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LI Gathering Held in August Swaziland Conference Broadens Perspectives

by Jim Peron

Jim Peron attended the Swazi L.I. conference and is proprietor of Free Forum Books in San Francisco.

The Fourth World Conference of the Libertarian International was held August 7 through 13 in Mbabane, Swaziland at the Royal Swazi Sun Hotel. The conference attracted about 165 attendees from 11 different nations. Participants from South Africa, the United States, the Netherlands, Canada, Norway, Sweden, Belgium, Luxembourg, Transkei, England and Swaziland were present. Most of the speakers were from the United States, and they focused on libertarian theory. Most of the remaining speakers were South Africans who focused on the current state of affairs in that country.

No Shows

Before the conference began, organizers ran into major problems. Three key speakers, Karl Hess, Barbara Branden and Hernando DeSoto, all withdrew prior to the conference. Hess and Branden had health problems, and DeSoto said he was unable to attend due to business. Organizers scrambled at the last minute to replace these speakers and had received a commitment from Palestinian activist Mubarak Awad that he would attend. Awad had recently been deported from Israel for organizing non-violent protests against Israeli occupation of Palestinian lands. But Awad failed to appear at the conference, and organizers were never contacted by him to explain his absence.

In spite of the problems, L.I. President Vince Miller said, "I was quite satisfied with the conference."

South Africa Focus

The conference was held in Swaziland, an independent kingdom which borders South

Africa. Participants were overwhelmed by the natural beauty of the Swazi countryside and the luxury of the conference site. Unlike many libertarian conferences, the facilities were first class from beginning to end.

The conference opened with an address by John Hospers, first Libertarian Party candidate for President. Hospers gave a basic talk about the role of the entrepreneur in a free society. South African activist Albert Koopman gave a talk on "Fighting Apartheid in the Workplace." The Koopman talk was an odd call for worker participation in decision making in privately owned companies. Koopman seemed to believe that workers who do not own a company and are not liable for its debts should be allowed to make decisions on how to run the company. But where Koopman disappointed conference participants, Louise Tager thrilled them. Tager, a professor of law at the University of Witwatersrand, presented a talk on deregulation and apartheid entitled, "Untying the Knot."

Tager showed how apartheid is a series of laws which limits the economic freedom of blacks. Tager told the libertarian audience, "Deregulation in South Africa therefore has another dimension. Our laws and regulations with their heavy racial content regulate and control the activities of the black community to the extreme. The process of deregulation in South Africa is thus more meaningful, more complicated, far reaching and very much more important than deregulation in other parts of the world. Deregulation in South Africa is the means to remove the racial provisions in the law; it is the means whereby socioeconomic apartheid will be dismantled. There is no doubt that if the dismantling of socioeconomic apartheid can be achieved in the name of deregulation, South Africa will have made some very important advances towards the restoration of those rights which have been denied to the black community for so many years."

Tager explained how deregulation of the economy has empowered the black majority and given them ever increasing amounts of economic power. Blacks are officially not supposed to operate businesses in white areas, as this would be a violation of the Group Areas Act. But Tager told how, "Free Trade areas have been opened by the State

Continued page 2



Libertarian International Chairman Vince Miller presented Hubert and Rita Jongen of Holland with the Freedom Torch Award gold medals for their devoted long-time service to the LI organization. Photo courtesy of LI.

Special
International
Issue

Canadian LP Election

Information for this article was taken from the December issue of the West Coast Libertarian, the newsletter of the Greater Vancouver Libertarian Association and the November-December issue of Freedom Network News, the newsletter of Libertarian International.

Ottawa, Canada — Like their libertarian cousins to the south, Canadian LP members recently participated in national elections for their equivalent to Congress. Elections to the Canadian parliament (Senate and the House of Commons) were held in November and saw the moderate Progressive Conservatives retain power in the wake of widespread debate over the U.S.-Canadian Free Trade Pact, which the incumbent conservatives (and the Canadian LP) supported.

The Libertarian vote across Canada increased nearly 50% over the 1984 election tally and the average vote per candidate climbed 17-18% over the 1984 figure. With 88 candidates running (out of 295 seats), the Libertarian Party of Canada (LPC) received approximately 33,800 votes, compared to 23,100 votes in 1984.

The 1984 LPC vote total increased 60% over the prior election outing, and the 1988 results were 45% ahead of the 1984 figures. Most Canadian LP members viewed this vote growth as grounds for optimism about building the LPC's base in national politics.

The campaign activities, which by law are limited in both time and amount of money spent — without the burdensome ballot access requirements imposed on the U.S. LP — stimulated new interest in libertarian

ideas. The LPC office in Toronto received some 400 inquiries, and LPC membership has risen to 1,500, the total set as the goal to be achieved by the time of the recent federal elections.

The high vote-getter for the LPC was Danny Hunt with 3,071 votes in the Toronto riding (district) of Etobicoke-Lakeshore. LPC leader Dennis Corrigan reports that one candidate received 7%, and a couple were the balance of power in their elections. The LPC ran heavy radio and newspaper ads stressing the anti-tax issue, and received much more media coverage during the campaign than in previous years. But they were also shut out on the television election-night reporting. Corrigan feels that the extreme polarization of the election over the free-trade issue hurt Libertarian vote totals, but stressed that the libertarians are having some impact on the terms of the public debate.

The election also stimulated interest in regional and local LPC organizations. The Vancouver area libertarians received over 100 inquiries, and several of their active candidates garnered favorable publicity during their election efforts.

Candidate Paul Geddes of the Vancouver area nabbed a headline in *The Province* newspaper by calling Prime Minister Mulroney "a socialist" and Lewis Dahlby received the *Vancouver Sun* headline and stole half the write-up at an all-candidates meeting in Haney on November 2. According to the paper, Dahlby's forthright declaration of libertarian principles earned him a "thunderous ovation" by the more than 300 people in attendance. ■

In this issue:

One World Non
Government
page 4

UK Popper Conference
page 6

"Cry Freedom"
page 5

LI Conference

From page 1

President in more than 100 white central business districts. This means that any South African regardless of race, can own or lease property and carry on business in these areas."

The talk ended with a brief discussion of sanctions against South Africa. Tager said, "The key to the future in South Africa is economic empowerment. Political power will become attainable through economic empowerment. But there are new clouds on the horizon: Sanctions. There is no doubt that the imposition of sanctions will slow economic growth, sanctions are intended for that reason. But that in turn will slow the opportunity for economic empowerment. It is ironic that now that the black business community is being freed from the shackles of economic apartheid legislation, the sanctions initiative is in full swing. Sanctions are very likely to cause the same stifling effect on the development of black business as did the apartheid legislation. Those who support sanctions have failed to understand that without economic empowerment political equality will be slow in coming."

Education Revolution

South African libertarian activist Marc Swanepoel gave the conference an update on the "With Justice For All" video training program that is being conducted throughout South Africa. The video program is comprised of eight hours of video cartoons explaining the differences between the free market and socialism. The tapes discuss such issues as how consumers control the marketplace, the function of prices and profits, the cause of inflation, the detrimental role of politics in the economy, and how only a free market can solve the racial problems of South Africa.

The videos are presented as part of a three-day course. The tapes are available in English, Afrikaans and six tribal dialects. To date, 200,000 workers have taken the program and 500,000 more are already scheduled for the course over the next two years. There are presently 400 instructors teaching the course and 20 new instructors are being trained each month. About 80% of the students are black and 20% white. Swanepoel says the program intends to reach 5 million workers within five years. To help facilitate this goal, the program has established six regional centers where the course is presented on a weekly basis for workers from companies that are too small to run their own program. The numbers reached to date are quite impressive in light of the fact that South Africa is a country of 30 million. A similar program in the United States would have to reach 1,600,000 students by now, with another 4,000,000 scheduled, to have the same effect.

Groundswell Update

Frances Kendall, co-author with husband Leon Louw, of *After Apartheid: The Solution for South Africa* gave a report on the influence of the book and how Groundswell is changing political ideas. Groundswell is a grassroots organization established to help implement the decentralist concepts of the book. Groundswell has been sponsoring what they call "Solution Parties" which are similar to Tupperware parties. A host sponsors the party and invites 10-20 guests. Two representatives from Groundswell arrive with copies of the book and give a brief talk about the book and then field questions. Kendall discussed a survey that was taken of people after they had attended a Solution Party. By comparing survey results with a similar random survey, they found the party has a major effect in changing attitudes.



South African law professor Louise Tager discussed "Untying the Knot" about political and economic de-regulation in that nation's economy. Photo by George Hollemback.

After attending a Solution Party only 8.5% of the participants favored more power for the central government; in a random sample 35% favored more power for the central government. In the random sample 3% said that either Groundswell, the *Solution* book, or Louw's Free Market Foundation were bringing about the solution for South Africa. But 62% of the people who attended a Solution Party named at least one of these three.

Political Perspective

Another dynamic South African who addressed the conference was Frederik van Zyl Slabbert. Slabbert served as a member of the South African Parliament from 1974-86. He was the elected leader of the Progressive Federal Party, which was the Official Opposition in the South African Parliament. Slabbert said the current South African government was an "effective combination of mediocracy and incompetency." He told conference participants that "it is on the ideological level that we need development." Slabbert said that South Africa needed a new ideology which would "inculcate respect for the individual" and that the question for South Africans was "how to move away from a highly centralized, authoritarian dictatorship toward a society where respect for the individual is supreme."

Slabbert said that libertarianism may be the wave of the future for South Africa. He told the audience, "There is a chance that the principles you believe in might have a place in our society."

Slabbert, who was the leading opponent of the National Party, which currently controls South Africa, did not have any kind words for American politicians who campaign using South Africa as an issue. He said that, "Local American politicians use South Africa to consolidate their own constituencies." He called for a breakdown of stereotypes and said that both the African National Congress and the Right in South Africa have been stereotyped and this helps keep people from discussing a real solution to the crisis.

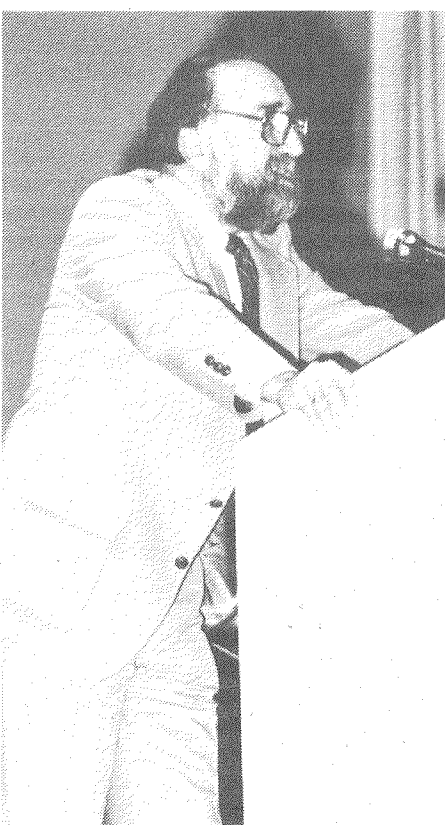
Dr. Steve Pejovich, Director of the Center for Free Enterprise at Texas A&M University, gave a lecture on property rights and economic development. Before he spoke he told the conference, "I have learned more about South Africa in two days than I have in the past 40 years."

Swazi Viewpoint

In addition to various libertarians from around the world, the conference was attended by officials of the Swazi government, including the Crown Prince. Other attendees included so-called "black student radicals" who seemed favorably impressed with the libertarians they met. The



South African opposition leader Frederick van Zyl Slabbert and black militant Pro Jack listen intently to conference proceedings. Photo courtesy of George Hollemback



Steve Pejovich, Director of the Center for Free Enterprise at Texas A&M University, discussed property rights and economic development. Photo courtesy of G. Hollemback.



The *Solution* co-author Leon Louw welcomes LI conference attendees at the opening night session. Photo by George Hollemback.

"radicals" spent much time talking with libertarians and seemed very open to the concepts of free enterprise. But it was quite clear that the high point in the conference for these "radicals" was a presentation by American radical revolutionary Patrick Henry, as portrayed by Bruce Evoy. Evoy presented a dramatic rendition of Henry's famous "Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death" speech which was loudly applauded and cheered by these "radicals" who asked Evoy for copies of the speech.

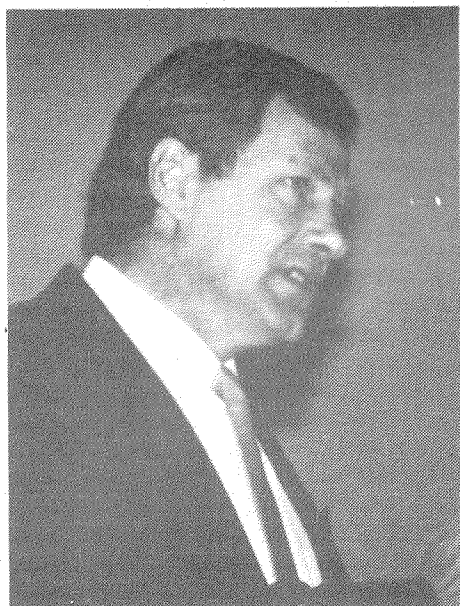
Leon Louw of South Africa's Free Market Foundation reported to the *American Libertarian* that as a result of the conference, he had private meetings with officials of the government of Swaziland. He said the government there expressed interest in hiring Louw and the Free Market Foundation to help them implement a program of de-regulation and tax cuts.

Press coverage was more than favorable in Swaziland. *The Swazi Observer*, a daily paper published in the capital of Mbabane, ran a major story on the conference. The article, in a style unfamiliar to American libertarians, said, "The Kingdom of Swaziland is blessed to host such an august conference convened by this international organization. The conference, the fourth to be held since its inception is attended by renowned personalities from various schools of thought. Among them political pundits,

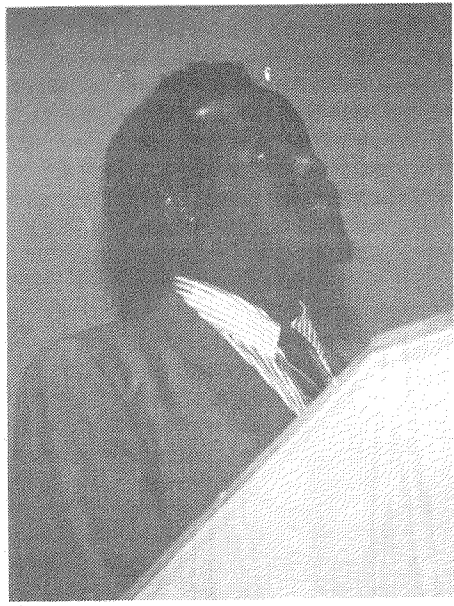
authors, local ministers and men of high caliber, just to mention a few gracing the conference."

The paper described conference attendees as being "bound by an intense desire to see justice triumph over evil, all are working today to build the foundation of a better freer world tomorrow. They are people who see very clearly that the solution to the problems of today's turbulent world and to the unlocking of individual human potential is to be achieved not via the institutionalized violence and force to government action, but rather via free and enlightened people seeking private, voluntary and noncoercive solutions among themselves." The article also said that Libertarians "are on the vanguard of a new and exciting wave of change."

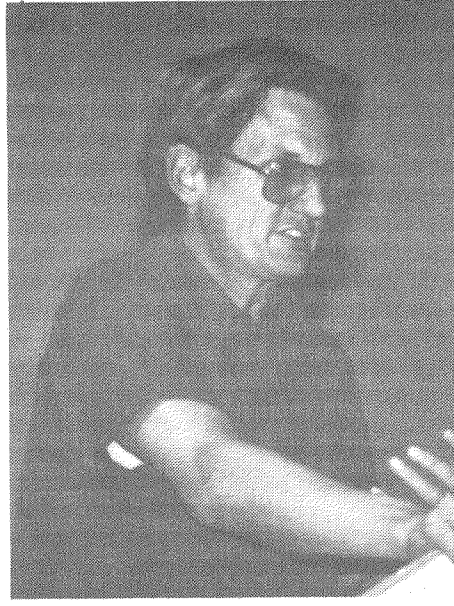
It is clear that this article was not written by an American journalist. The article lavished intense praise on libertarianism and included long excerpts from various libertarian leaflets. The article noted that Libertarian International has been "working for five years now to promote a worldwide brotherhood amongst those who love liberty, the success of which is much in evidence at world conferences where one cannot help but be moved by the intense and very warm feelings of comradeship, and by the unbridled cooperation and unity of purpose." ■



Former South African parliamentary opposition leader Van Zyl Slabbert was one of the more prominent South African participants. He is also a director of IDASA, the Institute for A Democratic Alternative for South Africa. Photo courtesy of LI.



David Maphumulo and Marc Swanepoel spoke to Libertarian International conference participants on the "For Justice For All" video education project sponsored by the South African Free Market Foundation. Photo courtesy of LI.



Notes on the Conference Aftermath

by Vince Miller

Vince Miller is President of Libertarian International.

Following the Swazi Conference, Jim Peron and I were invited to visit the Free Market Foundation. They threw the foundation (located in a huge mansion in a fashionable section of Johannesburg) open to the Swaziland conventioners for a whole day and provided drinks and a lavish barbecue for all. The work of the FMF is quite remarkable. Their "Justice for All" video training program is incredible. They have already run close to 100,000 people through this free market course and anticipate that they will hit up to one third of the **entire work force** of South Africa within the next two years. Leon claims close to a 100% conversion rate to libertarianism even of the most fiercely radical of black Marxists.

Following this we visited with Leon Louw and Frances Kendall for a few days then traveled to Cape Town, where we again met with Pro Jack (a former Marxist terrorist who spent 7 years in Robbin Island — South Africa's equivalent to Alcatraz). Pro Jack attended the Swaziland conference and provided considerable liveliness to the debate. In Cape Town he provided Jim and I with a guided tour of the offices of IDASA (the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa) and of several of the neighboring black townships. In the latter, LI Vice Present Jim Elwood and I met with civic and religious leaders. The awful conditions and grinding Third World poverty in these townships stood out in numbing contrast to the indescribable beauty and wealth of Cape Town. But in spite of this, the people were extremely friendly, bright and open — even optimistic.

An interesting observation is the existence of a burgeoning black underground economy. There are no less than 120,000 illegal black taxis in South Africa, and we saw dozens of illegal, unlicensed entrepreneurs in Soweto — even an illegal dry cleaning van operating next to a police station. There were also a good number of cars — even in shanty towns. Leon informs us that the number of cars owned by blacks in South Africa exceeds the total number of cars owned by anyone in the Soviet Union.

IDASA, incidentally, has a decided Marx-

ist redistributionist flavor but they are showing increasingly more interest in libertarianism — and are particularly intrigued by the ideas of Leon and Frances. They are also extremely fond of former member of Parliament Dr. van Zyl Slabbert (a speaker at the conference). Slabbert is about as hard-core a libertarian as we found in South Africa (he doesn't call himself a libertarian, incidentally — but he is). He also has a huge black following. Anyway, we took Pro Jack to lunch and discussed his concerns and what his hopes for the future were.

Nigerian Activity

Our Nigerian LI Rep., Mr. Innocent Eleazu (who was unable to make it to Swaziland because of visa problems with the South African government), has written to invite myself, Leon Louw and Frances Kendall to speak at a special symposium on the 16th and 17th of December to examine the proposals in **The Solution**. It is unlikely that I will attend, but I expect that Leon and Frances will make it. Eleazu, incidentally, is National Secretary of the Nigeria Association of Economists.

A special guest of honor at this event will be the Nigerian Minister of External Affairs. Academics, businessmen and key representatives from the Embassies and High Commission staffs from the embassies of black Africa all have been invited.

Eleazu, apparently, is trying to sell libertarianism to the black African states. Let's wish him luck. The work of Frances and Leon — in conjunction with LI's contacts and networking activities — may be having more impact in the real world than we know. We certainly made it plain to black activists in South Africa that libertarians are their logical allies. ■

South African Vignettes

by Lou Villadsen

Lou Villadsen lives in Los Angeles, CA. She attended the Libertarian International meeting in Swaziland and then spent two weeks in South Africa, visiting Johannesburg and Soweto, Cape Town, and Ciskei. She has long been active in libertarian activities and once successfully helped to abolish a small government agency.

Vignette #1: South African Food & History

Living in Los Angeles, I'm used to having interesting, inexpensive restaurants on every corner. Not so in Johannesburg or

Cape Town. There are some, of course, but not the number I expected for the largest and second-largest cities in South Africa. In fact, the Cape Town phone book has only three pages of restaurant listings — for a metropolitan area of 1.5 million or more. And the places we ate in didn't impress me very much. They did offer some delicacies you're unlikely to see in the US: crocodile, ostrich, and springbok, the antelope-like "national animal" of South Africa. It tasted like mild venison.

If the names of restaurants are any indication, South Africans are very much taken with the American Old West: the names included Comanche, Tomahawk, Buffalo Bill's. Where were we, in South Africa or Texas? And there are plenty of parallels between the western US and South Africa: the climate and terrain are much like California and many white South Africans are the descendants of pioneers who crossed the veldt in covered wagons, fighting the "savages".

The Voortreker Monument, built on a hill overlooking Pretoria, commemorates the Afrikaners' Greak Trek from Cape Town northward toward Johannesburg. Along the wall surrounding the Monument are frescoes of covered wagons. Unfortunately, inside the monument are frescoes of the Afrikaners defeating the Zulus at the Battle of Blood River. To an American, it seems sad and symbolic that the most important official cultural icon, and the most important national holiday in South Africa — Covenant Day — commemorates the victory of one group of South Africans over another. Only in Ciskei did we see black history officially commemorated.

Labor is cheap in South Africa — many of the black people who are relegated to "menial" jobs would rise to the top in a meritocracy. One result is that they don't have fast food places as we know them. At a Wimpy's (similar to Burger King) we stood at the counter to order: therefore, our food was packed to take away. If you want to eat at a table there, you sit down and wait to be served.

South Africans think our steaks are bland and tasteless. Both steaks and hamburgers there are more heavily seasoned; they have a marinade they call "monkey gland" — sort of like A-1 Sauce, but with an odd under-taste. (I didn't ask what was in it!) Chips (french fries to you and me) were uniformly soggy, undercooked and greasy. But we were much taken with two non-alcoholic carbonated drinks: Appletizer and Grapetizer, neither of which is available in the US. Iced tea is virtually unheard-of.

Speaking of drinks, Coke is all over South

Africa, as is Kentucky Fried Chicken, Pepsi, and Pizza Hut. No McDonalds or Burger King, though. The companies that have nominally "divested" have used a variety of tactics to keep on selling. Coke simply stopped supplying syrup directly to the South African bottlers and started selling it to a firm in Swaziland, an independent kingdom that borders South Africa. The Swazi company then sells the syrup to the South African bottlers, and life goes on as usual. Other companies are licensing their products or their production technology to South African-owned companies set up for just that purpose. To the extent that disinvestment is a "success", it's hurting the blacks far more than the whites, and the blacks know it. In public opinion surveys, blacks oppose sanctions and disinvestment by a wide margin.

And on the walls surrounding Bishop Tutu's church in Soweto, a graffiti has been spray-painted: NO SANCTIONS, TUTU!

Vignette #2: Ciskei

About four years ago, *Reason* magazine did a story on Ciskei, the South African "homeland" that looked like it might turn into another Hong Kong. When Ciskei became "independent" in 1981, the Free Market Foundation provided consulting services to their newly formed government, helping to write a constitution that — on paper — would make it among the most free countries in the world. No race laws, few regulations, low taxes: it's not Galt's Gulch by any means, and the civil liberties, including *habeas corpus*, are not up to the standard of the economic freedom, but it was a place where libertarians could point to with hope. So we spent a day in Ciskei.

Ciskei is supposed to be "independent". It has a President, several government buildings and its own airline — well, it has two planes and an airport, but no one knows when service will be started — but it doesn't have any borders. When we entered South Africa, we had to go through the usual customs and immigration rigamarole. When we traveled to Swaziland (an independent kingdom that was never part of South Africa) for Libertarian International, we filled out forms on both sides of the fence. But Ciskei was different: several of the main (South African) highways run right through it, and we crossed the border several times on our drive. How do I know we crossed the border? There were small signs: "Welcome to Ciskei." "You are now in South Africa." The signs were no bigger than the ones that divide Santa Monica from Los Angeles, or Evanston from Chicago. There were no guards, no paperwork, nothing.

Businesses are flocking to Ciskei, both from Europe and from South Africa itself. We saw one multi-national (Siemens, a German computer manufacturer) and hundreds of small manufacturing facilities, making everything from clothing to fishing rods. Those companies are making a tremendous difference. A huge percentage of Ciskeians live in the sprawling town of Mdansane, which used to be the black township for the white South African city of Port Elizabeth. Many of these people still commute to work in Port Elizabeth by train, but increasing numbers are finding jobs much closer to home. And many who have never been a part of the cash economy are also finding jobs: the closer we drove to the industrial areas, the more affluent things looked. The real poverty of southern Africa — round mud-brick huts with thatched roofs and square mud-brick huts with tin roofs held on with rocks and old tires — gives way to larger dwellings, painted walls, TV antennas, indoor plumbing. There are even some American-style housing developments being built, particularly in Bisho, the capital,

Continued page 6

Libertarian Outlook

One World Non Government

When the history of civilization is portrayed, it is often described in terms of evolution from small tribes and clans to feudal kingdoms and fiefdoms, to the more recent idea of an abstract "nation state" based upon cultural and ethnic affinity and geographic proximity. The notion of a State, as opposed to a personal or familial territory owned by a ruling family, is viewed sympathetically in this portrayal as a progressive stage up from earlier arrangements. And this type of analysis sometimes leads to the conclusion that the ultimate stage of evolution by civilization is something akin to one-world government, the cherished ideal of many a past emperor as well as of some of today's misty-eyed idealists.

But like so many other cherished myths of our times, the "one big happy family on planet earth" end stage of human progress is in truth a mythical dead end. One gigantic monstrous single State entity governing the entire planet is instead more likely to be the recipe for the end of civilization and humanity, if recent history is any guide.

For there is no firm evidence that modern nation states, based more upon ideology and culture than blood ties, are any better at nurturing the civilizing values of individualism, private property and human dignity than were their supposedly less sophisticated forebearers. The Divine Rule of Kings has been supplanted by the Divine Rule of the People or the Volk, a maneuver which replaces the flesh-and-blood mortality of ones rulers with totally abstract and immortal rule by bad ideas. Kings and emperors at least had the virtue of being vulnerable to the arrows of the righteous. Modern day genocide States, complete with their own theologies of power, cannot be so easily defeated. If anything, the notion of an abstract State makes the manifest evils of statism far more difficult to root out.

The idea of a one-world government should make any thinking person, let alone any libertarian, shudder in horror at the likely consequences: statist madness unchecked save for its own internal forces of self destruction.

Fortunately, this future nightmare scenario is unlikely to come to pass. Why not? The answer lies with the same reasons that libertarians in southern Africa are finding success in spreading the message of individual liberty in one of the most repressive parts of the globe. Force, coercion, and tyranny require energy and resources to sustain themselves. Societies ruled by force — held together by military police state repression — are very fragile. Governments across the world, from Korea, Burma, the USSR and China, in the middle east, along with South Africa and many Third World dictatorships, find that the cost of maintaining harsh statist repression is high and growing higher. Without constant and increasing application of force, such governments will cease to exist. The internal forces of insurrection and revolution, not to mention ethnic and cultural devolution, are constantly at work to unseat the centralized locus of State Power.

As some South Africans have discovered this, so will others around the world. Only by abandoning the central concept of the all-powerful, all-wise god of State Power can there ever hope to be a peaceful accommodation of all diverse elements within societies, which will then be free and able to create positive economic and cultural growth. As

our report in this issue on the Libertarian International conference in Swaziland illustrates, the value of the simple idea of liberty holds out more promise for progress in South Africa than does all the guns and tanks commandeered by the South African government.

There is no guarantee, of course, that the small dose of libertarianism being applied to that critically ill nation will be enough to salvage that bad situation. But at least it offers hope. Elsewhere in the world, from the middle east to the restive nations and subnations of the Soviet bloc, only decentralism and decollectivism makes sense as the alternative to increasingly unsustainable repression.

Even in its most advanced habitat in North America, the fragile flower of libertarianism has yet to make major headway against older and more entrenched modes of philosophical, political and economic thought. As recent U.S. elections remind us, "libertarian" is still not a household word. And much of our planet contains millions of people in nations where the noble libertarian truths of our time have yet to penetrate at all, at least in a self-conscious manner.

But the ideas are there and they hold out hope for humanity. A healthy, growing and diverse world simply cannot be "run" by bigger and more powerful nation states, or be ceded to one gigantic world monopoly State.

Instead, as this issue of *American Libertarian* tries to demonstrate, the true path for the advance of civilization lies with spreading the seeds of fundamental truths about living together in harmony and abundance.

As these seeds take root around the world, the discredited concepts of statism will wither and die. And someday, civilized people will look upon statism as merely another primitive superstition, discarded during the long march towards a better future for all. ■

Feedback



Letters Policy

Letters are accepted provided they carry the author's name and address. A phone number should be included for verification purposes only. Letters

should be kept short and are subject to editing. Letters submitted to other publications will not be considered. Send to: Feedback, *American Libertarian*, 21715 Park Brook Drive, Katy, TX 77450.

Anti Political libertarianism revisited

In renewing my subscription last summer I added half a sentence requesting more coverage of anti-political libertarians. In response you wrote an editorial in your August issue characterizing anti-political libertarians as people who believe a libertarian society is obtainable through 'pure faith'. In contrast, political libertarians are doing the 'good works', such as organizing conventions, running political campaigns, paying for media ads, etc. that add members to the LP and actually advance the cause. Your editorial also brought in a letter of support from *Virginia Liberty's* Marc Montoni, who called anti-political libertarians, in so many words, "apolitical gadflies who sit around on their fat asses and complain



Baloo

"What keeps me going? -- Mainly, I guess, the awareness of absolute power."

about what a foul business the party is."

I think it's only fair to point out that neither your editorial nor Marc's letter tried to refute the arguments made by anti-political libertarians against political activity. These arguments are:

1) libertarian political activity is unethical;

2) libertarian political activity is inefficient as a means of achieving a libertarian society.

Let me deal briefly with each of these arguments.

1) Libertarian principles forbid aggression. You and Marc advocate that libertarians actively participate in an organization, the State, that claims the right to aggress against others. How can a person honestly call himself a libertarian and actively participate in a coercive organization? Would it be ethical for reformist-minded libertarians to join the Cosa Nostra or the Ku Klux Klan? I don't see how it would be. Why then is becoming a member of the State ethically defensible?

2) Free market economists have shown that the interests of the consumer are best served when his needs are supplied by free competition among producers. For example, security is a need of consumers, and free competition among producers of security will be more efficient than government provision of security. Similarly, are not people's needs for relief from State oppression in its various forms needs that can best be served by free competition among producers? Again, in serving these needs, through expansion of the underground economy, will not free market competition and entrepreneurial activity be the most efficient way of discovering how to do away with the State? If so, why then should libertarians waste resources by participating in the inherently inefficient processes of political action?

Writers such as George Smith and Samuel Konkin III have explained these arguments much more fully. I would appreciate it if you and Marc would read, for example, George Smith's 'Party Dialogue', and address the arguments therein.

Thank You.

Leslie Webb
Koyto, Japan

Although space precludes a full-scale debate on the subject, let me address your main arguments briefly:

1) "libertarian political activity is unethical"

- Most libertarians who engage in political activity regard their involvement as self-defense against the State. Unless and until the vast majority of people come to accept the notion that the State is unnecessary, libertarians of all stripes will have to deal with the institution of the State as best they can. There seems to be no moral reason why libertarians can't organize together to advocate limiting the depravations of statism. This is not aggression, but good old-fashioned self defense. Additionally, a large number, perhaps the majority, of libertarians are not anarchists. They are minarchists or limited government libertarians. And they do

Continued page 5

American Libertarian

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Feedback

From page 4

not view government as necessarily inherently immoral.

2) "libertarian political activity is inefficient" - Compared to what? The Libertarian Party and other libertarian political activities have exposed million of Americans to the ideas and policies of libertarianism. Like it or not, politics and political activity is one arena where ideas are proposed and evaluated by the public on a regular basis — the marketplace for ideas, as it were. By contrast, few minds are changed or enlightened by simple contact with the "black" or "underground" economy.

While few would argue that only political activity is valuable to the process of libertarian education and growth, there is little if any evidence that contact with illegal economic activity leads in any way to systematic understanding of the principles of individual and economic freedom. Otherwise, all drug dealers and gangsters would be libertarians — and clearly they are not.

American Libertarian devotes considerable space to non-political libertarian activities in its news coverage. However, the revealed preference of the largest number of identifiable libertarians in a membership organization remains the Libertarian Party. Ed. ■

In Review



"Cry Freedom", 1987, directed by Sir Richard Attenborough, produced by Marble Arch, released by Universal Pictures, starring Kevin Kline, Denzel Washington, Kate

Hardie, Josette Simon, Zakkes Mokae, Sophie Mgcina, John Thaw, 150 minutes, video release by MCA, \$89.95

Biko, by Donald Woods, revised and updated, Henry Holt, New York, 1987, 418 pages

Reviewed by Paul Geddes

Paul Geddes is an Instructor of economics, Columbia College, Burnaby, BC and Vice President of the Greater Vancouver Libertarian Association.

The movie "Cry Freedom" has power from its portrayal of unjust and inappropriate use of government force in South Africa. No solutions are proposed, but viewers are left with the realization that this oppression will not last. The movie is based on the friendship between Donald Woods, a liberal editor of a respected South African newspaper, and Stephen Biko, leader of the Black Consciousness movement.

Biko comes across as an African Patrick Henry. He sparked the pride that introduced another generation of blacks to the idea that they could help themselves. It was this message that convinced school children in 1976 to object to compulsory schooling in the hated Afrikaans language and which has since led to ever increasing refusal to let the authorities have their way. The friendship between Woods and Biko ended in tragedy when Biko died in police custody under mysterious circumstances in 1977. He was only 30 years old but was already considered a major leader.

Donald Woods was eventually 'banned' due to the furor he raised when unable to get satisfactory answers about Biko's death. He was forbidden to write, speak with more than one person at a time, or travel. After a few months he sneaked across the border with his family to start a new life as one of the more internationally respected critics of

the South African regime and its system of apartheid. His book on Biko also describes this story.

In the foreground, we meet Woods and his happy, prosperous family. They have a standard of living that the rest of the world would envy — a large house, servants, swimming pool and a Mercedes. Life is good for the white South African. But in the background, we also see the plight of the blacks. One scene takes place in a park with benches clearly labeled "For Whites Only". The Woods's servant is forbidden by law to invite her children and husband to stay the night. Then there are the ever present police with their power to demand "passes" and bother otherwise peaceful black citizens.

South Africa being in the headlines, the film "Cry Freedom" has raised its share of controversy. Black groups have questioned the film's focus on Woods rather than Biko. And, although the government has allowed the film to be shown in South Africa, government supporters have labeled it propaganda. But what did Biko say to cause so much upset?

According to the book, Biko's central message is that "Black liberation had to start with black psychological self-reliance." (p. 62) This sounds similar to Ayn Rand's notion that the first step towards a solution is for the victim to withdraw his sanction from his victimization. "Black people must build themselves into a position of nondependence. They must work towards a self-sufficient political, social and economic unit. In this manner they will help themselves towards a deeper realization of their potential and worth as self-respecting people." (p. 39) When seen as a message for the individual rather than the collective group, such a message is universal.

Biko's economic message is not so sound. The impression is left by the movie is that black poverty with leave with apartheid, but we aren't told how. At his trial in 1976, Biko condemned foreign investors for siphoning off profits that rightfully belonged in South Africa. He advocated a black "communalism" which he admitted was a synthesis, not yet competely worked out, of African socialism and the free enterprise system. Biko accepted the usual tripe that Adam Smith's laissez-faire economics left only a few controlling the wealth while the majority of people got poorer. But as people obtained the vote they gradually restored wealth to the people. (p. 182-5)

In short, Biko's message of self-pride is a necessary but not sufficient condition for bringing about a freer South Africa. Despite his poverty-inducing economic notions, Biko's assertion of self-pride motivates individuals to desire change and make the necessary sacrifices to ensure that change.

But change for change's sake is not enough. Libertarians aren't interested in just changing the guard to a new political elite. Our message is of freedom, self-responsibility and voluntarism in social arrangements which can produce a more harmonious and prosperous South Africa.

But Biko's lack of economic understanding should not blind us to the fact that he was fighting State-enforced oppression. I find it almost incomprehensible that some libertarians, who find so much to criticize in their own government's interfering dictates, urge special understanding and patience when dealing with a much worse South African apartheid. Until recent modest reforms, all South African blacks had to obtain bureaucratic permission to leave their homelands to visit the cities. Africans were not allowed to own land outside their homelands. Petty apartheid included government segregated buses, beaches and jobs, and prohibited many interracial contacts. Even now, the Group



Areas Act restricts ownership of certain land on the basis of race.

As Kendall and Louw point out in *South Africa; The Solution* (Ciskei: Amagi, 1986), "blacks live in a socialist world — a world in which almost everything is owned and controlled by the state." (p. 61) All this should bring libertarians screaming to the front lines to help dump apartheid.

Go see this movie or rent the video.

Observe what a government can do to its citizens if it becomes determined enough. Wonder what you would do in the same situation. Understand the justified anger of those seeking a freer and better world. Then dedicate yourself once again to the powerful cause of freedom that needs to be heard not only in Canada and the United States, but also in South Africa. ■

Notable Quotes



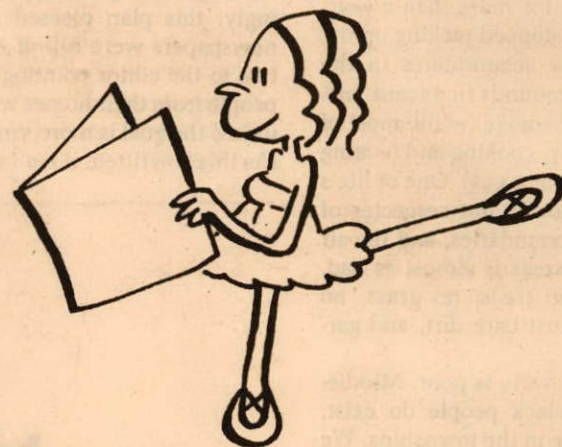
Why Aren't We Surprised? Department
"House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski claimed in a speech in Chicago recently that the federal

deficit was the biggest problem the government would face next year and that raising revenues was the only way to reduce it.

The Chairman contended that there is a national consensus against further cuts in government spending, which leaves a tax increase as the only means available for obtaining substantial deficit reduction."

Tax Week, August 26, 1988 ■

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Vignettes

From page 3

which incidentally has a real shopping mall: small, yet, but fully enclosed and obviously well-used by the black and white people who live there.

Leon Louw was very nervous about the libertarians who wanted to visit Ciskei: most of it is pretty barren, there's lots of poverty, and the biggest building in Bisho is (what else?) the government complex. He was afraid we'd be disappointed, and maybe if we'd just gone to Bisho we would have been. But thanks to a helpful friend of a friend who works in Ciskei, we were able to see for ourselves the tremendous progress that's being made in Ciskei. And we were impressed. It's still very much in the Third World, but economic freedom has meant enormous improvements in the standard of living. And a prosperous population will be in a much better position to demand — and defend — their civil liberties.

Vignette #3: Soweto

Soweto is the most famous black township in South Africa. It's the largest township "serving" Johannesburg, which is the largest city in South Africa and its commercial hub. Soweto is physically huge (about 85 square kilometers; the Johannesburg metropolitan area is about 625 square kilometers); the official population estimate is about 1 million, but unofficial estimates range as high as 3 million. Like all the other townships we saw, almost all of Soweto is made up of tiny houses, designed to be for individual families. In fact, many of the houses are also home to several "squatters" — people who have moved to Soweto without having a place to live. Since the houses are owned mostly by the government, there's no market mechanism to provide housing for the additional people. And the government doesn't want to build more housing in the urban townships — the last thing they want is more blacks moving into the urban areas, where they're much more likely to "make trouble." Soweto may be dirty and grungy and poor, but for many rural people it's a place of opportunity. And indoor plumbing.

Soweto is dirty: because of a rent strike that's been going on for more than a year, the government has stopped picking up the garbage, which now accumulates in the streets and in huge mounds in vacant lots. And the air is full of smoke: while most of Soweto has electricity, cooking and heating is still done with wood or coal. One of life's little ironies: pollution is not respecter of government-drawn boundaries, and the air in the nicest white areas is almost as bad. There are almost no trees, no grass, no flowers in Soweto. Just bare dirt, and garbage.

Not everyone in Soweto is poor. Middle-class, professional black people do exist, and most of them live in the townships. We saw a man in a suit and tie, burning garbage in his backyard. For me, that image summed up the experience of Soweto as it is today. But some progress is being made.

Up until a couple of years ago, blacks were not allowed to own businesses, even in the townships. (And the penalties were criminal, not civil.) That's now changed, and small businesses are springing up all over Soweto, making life immeasurably more convenient for the residents. (Imagine having to buy your groceries in the white-owned shops in Johannesburg and cart them home on a commuter train that stops two miles from your house!) Blacks can now own property in the townships, and the government has begun to sell the little houses to their occupants. It's easy to tell which houses are privately owned: they're

the ones being expanded and remodeled. People are now allowed to buy vacant land and build their own houses, so whole neighborhoods of very nice houses are being built — houses that look just like the ones being built in white neighborhoods. Except that the view isn't as nice. The houses are being built in Soweto because it's illegal for blacks to live wherever they can afford to buy.

Vignette #4: Hillbrow

Many of the more egregious aspects of apartheid have been eliminated in the last few years: blacks no longer need passes to set foot in white areas; shopping malls, restaurants and hotels are integrated on both sides of the counter; the commuter trains have almost all been desegregated; private schools and private hospitals are integrated. With the exception of the mine-workers, there is no more "job reservation" by race, and blacks now have full South African citizenship. Interracial marriage is now legal. Official government publications admit that it's only a matter of time before apartheid — as a policy — is eliminated. The two biggest pieces remaining are, of course, the right to vote, and the right to live where one chooses.

Housing is a very emotional issue, as those of us who lived through the integration of U.S. neighborhoods can attest. So all of South Africa is watching a small part of Johannesburg called Hillbrow — a rather densely populated, hilly, urban neighborhood of mostly mid-rise apartment buildings — known for having the best bookstores in South Africa, and by the fact that it's openly (albeit illegally) racially mixed.

Nothing about Hillbrow seemed odd to me; it's very much like parts of San Francisco, or like upper Manhattan would be if Manhattan had hills. And that lack of oddness is what impresses the South Africans: people of different races are living as equals in close proximity, and the sky has not fallen.

When we were there, the government had just decided to "solve" the problem of housing integration in its usual ham-handed way: a crack-down on people living illegally in the "wrong" places, coupled with permitting integration in areas where new housing is being developed. Not too surprisingly, this plan pleased no one, and the newspapers were full of editorials and letters to the editor pointing out that evicting people from their homes was not a good idea unless the goal is more unrest and violence. (As this is written, it isn't clear whether the

policy will actually be implemented.) The lessons of Hillbrow have not gone unnoticed.

Vignette #5: Notes On The South African Government

Frances Kendall, co-author of the book, *The Solution*, likes to remind Americans that — compared to South Africa — the U.S. has a highly devolved form of government. Many important decisions are made at the local level: the police are responsible to city governments, in unincorporated areas, the sheriff is often directly elected, the schools are run by locally elected school boards, etc.

By contrast, there is one national police force in South Africa and control of most local services is in the hands of the central government. The apartheid laws are meant to be applied across the nation, from big-city liberal Cape Town to smallest conservative towns in the north. Obviously, this raises the stakes of winning — and keeping — power and makes change more difficult than it might be if "local option" were already a part of the political consciousness.

The government is being shared among the four provinces that make up the Republic of South Africa, but not in the way

you'd expect. Instead of devolving power, the government itself is split up: three of the four provinces each house one of the three branches of government. The administrative branch is based in Pretoria, the legislative branch (Parliament) is located in Cape Town, and the judicial branch can be found in Blomfontein in the Orange Free State. The province of Natal got nothing. There are historical excuses for this bizarre form of power-sharing, but no rational explanations.

It boggles the mind. When Parliament is not in session, the administrative branch can be found in Pretoria. But for about six months out of the year, everyone moves to Cape Town, the legislative capital. Not just a few top people, mind you: everybody packs up offices and households in Pretoria and unpacks 1400 km. to the south. And when the session of Parliament is over, they repack and move north again. There's some chasing back and forth between Blomfontein and the other two capitals, but it's trivial when compared to the great annual bureaucrat migration from Pretoria to Cape Town. ■

UK Karl Popper Conference

by Ray Percival

Readers of American Libertarian might be interested in what their historical and ideological cousins in England have been doing.

Ray Percival is a member of the Executive Committee of the Libertarian Alliance in Britain, an alliance of anarchists and minimal statist which was founded in 1979 by David Ramsay Steele and others. The Libertarian Alliance holds regular meetings, to which Professor W.W. Bartley III of Stanford and Professor Anthony Flew of Oxford have contributed, and produces a regular journal, *Free Life*, which has carried such authors as Murray Rothbard and David Ramsay Steele, among others.

London, England - The English approach to libertarian propaganda is largely philosophical: capture the imagination of a society's intellectuals and you've captured the society. Hence, the squabbles over intellectual heritage, with different political groups claiming to be the true descendants of the same thinker. On the 30th of April, I organized the 5th Libertarian Alliance one-day conference. The topic was the Philosophy of Sir Karl Popper.

With intellectual heritage in mind, I invited Norman Barry, a well-known English libertarian, to give a talk entitled "Popper: Social Democrat or Classical Liberal?" Norman Barry is Professor of Politics at Buckingham University, which, by the way, is the only state-independent university in Britain — privatization has a long way to go.

Held in the London School of Economics & Political Science, which has a rich heritage of classical liberal and libertarian scholarship, as well as scholarship of a completely different sort. We also invited Dr. John Worrall of the London School of Economics to speak on "Popper's failure to solve the problem of Induction", and Professor Michael Redhead, to speak on "Quantum Mechanics".

I presented a session on "Ideology and Criticism", and we closed with a panel discussion on criticism of Popper's philosophy.

Biography

But who is Karl Popper, and what relevance has he to libertarianism? In both his life and thought, the problems of freedom have been a central concern to Karl Popper.

He was born in 1902 in Vienna, soon to be the scene of turbulent moral and political debate in which Popper became deeply involved. In his teens his heart led him to Marxism as the best route to freedom. However, Popper soon became disillusioned by Marxism's evasive attitude to argument and its connivance with the Nazi seizure of power (fascism was seen as a necessary step toward socialism, so resistance was seen as futile).

After his student days, Popper earned his living as a secondary school teacher of mathematics and science. His main preoccupation, however, remained philosophy. In philosophy he was a lone figure in his disagreement with the fashionable philosophy of logical positivism (the idea that any meaningful talk or writing is either a tautology — like "all bachelors are unmarried men" — or statements verifiable in experience. All else, including theology and metaphysics, is meaningless.) The leader of the movement, Otto Neurath, gave Popper the title of Official Opposition, a name which made it difficult for Popper to get his books published. His first book was ignored, and his second book *The Logic of*



"Listen -- I heard that 'whoosh-thunk-whirr' again!"

Continued page 7

Popper Report

From page 6

Scientific Discovery (1935), was subject to savage editing, ending up half the length of the original.

It was during this time that Popper foresaw the annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany to be followed by a European war. Acting on this foresight, he left for New Zealand. His decision to leave probably saved his life, for although he was raised as a Protestant and both his parents had been baptized, Hitler would undoubtedly have categorized him as a Jew. In New Zealand he taught philosophy between 1937 and 1945. It was here that Popper wrote the work that gave him his first taste of recognition and for which he is best known in libertarian circles: **The Open Society and Its Enemies**, a general defense of freedom and an attack on totalitarianism. Isaiah Berlin said of this work that it contains "the most scrupulous and formidable criticism of the philosophical and historical doctrines of Marxism by any living writer." (Biog. of Karl Marx, 3rd ed. 1963.)

In 1964 Popper came to England where he has lived until this day in Penn, Buckinghamshire. When he arrived in England his prime adversary, logical positivism, was rampant, and neither Oxford nor Cambridge wanted him as a Professor. However, at the insistence of Friedrich A. Hayek, he was accepted by the London School of Economics, where he was to spend the last 23 years of his career. He achieved establishment recognition in 1965 when he was knighted.

Conference

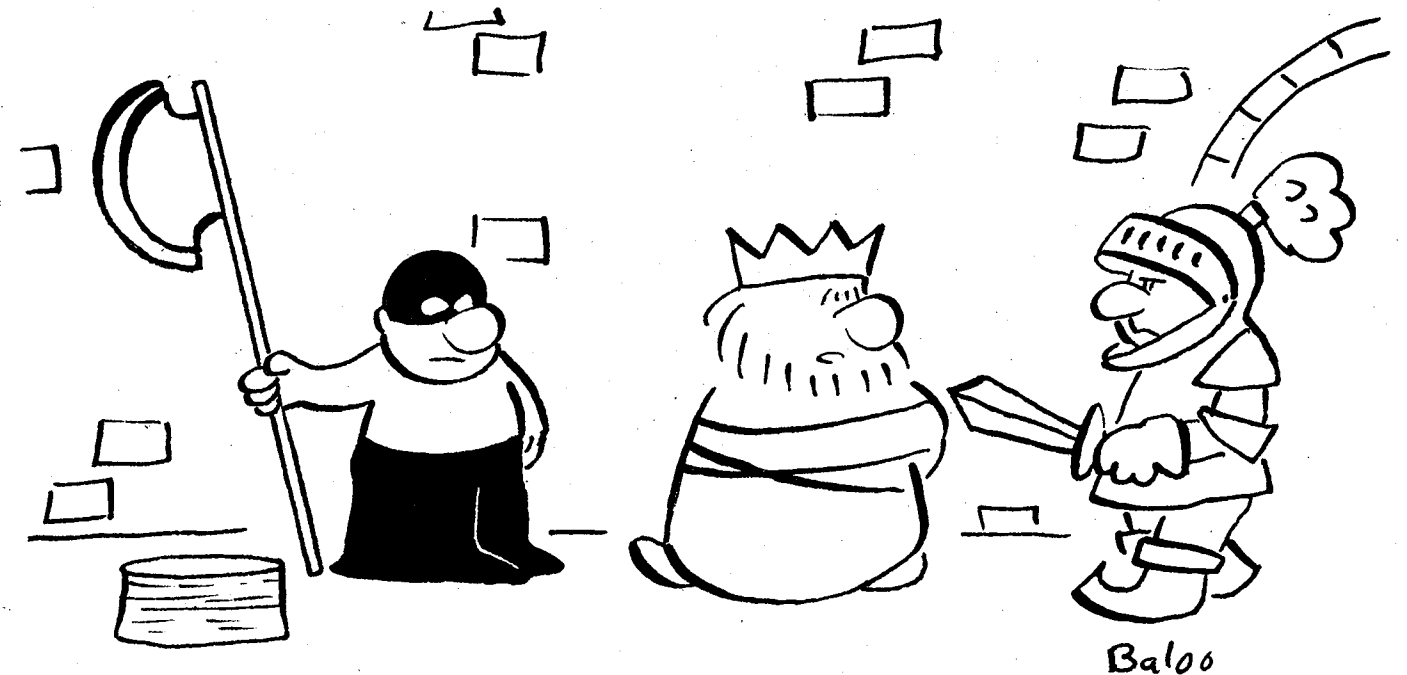
While the Popper Conference included talks on the problem of Induction (whether we can rely on past experience), Quantum Mechanics, and Ideology and Criticism, and these issues have some bearing on questions of freedom, I shall focus on Professor Norman Barry's talk (chaired admirably by Professor Kenneth Minogue, author of **The Liberal Mind**).

Barry pointed out that it is difficult to say unequivocally whether Karl Popper is a classic liberal or a social democrat. If one took the political affiliations of those claiming to have been influenced by Popper as a guide, one would get an ambiguous answer.

Anthony Crossland (Secretary of State for Education in the Labour government of 1965) and Sir Edward Boyle (Conservative) have been influenced by Popper. Brian Magee, Popper's most well-known and respected expositor, is a former Labour MP, and claims to have found in Popper's work implications in favor of a more active role for government than Popper himself, when pressed, is prepared to admit.

In approach, Popper's work does not fit in with prominent individualists. In the work of Ludwig von Mises and Milton Friedman there is the idea that we can achieve certainty in our theories of economics and politics. Popper will have none of this, for he maintains that all science is but a woven web of guesses. (These guesses are, of course, under the control of severe criticism, but they forever remain speculations. In Popper's view there is no way in which theories can be justified by intellect or experience; they can only be tentatively rejected in the light of criticism. The hope is that we will be left with the true ones.)

So all our solutions, in science and politics, are forever tentative answers to problems. Some social democrats have taken this characterization of politics as a problem solving activity as a license for constant government interference, an interpre-



"Honest -- I was planning to step down gracefully!"

tation with some justification in the **Open Society**, where laissez-faire is strongly criticized. Yet, Barry maintained, social democrats are wrong to see Popper as an interventionist. Barry adduced three arguments.

Popper's rejection of the ancient question "who should rule" for the alternative question "how can we limit misrule" clearly shows Popper's libertarian distrust of the State. Whereas social democrats might say the People should rule, Popper is concerned to put restrictions on rulers — whoever they may be.

Popper's advocacy of piecemeal social engineering (despite the interventionist ring to the phrase) implies a cautionary attitude to government action, because the theory says that expansive social democratic reforms cannot have the necessary knowledge. (David Miller, in his **A Pocket Popper** [Fontana] — a huge success with students — puts the point more precisely: because our knowledge is never certain, any reform ought to be correctable: corrigible reform is contrasted with incorrigible revolution.)

Thirdly, Popper's proposed method of social enquiry almost always issues in counter-interventionist conclusions. Popper points out that nearly every social action will have unforeseen, unintended consequences. When someone buys a car it is not usually his intention to raise the price of cars, but that is exactly what his action will have a tendency to do. Popper proposes as the general problem of the social sciences the explanation of these systematic unintended effects of intended action. It is characteristic of libertarian arguments to take a political reform and point to its consequences; not only the intended ones but also the undesirable ones. A good example is intervention in the housing market through rent control, aid to home-owners, and the provision of below cost housing. Popper's approach directs us to look for unintended consequences (we assume, charitably, that the State is not run exclusively by sadists. And sure enough, when one applies economic analysis, these are easily detected: rising homelessness in a world of housing surplus).

Barry concludes that Popper is certainly not an interventionist. But is he a libertarian, i.e. a classical liberal? Barry held that if he is, he is certainly not of the traditional mold. Popper's liberalism derives not from economics, sociology or political philosophy, but from the sociology of science. His liberal society is modeled on a (perhaps idealized) picture of the scientific communi-

ty — one of openness, absence of authority and constant questioning of assumptions and theories. Barry suggested that carrying over into society the idealized model of scientific community is misleading. It does not capture the complexity of social systems. Consequently, a liberal must probe more deeply into questions of law, morality, economy and the nature of social order than is permitted by Popper's technological politics.

As a Popperian, I cannot resist correcting some errors in what Barry had to say. Popper has always clearly distinguished between ideal science and actual science. His work has been primarily in the methodology of science — what scientists ought to do — not in the sociology of science. The latter is the concern of Thomas Kuhn (author of **The Structure of Scientific Revolutions**), who has persistently confused the two and as a result is responsible for a common misinterpretation of Popper's work.

Nothing could capture the complexity of any individual thing, whether it be a person or a society. Popper says as much in the **Open Society**. The infinite complexity of unique individuals, which can perhaps be hinted at in great novels, is forever beyond the grasp of science, which is confined to general laws.

The method of conjectures and refutations (putting forth our ideas in their

strongest form, and then subjecting them to severe criticism) is eminently applicable to any problem. It certainly is no impediment to the study of law, morality, economy and the nature of the social order. ■

Paris LI Conference Set

Paris France - A European Libertarian Conference commemorating the bicentennial of the French Revolution is being organized by L.I. Rep. Alain Dumait (Mayor of the 2nd District of Paris and Vice-mayor of Paris proper) and Henri Lepage, author of the best selling book **"Demain le Capitalisme"**. TIME: July 9 to 13, 1989.

PLACE: The site will be the International Conference Centre Maurice Ravel, 6 avenue Maurice Ravel - 75012 Paris (Tel: 43 43 19 01).

COST: Conference registration fee is 1200 francs for all sessions and workshops (fee also includes an opening banquet and lunches from Monday to Thursday). For accommodations at the center add 700 francs to the above fee (this fee includes breakfast).

Continued page 8

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Celebrate Volunteer Day

January 27th will mark the sixteenth anniversary of the end of the military draft. Libertarians will celebrate by leafletting, writing letters to the editor and by taking "birthday cake" to military recruiting stations. If you want to take part in this celebration call Alan Lindsay at (713) 974-4402.

Lets get the word out...

Slaves Make Lousy Defenders of Freedom

A Look at the LI Conference



South African Activist Albert Koopman presented a talk on "Fighting Apartheid in the Workplace." Photo courtesy of George Hollemback.

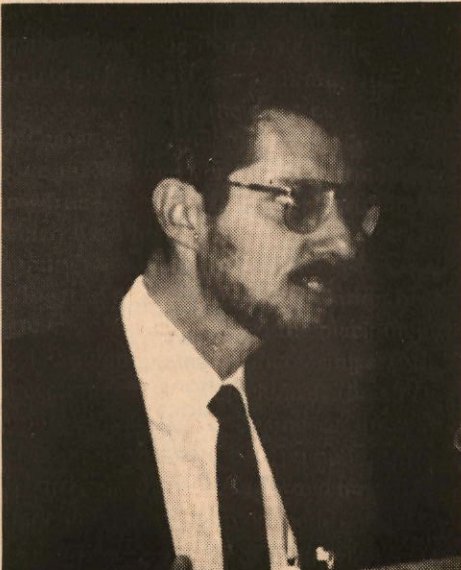


The Solution co-author Frances Kendell is interviewed by a reporter from Swazi television during the conference. Photo courtesy of LI.

USC philosophy professor John Hospers presented the Conference keynote speech and provided an overview of the libertarian philosophy. Photo courtesy of LI.



Reason Foundation President Bob Poole updated conference participants on the state of privatization around the world. Photo courtesy of LI.



David Boaz of the Cato Institute spoke on the U.S. Welfare system and the problems of inner cities. Photo courtesy of LI.



Paris LI Conference

From page 7

each day).

THEME: The theme of the conference will concentrate heavily on human rights and feature seminars and workshops on: "The Foundations of Individual Rights", "The State vs. the Rights of The Individual", "What is it to be a Libertarian?" and more.

The Program will be in French with simultaneous translations for a significant portion of the program.

The host organization for this conference is: *Le Mouvement Libertarien*, 42 rue des jeunes, 75002 Paris, France. Conference fees should be paid to *Le Mouvement Libertarien*. ■

COMING ATTRACTIONS

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Austrian Economics Boom, Bust & Revival by Murray Rothbard

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