
The Voluntaryist

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"If one takes care of the means, the end will take care of itself."

June, 1986

Legitimacy and Elections

by Theodore J. Lowi

(Editor's Note: Recent events in the Philippines have offered a validation of the voluntaryist insight, that all tyranny and government are grounded on general popular acceptance. Two points are noteworthy. First, when the Marcos régime lost its legitimacy, it lost its power to rule. Second, nonviolence played a large rôle in depriving Marcos of the presidency of the Philippines. As Gene Sharp has recently written in his new book, Making Europe Conquerable (Cambridge: Ballinger Publishing, 1985): "Denial of legitimacy, refusal of obedience, and noncooperation by the general populace, by the societal institutions...can effectively prevent the political consolidation and control that make" domestic tyranny possible.

The following article appeared while the Marcos régime was struggling for its political life. It was written by the John L. Senior Professor of American Institutions at Cornell University and was published in the Baltimore Sun on February 23, 1986 (pages 1B and 4B). It focuses on the voluntaryist contention that "elections convey consent, therefore legitimacy."

Back in 1964, when the Supreme Court was wrestling with the problem of how to define "hard-core pornography," Justice Potter Stewart threw up his hands in frustration and said, "I shall not attempt...to define [it], and perhaps I could never succeed in intelligibly doing so. But I know it when I see it..."

He might have said the same thing of political legitimacy. Legitimacy is another one of those things that conform to Stewart's Law: You can't define it, but you know it when you see it.

Another thing you can say about legitimacy is that people don't tend to talk about it until it's in trouble. A problem with legitimacy tends to take people by surprise, and maybe that's the reason it conforms to Stewart's Law. It's not even listed in Safire's "Political Dictionary." People, especially in the United States, just don't think about it very much. Then when they confront a case of illegitimacy, they do a lot of improvising.

Concern with legitimacy is back — beginning with the academics, moving a step up to public television, to the major newspapers and then to the network television programs.

There doesn't seem to be much of a problem with legitimacy in the United States now, especially compared with the Vietnam-Watergate period. But some of our allies are having legitimacy problems, and there is a case of galloping illegitimacy in the Philippines.

There, President Ferdinand E. Marcos has governed fairly successfully in recent years largely through the use of military force. He occasionally has to remind Philippine citizens and the world of the basis of his rule, by declarations of martial law, states of siege and so on. But he has managed to govern that way, as have many dictators throughout history.

There is nothing more effective than the overwhelming preponderance of force. We can only listen for laughter in the dark when we hear such morally obtuse statements as that of President Reagan at his recent press conference on the promise of the emergence of a Philippine two-party system out of the ashes of

the recent electoral conflagration.

But the big problem with governing through military force is that it is expensive. It costs a lot to keep so many troops and to have to put them on the alert so often. It's a whole lot cheaper if you can do the same job without so much use of force.

That's where legitimacy comes in, and, at the risk of violating Stewart's Law, I am actually going to try to define it.

First of all, legitimacy is not mere popularity, although popularity helps. Legitimacy is not mere acceptance; acceptance is an outcome of legitimacy. Legitimacy is not the mere absence of disorder, although the presence of disorder can be taken as an indication of illegitimacy. And legitimacy is not the same as goodness or virtue, but that does point us in the right direction: Legitimacy is the next best thing to being good or virtuous. Legitimacy is the appearance of goodness.

In government, legitimacy is the establishment among the people of a sense of consistency between government actions and some higher principles that the people already accept. Because *appearing* to be good is easier to accomplish than *being* good, we tend to speak of legitimacy rather than of goodness in government.

The requirement that government actions appear to be consistent with some higher scheme of values means that governments must attempt to justify their actions by associating them with religion, or tradition, or fear, or folklore, or some great heroic sacrifices. Because governments are a product of history, governments sponsor the writing of history and draw upon history for legitimacy.

Generally, governments of the right base their claims on the past: History is tradition and inheritance. Generally, governments of the left base their claims on the future: History is the working out of inherent social forces, of which the government is the representation. One may be called faith, the other ideology. Both are mythic.

But this should in no way demean any of the great values in back of legitimacy. In a brilliant essay on political illegitimacy written 15 years ago, Wilson Carey McWilliams, a professor of political science at Rutgers, observes that someone who calls a thing legitimate is actually conceding "that it is ethically suspect... We appeal to the standard of legitimacy only when we know or suspect that our performance is less than ideal, that it requires defending."

This justification must indeed be very strong: The myths and historical incidents on which it relies must be deeply imbedded in the society and its people.

The United States, in its founding and Constitution, was a major innovator in the legitimacy business, because our founders relied less than the founders of any other government in history on religion, superstition and folklore.

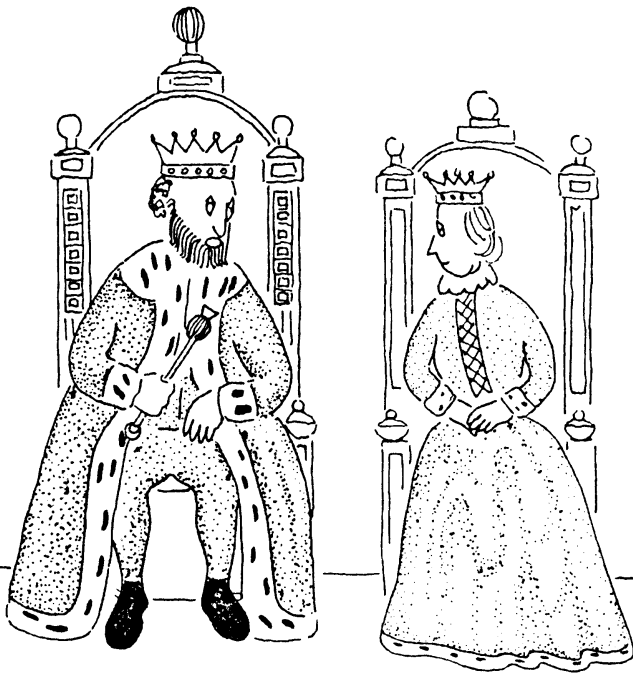
The most important American legitimizing device was contract, right out of the theories of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. Legitimacy was sought in the very act of writing a Constitution and by framing that Constitution as an appeal to the self-interests of citizens rather than their faith or fears. In this great contract, which the philosophers would call "the social contract," the American rul-

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The Voluntaryist

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"I've got nothing against anarchy, just as long as I am the anarchy."

Statement of Purpose

Voluntaryists are advocates of non-political strategies to achieve a free society. We reject electoral politics, in theory and in practice, as incompatible with libertarian principles. Governments must cloak their actions in an aura of moral legitimacy in order to sustain their power, and political methods invariably strengthen that legitimacy. Voluntaryists seek instead to delegitimize the State through education, and we advocate withdrawal of the co-operation and tacit consent on which State power ultimately depends.

ers agreed to give up some powers in return for approval by the people to use the remaining powers — limitations on power in return for consent.

As any student of the Constitution knows, there are several types of limitation on power. Some limitations are substantive, concerning limits on the scope and jurisdiction of the various governments and branches within the system. Some of them are procedural, concerning the ways in which governments may take action and the conditions under which actions may be taken.

Among these various limitations on power, none was ever more important than the obligation of the top power-holders to submit to elections from time to time. The requirement of election as a major source of legitimacy has grown in importance in the United States and the world over as governments of the left and right — permissive governments and repressive governments — have attempted to base their legitimacy on being "governments of the people."

This seems so commonplace, and yet the significance of elections is misunderstood by all the people half the time and half the people all the time. Most politicians understand it all the time, but for them it's a dirty little secret they are not eager to share.

Elections are actually two-dimensional. In one dimension, an election determines a choice between two or more competing candidates. In the second dimension, elections convey consent, therefore, legitimacy. This is why politicians are rarely satisfied merely to win, but seek the largest possible turnout. "Vote for the candidate of your choice" is an appeal comparable to "worship at the church of your choice." In countries such as the United States, where rule is legitimate, people have the luxury of forgetting that elections are two-dimensional. But this is something politicians never forget.

For people in power, elections are always a calculated risk. Mr. Marcos and the Philippine election are a perfect case in point. Mr. Marcos called the election, albeit at a time advantageous to himself, in order to stop the epidemic of illegitimacy that has apparently been spreading like wildfire in the Philippines and, more important, in the United States. But the trouble is, an election — or any legitimizing device — must appear to be real before it can convey any legitimacy. If not, the dictator may be worse off afterward than before. To a dictator in trouble, a phony election can be as self-defeating as a phony claim to lineal descent from one of the country's gods or a phony claim to heroic exploits.

Rulers and governments aren't necessarily deposed merely because they are or become illegitimate. If they have the resources, they can rely on the purer forms of force. Although this has always been true, it is probably more true today because of the existence of two or more world hegemonic countries, whose ability to maintain friendly governments — or to depose unfriendly (or undependable) ones — adds uncertainty to the relationship between legitimacy and power.

The great German social scientist Max Weber provided the most widely accepted definition of government (or, abstractly, "the state") as "that institution in society which successfully claims within a given territory a monopoly of the legitimate use of force." Today, if an illegitimate government is an important enough client to a hegemonic state, the legitimacy factor can be disregarded — but for how long?

Mr. Marcos wagered his future on the support of one of the hegemonic powers — or, to be more precise, on the support of its relevant legislative committees. If that had worked, there would be sufficient resources for continuation of government based on force. But even before we can know the extent of his illegitimacy at home, his legitimacy is being played out on the stage of his sponsoring power, whose concern for its own legitimacy must ultimately take precedence. For all our power, we govern under greater constraints than Mr. Marcos. Sweet are the burdens of legitimacy.

Who Makes The Coffee In Your Office?

by Jane S. Shaw

Every society has an economic system to organize the production and distribution of goods. And every office has a system to organize the production and distribution of coffee. Some work better than others.

A couple of years ago, when I worked in Manhattan, our well-meaning office manager decreed that the company would supply free coffee to its employees. She unwittingly created havoc.

Under the old system, the traffic manager (whom I'll call Donald) had a thriving business selling fresh tasty coffee for 35 cents a cup.

The new system destroyed Donald's business. He could no longer charge for coffee — even though people now wanted more of it, since it was free.

People who used to make a pot or two of coffee a day were now expected to make more coffee. They soon rebelled. One assistant refused to make coffee after 10 a.m. (Unfortunately, some of us didn't arrive at the office until after 10 a.m.)

Those of us who had never made coffee now had to do it ourselves. We grumbled — especially when on a deadline. I began buying my coffee at a shop downstairs — at nearly twice Donald's old price.

What had gone wrong? Two years later and 2,000 miles away, I can look back and see that our office manager had failed to realize that distribution is a key element of the food system, even in an office. Someone must have an incentive to prepare and distribute the food. Supplying free coffee was like piling free food on the docks of starving African countries, without thinking about who is going to repackage it and transport it to the people who need it.

Since then, I've also researched the matter and found there are several economic systems for distributing coffee. Each can work well under certain conditions, as long as the full nature of the economic problem is understood. Here's a rundown on each:

The market system (or *laissez faire*). Here, people work out individual arrangements for making coffee, the way we once did in my old office. The term "market system" is really too narrow, because diverse systems will develop. Some people will make their own coffee; others will buy it. Some people will pursue their individual tastes and call upon the services of, say, doughnut shops outside the office. At the same time, people are free to give away coffee if they want to, and some do.

The market system accommodates various intensities of desire. If we want coffee frequently or on deadline, we can pay a little more for it. Minority views are well represented. People who want tea or cocoa will find people to supply it, as will those who prefer milk to Cremora. (In my old office, no one had foreseen the fact that people might want milk under the new régime, and none was provided. Tea drinkers were simply ignored.)

Paternalism. It's possible to provide free coffee, but you have to provide the coffee service as well, just as paternalistic companies used to provide the company store and company dwellings. In some offices (I recently observed one in Australia), a coffee-and-tea cart is brought to each person by an employee who spends most of his or her workday doing just that. Whether it's free or not doesn't really matter — the key thing is that the company makes sure the service is available.

Communism. In an office of five to 10 people, people can agree to share the responsibility for making coffee. This friendly communism operates much as it does in families. Shirking of responsibility is a potential problem, but the close face-to-face contact of a small office ensures that it is quickly observed and corrected.

Authoritarian (command economy). In larger settings, however, shirking becomes easier and more frequent, and communism starts to devolve into dictatorship. Authoritarian measures are taken. Soon, making coffee correlates with status. Certain people, usually secretaries, are told to make the coffee, and often they don't like to. This is often reflected in its quality.

A coffee system that starts out as authoritarian rather than devolving into it works better, since people know what they are getting into when they are hired. Indeed, once a coffee system is installed and functioning effectively, it has a lot of staying power. I suspect that people change offices more often than offices change the way they handle coffee.

What happened in my Manhattan office was unusual: A well-intentioned do-gooder had a paternalistic scheme that sounded very generous. Market systems have often been scrapped through such a process.

But the new system was too incomplete to last for long. Today, I'm told, Donald is making coffee for the office again. The coffee is still "free," but he collects a little money — "for milk." However hobbled, the market has reasserted itself.

Ms. Shaw is senior writer at the Political Economy Research Center in Bozeman, Montana. The above article appeared in The Wall Street Journal on March 10, 1986, p. 16.

Book Review

Butler D. Shaffer, *CALCULATED CHAOS, INSTITUTIONAL THREATS TO PEACE AND HUMAN SURVIVAL*, Alchemy Books, 681 Market Street, #581, San Francisco, California 94105. \$10.95, 338 pages, paperback.

Butler Shaffer, a professor at Southwestern University School of Law in Los Angeles, has written an intriguing book about the rôle of institutions in our contemporary statist society. One of his shorter, earlier efforts, "Violence As A Product of Imposed Order," focused on the nature and causes of human conflict. In his new book, he not only re-examines this theme and the causal connection between institutions and violence, but questions whether it is possible that people can learn to organize themselves in groups without creating "social Frankensteins;" whether they can learn "how to work and play and help one another 'without' institutions, 'without' politics, organizational hierarchies, rules and regulations, conflict, and all the other trappings of what we are fond of

calling modern civilizations." The basic theme of this book is that "institutions are the principal means by which conflict is produced and managed in society."

In its open pages, *Calculated Chaos* seems to be a diatribe against all forms of institutional activity. Shaffer defines an institution as "any permanent social organization with purposes of its own, having formalized and structured machinery for pursuing those purposes, and making and enforcing rules of conduct in order to control those within it." Non-institutional organizations tend to be little more than "a convenience, an informal tool of cooperation that helps each one of us to further our interests through the group. There is no conflict between personal and group purposes."

By concentrating on how institutional and non-institutional forms of organization differ in purposes and structure, Shaffer comes dangerously close to ignoring the *means* or the principle by which people associate with one another. *How people organize in groups* would seem to be at least equally, if not more, important than the question whether the organization is institutional or non-institutional in character. Even though he is highly critical of big

business, Shaffer notes that businessmen, unsupported by statist legislation, have no power to compel members of the public to do anything, much less force them to buy their products. As a former instructor at the Freedom School in Colorado and as a long-time student of freedom philosophy, Shaffer realizes that there is a certain tension between his across-the-board rejection of institutions and the fact that some people, for whatever reason, might voluntarily choose to patronize and become supporters of such organizations.

To this reviewer, it seems more reasonable to judge the voluntary or involuntary nature of human associations first, before one begins to be critical of them for being institutions, *per se*. Voluntarily supported institutions certainly have as much right to exist as any other form of human association. Institutions which are voluntarily supported may or may not deserve our support or condemnation, but they certainly are fundamentally different from involuntary political institutions, known as the State. (In fact, one might ask if Shaffer's phrase, "involuntary political institutions" is not redundant. Aren't all "political" institutions "involuntary?")

In looking at business, religion, schooling and the State, the areas where institutions dominate our lives, Shaffer realizes that most people have renounced control over their own decisions and consequently over the manner in which they live. He blames the individual for allowing this to happen, claiming that most of us have been seduced into subservience to institutions, rather than being directly coerced to support them. Many of us "have been willing to become externalized, other-directed persons; willing to separate ourselves from others by organizing into groups; willing to suspend personal judgments and abandon the responsibility for our lives." Because we have refused to resist institutionalization, institutions have taken over control of Western civilization.

According to my reading of the book, deinstitutionalization seems to depend on changes taking place within the individual person. Each person must regain the attitude that he or she is a self-controlling individual. As Shaffer puts it, others may influence us, but it is our biological nature for each of us to control our individual energies. Each of us must come to the understanding that no one can liberate us but ourselves. "Breaking away from the restraints of others does not free us from our own." Spiritual freedom is something we do within ourselves, not something that we do to others. Freedom is not a political revolution, but a spiritual revolution, a change in attitude. To sum it up, each one of us must distinguish between inner spiritual freedom and those external things (such as our personal belongings and properties), which Shaffer calls "attachments," which are indicative of our physical liberty. As he explains it,

Because our attachments increase the likelihood that we will cooperate with those who would control us, it should be evident that only our 'attachments' can enslave us. We are free only when we are complete within ourselves. Only when we value something outside ourselves more than we value the inviolability of our will do we make ourselves vulnerable to the loss of our [spiritual] freedom. Because we cannot lose our free will but can only choose to relinquish it, we have nothing to fear from others. The realization of that fact 'is' freedom. [p. 224]

In discussing the general arguments for spiritual freedom and physical liberty, Shaffer realizes that there are both practical and moral arguments that can be brought to bear in their defense. Nevertheless, he makes a very telling case against relying on "practical" arguments to defend the free market. Slavery, as he points out, is morally wrong, whether it increases or decreases the slave's well-being. Even if it could be proven that the slave would be better off under a régime of slavery, such proof would have no bearing on our principled moral rejection of slavery. The moral argument against slavery is the one we need to consider. Similarly, it is the primary argument for defending the free market. Whether one is criticizing slavery or supporting economic freedom, it is the argument for individual autonomy that governs the case. People should always be left alone. The only significant value a free market offers is whether it allows us to "live free from

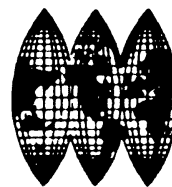
the compulsion, restraints, manipulation, and other institutionally-beneficial burdens imposed by the political State." Questions of efficiency are beside the point.

In the course of his discussion, Shaffer generates quite a number of interesting observations. For example, he claims that organizational inefficiency may be the best means of limiting the growth of giant institutions. A free market may be "too volatile, too spontaneous and inconstant to provide larger firms with the security and stability made necessary by their organizational size." In short, the free market has two built-in mechanisms for determining the optimal size of organizations. First, membership and participation in them is voluntary. Second, if they grow too large, they soon become inefficient in competing against their smaller competition. Shaffer speculates whether "giant, highly-structured, heavily concentrated firms and industries would likely develop" in the absence of government support and protection. He also points out that disorganization — the state of mind that insists upon its autonomy and refuses to submit to the authority of others — may be the best defense against all institutions. Though he doesn't recognize "disorganization" as another name for nonviolent civil disobedience or civilian based defense, there is a clear parallel between his analysis and those of people like Gene Sharp who advocate non-violent defense against civil disorders and foreign invasions.

In his chapter dealing with "explorations of a non-institutional world," Shaffer observes that a stateless society would be one without war. The State does not provide protection from attack, but rather serves as a focal point ("a jugular vein," he calls it) to be attacked. He criticizes the notion of "equality under the law" because this concept already assumes the legitimacy of the State. "The issue becomes 'not' whether people should be 'free' from State direction and control, but how the exercise of such power can be made more reasonable by being made more generally applicable." One of his best insights is expressed in his phrase that "every State is a police State." Since the political State represents nothing more than the institutionalization of raw, naked force, the fact is that every State embraces the principle of tyranny. "Every political institution suffers from the same defect: the presumption of the right to rule other people."

In a passage near the end of his book, Shaffer writes that "Revolutionaries will not be found attacking institutions, but walking away from them." Most readers of *The Voluntarist* will likely agree with Shaffer on his assessment of political institutions. Whether or not you agree with his critique of voluntary institutions, you surely will walk away from this book a better person, if for no other reason than it challenges you to formulate your own position on institutions.

Carl Watner
December 1985



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A Modest Revolutionary Proposal: JOHN ZUBE AND MICROFICHE

[Editor's Note: These remarks are sparked by an interview conducted and submitted by Alan Koontz, a reader of *The Voluntaryist* and commentary prepared by Victor Koman. Although Alan's interview is too lengthy to publish, a short part of it has been included below.]

For those of us who have been involved in the libertarian movement for many years, the name John Zube is synonymous with microfiche. Without searching my correspondence files, I suppose I first heard of John Zube in the late '60's or early '70's when his mimeographed *Peace Plans* first came to my attention. These were thick booklets put out by John, in which he presented all sorts of information relevant to libertarian thinking. At the time, John was already interested in microfiche (generally a very thin, 4" x 6" transparent plastic card with reduced images imposed upon it) and eventually he and I collaborated on a number of microfiche projects, including the indexation and reprinting of Lysander Spooner's *Collected Works* (available at \$25 for the set of 24 fiche, from *The Voluntaryists*) and Benjamin Tucker's *Liberty*. John has also just recently completed microficheing the first 14 issues of *The Voluntaryist* on to one fiche.

John apparently became interested in libertarian ideas through reading some anarchist books which his father had left with his grandmother in Hitler's Germany. In discussing his intellectual evolution, John noted that he discussed these writings with his father, who was very sympathetic. In a recent letter, he adds that "There may have been other influences. Before I was 10, I watched Hitler driving past, slowly, on a parade and looked around, surprised that none of the dissenters made an attempt on his life. But I distinctly only remember one case, that of taking the Free Trade side, during the last years of high school and together with some school mates, against the to us absurd protectionist arguments of one of my main teachers. And once one has seen the light in this respect, one can work oneself through to seeing most other aspects of liberty. Between 1952 and 1959, Ulrich von Beckerath introduced hundreds of reformist and revolutionary libertarian ideas to me. I tried to practice some of them publicly, without success and then tried to combine them in my first book-length manuscript, finished in 1961, for which I could not find a publisher. Instead, I began to include particular libertarian proposals in my *Peace Plans* series, since 1964."

In reply to Alan Koontz's question, "How did you end up in the microfiche publishing business?" John responded that he had been collecting libertarian material at least since 1949, after his first prolonged visit with his father, Kurt Zube, who had been an individualist-anarchist at least from the 1920's onward. "I intensified this collection after I met with Ulrich von Beckerath, upon recommendation of my father, in 1952, and frequently thereafter until I left for Australia in 1959. We then used only an ancient, but still working, flatbed duplicator, using wax stencils and a hand-roller, comparable to simple hinged silkscreen frames, to produce some leaflets. We could not afford better means. Reaction to these leaflets was an important factor in my decision to emigrate from West Berlin to Australia. Over the years, repeated efforts to print my *Peace Plans* series — which included some of my own manuscripts, as well as books, translations, and assorted documents I had accumulated — with my own equipment, proved in the end to be too laborious and costly. I was fed up with them."

Since he was introduced to fiche in 1978, John has been engaged in promoting libertarianism through low-cost micrographics. His "modest revolutionary proposal" is simply that all libertarian writings, both past and current, be reproduced on microfiche so that it can be easily and cheaply disseminated. John lays claims to having republished and circulated more libertarian literature than any other person or group in the world during the Twentieth

Century. The following 11 points outline some of the reasons for John's fascination with fiche.

Some Reasons to Consider Microfiche

by Victor Koman

- 1). Microfiche is cheaper than Xerox (9600 pages for \$20.00 — less than 1/5 cent per page)!
- 2). A serviceable microfiche reader can be had for the cost of a dozen new paperback books (used machines go for \$30-\$50).
- 3). Micropublications take up very little room. 5000 microbooks can fit on one 15 foot shelf. How many shelves do you need now? A Mindrunner (knowledge smuggler) could carry the *Encyclopedia Britannica* in her briefcase!
- 4). Are those paper pages in your older books turning brown already? Microfiche has a shelf life of centuries!
- 5). Microfiche publication takes less time than xeroxing (because of automated feeders and photographic rather than static-electric processes).
- 6). Computer text can be converted to microfiche by *Computer Output to Microfiche* (COM). *Computer input from Microfiche* (CIM) also exists.
- 7). The time you take to type up (or print out) your text is *all* the time required to get your text ready for publication — no mimeo/ditto cranking, no trips to the Xerox place.
- 8). There are millions of titles available on fiche, many of them of interest to you!
- 9). *All you need to begin using microfiche is a reader.* The cost is minimal and there are no expensive peripherals.
- 11). Want to prevent the Fall of Darkness? Carry the Library of Congress in your van! *Micro Information Concepts* (P.O. Box 2163, Dallas, TX 75221-2163) sells USGS maps and survival manuals on microfiche — and sells a hand-held ambient light reader for under \$15.00! The maps cost 1/5 to 1/6 that of paper maps — and fit in your wallet!

We libertarians have striven to be at the forefront of technology — even those of us hiding in the backwoods. The comment about backpack libraries applies doubly to Brownies and Gulchers. Microfiche is *so durable, so inexpensive, and so lightweight*, that *everyone* could have the equivalent of a mid-sized town library in her home and the excess duplication would not be wasteful. It would, in fact, be a guarantee that our freedom to learn and know could never be rooted out and exterminated. If you want your children to be voracious readers, but don't want them toting conspicuous volumes home from statit libraries, acquiring microfiche editions — even of books you already own — is an investment in *Private Education*. The most private and hence the best that there can be.

What is the best way to burn down an Empire? Set a myriad tiny brushfires that They cannot hope to stamp out in time. Every microbook is a small, near-invisible flame that will combine with others to engulf the foundations of the State and reduce it to cinders.

For libertarians, there is an additional incentive for shelling out fifty to one hundred inflated, devalued bucks for a microfiche reader — **Libertarian MicroFiche Publishing**, run by John Zube, has an extensive catalog of libertarian microfiche publications unavailable anywhere else. This has been his pet project for nearly a decade now, and his collection of works is truly staggering. Send him US\$2.00 for more information and tell him I sent you. How would you like the *complete* published works of

Lysander Spooner (plus index)? Seven volumes. Probably costs a fortune, right? How about \$25 in microfiche from Carl Watner?

Before I started corresponding with John, I was convinced that CD ROM optical storage discs would make microfiche obsolete. Perhaps someday, but microfiche is *low-tech* — all you need to read it is a good lens and Sol. That alone makes the process priceless, yet well within *your* grasp.

I'm making the switch to fiche. No, I won't dump my books — I'm too much a collector for that. But when I need raw information, when I want to preserve words for *centuries*, when I want to evade and foil State mindwarppers yet again, I'll be the Mindrunner out there with the knapsack full of fiche. It gives me what I need and lightens the load of The Next Starship Out!

Will Liberty's savior turn out to be a *ficherman*?

If you would like further information on the microfiche revolution, both John Zube and Victor Koman are doing their part to promote it.

John Zube's address is:

7 Oxley Street
Berrima, NSW
Australia 2577

Victor Koman's Microfiche Amateur Press Association can be reached in care of:

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SECOND, that under no Circumstance shall we acknowledge any Liberty to initiate Force against another Person, and shall instead defend the inalienable Right of Individuals to resist Coercion employing whatever Means prove necessary in their Judgment;

Association and Secession

THIRD, that we shall hold inviolable those Relationships among Individuals which are totally voluntary, but conversely, any Relationship not thus mutually agreeable shall be considered empty and invalid;

Individuality of Rights

FOURTH, that we shall regard Rights to be neither collective nor additive in Character — two Individuals shall have no more Rights than one, nor shall two million nor two thousand million — nor shall any Group possess Rights in Excess of those belonging to its individual Members;

Equality of Liberty

FIFTH, that we shall maintain these Principles without Respect to any person's Race, Nationality, Gender, sexual Preference, Age, or System of Beliefs, and hold that any Entity or Association, however constituted, acting to contravene them by Initiation of Force — or Threat of same — shall have forfeited its Right to exist;

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*[Editor's note: The above document was sent to us by L. Neil Smith, author of *The Gallatin Divergence* (excerpted from Chapter XVII) (New York: Del Rey Books, 1985). Persons interested in pledging themselves to such a covenant may contact L. Neil Smith at 111 East Drake, Suite 7032 • Fort Collins • CO 80525]



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