and education. Available from Southern Illinois University Press, PO Box 3697, Carbondale, IL 62902-3697

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