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LAURANCE LABADIE

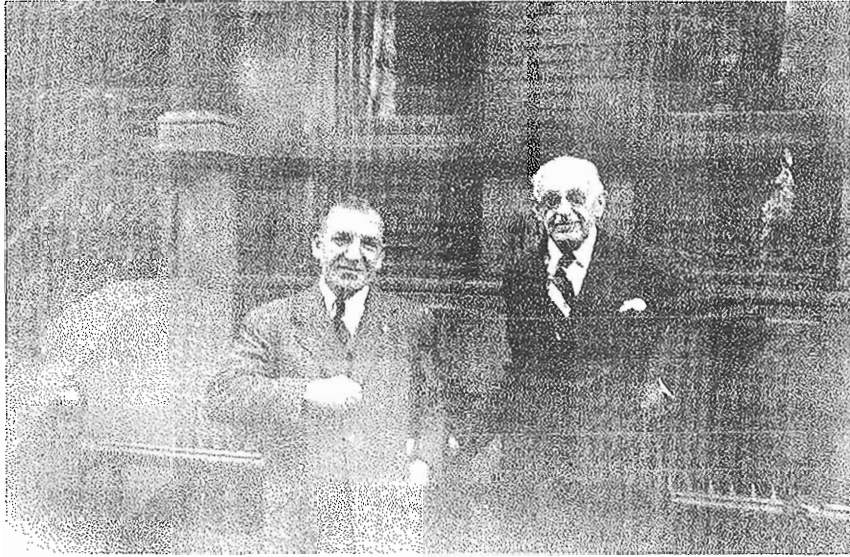
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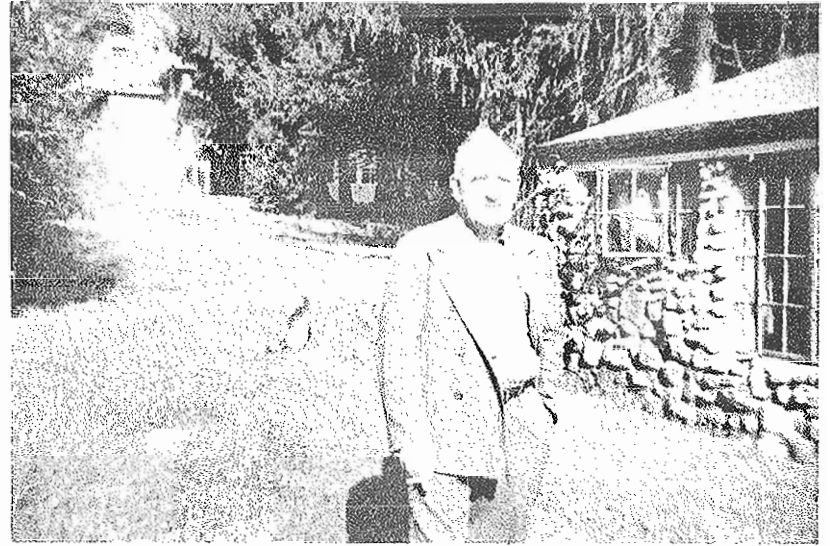
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Selected essays (Libertarian
broadside)



Laurance Labadie with the libertarian money theorist, E. C. Riegel, outside the latter's New York City home at 226 East 26th Street, November 14, 1948.



Laurance Labadie outside his home on the original Borsodi property in Suffern, N.Y. in 1962. Laurance had completely rebuilt the structure at the right, converting it from a shelter for chickens and livestock. His machine shop was located to his left, not in this photograph.

the genuineness of these letters and never in three decades spoke or wrote a word denying that or reversing himself on it, at least to me.

I certainly would not grieve if Levitas established that Tucker's views as expressed in his letter to Jo Labadie and his communication to THE SPECTATOR published nine months earlier were fabrications or 'forgeries.' But I want to see some evidence, not hotly expressed sentiments, speculations, emotional convictions and other stuff of that kind. When you try to write history you deal first of all with facts, published sources and documents, if you were not an actual participant, and thus a prime source yourself. If you think that one of the documents or sources is spurious, the burden of proof to that effect is on *you*. You don't make points by scoffing at those who use it. I would be delighted to learn that Tucker was plumb-line on World War One. But my respect and admiration for him rest on what he achieved long before that. In any case, I devoted to this incident the space I thought it deserved—one sentence in the text and a footnote.

Cordially yours,

James J. Martin
Palmer Lake, Colorado, USA
January 16, 1977

[There was a crushing response to Levitas by the much-respected scholar of anarchist history, Prof. Paul Avrich, in *Freedom* for January 21, 1977 which not only established the survival of Tucker's famous letter, not known at the time I wrote my section on Tucker in 1947-1948, but supplied much additional information from several other sources even more explicitly identifying Tucker as an enthusiastic Allied partisan during World War I, whatever may have been his considered judgment on the matter in the ensuing decade. One could almost hear Laurance Labadie chuckling somewhere over the stir he had once more created. Tucker's famous associate, Steven T. Byington, worked forty years on a translation of the Bible from the original Hebrew and Greek. It was published as *The Bible in Living English* (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1972) and in this, in the Book of Ecclesiastes, Chapter 1, Verse 18, the King of Jerusalem, Koheleth, is quoted as declaring, "who adds to knowledge adds to pain."]

LAURANCE LABADIE

SELECTED ESSAYS

Libertarian Broadides, No. 7

With an Introduction and Appendices

by

JAMES J. MARTIN

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APPENDIX II

AN UN-PUBLISHED COMMUNICATION

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To the Editors of FREEDOM:

In reading the controversy in FREEDOM involving Irving Levitas and his allegations and assertions about Benj. R. Tucker on the latter's relation to World War One, I see in the issue for Dec. 4, 1976 that he is offended that I have described Tucker as an Allied partisan and a Francophile in 1915. This I did on the basis of the source materials I had to work with, not on what I would have liked to have found. I am much amused however by Levitas' heavy-handed attempt to recruit the late Laurance Labadie in support of his opinions, and his alleged quotation of Laurance as describing me as 'unreliable' on the above subject, in MEN AGAINST THE STATE.

Unfortunately, Levitas knows about as much about Laurance as I do about Ikhnaton or Jugurtha. (And it is "Laurance," not "Lawrence," and his father was almost never called anything but "Jo," and there is no "e" at the end of Henry Bool's name.) If there was one thing Laurance enjoyed more than anything else it was controversy, and if one did not occur he was forever inciting one in his impish way, though not for any malicious reason. Laurance luxuriated in his image of a curmudgeon, and spoke in a cryptic way occasionally of 'putting on his act.' Anyone with a decent acquaintance with his correspondence will verify what I say about Laurance's joy at being an *agent provocateur* in igniting an argument.

I met Laurance in Ann Arbor, Michigan in 1945. Over the next 30 years we exchanged more letters and telephone calls than I could count, perhaps, and we had scores of personal meetings and probably spent hundreds of hours talking and arguing about all manner of things in that time. We collaborated on a number of projects; we shared several confidences; he helped me in more ways than I can recall right now; I was a beneficiary of his will.

And one thing I want to give him credit for is for steering me to Herman Kuehn's INSTEAD OF A MAGAZINE in 1947, where I found the version of Tucker's letter to his father which appears in footnote 134 in chapter 9 of my book. Laurance at that time also furnished me with a memorandum which not only incorporated that letter in full but also included a portion of a second letter from Tucker to an unnamed person in the USA which even more explicitly spelled out his stand on WW I, but which I never used because I could not determine the addressee. Laurance mentioned the similarity of Tucker's stand to Kropotkin's, and appended a characteristically pessimistic coda of his own. A copy of this is enclosed, and Laurance as long as I knew him vigorously attested to

from them for services in the interest of Detroit and Michigan labor, but with characteristic self-effacement dispatched a favorite nephew to receive it for her.

Agnes Inglis was the one of the most sincere friends the radical movement in this country ever had. She impoverished herself in its interest, and spent her last score of years living in the most modest of circumstances in a tiny apartment on the edge of the university campus. A retired millionaire brother supplemented her small salary, which was admitted in my presence many times. In a book which he wrote amplifying on his exploits in the fields of industry and finance, her defection from the family fold was mentioned and probably he would have been perturbed to know how she spent her allowance, on occasion. But they were on friendly terms to the last.

To my knowledge her last wishes have never been carried out. As an atheist she refused to sanction a church funeral and further stipulated cremation. This was done, but her friends had been asked to gather and "discuss her ideas and ideals," and instead a brief memorial service was held in a chapel in one of the university buildings. It was attended among others by many members of the old Spanish and Italian anarchist groups from Detroit who had known her for a long time. No attempt was made to include them when remarks were made, most of which consisted of a tribute in the form of spiritual uplift delivered by a faculty member operating in the new hush resulting from the latest episode of self-applied brain washing sweeping America's campuses. It is the impression of several attending that she would have repudiated what was said at the exceedingly brief service. Perhaps her old friends, who never felt they had anything to lose by associating with her, can produce something more substantial in the way of a memorial at a more appropriate time.

[The above essay was first published in the journal *Resistance*, Vol. II, No. 1 (August, 1953), pp. 11-13, 18; it is reproduced here in its entirety.]

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tioned most freely the numerous obscure modest persons who helped build the Collection with their gifts of books, papers, pamphlets and letters.

On the ideological front it was difficult to get her involved. An opponent of Stalinism long before the totalitarian liberals found it fashionable to be so in order to remain eligible in the power struggle elimination contest, she still had little to say on the issue. The Collection had much Communist material and she had some friends in the Communist Party, but like G. P. Maximov, she looked upon political Marxism as the ultimate in reaction. Her disillusion with the Soviet dream began in the early '20s during the executions among the non-Bolshevik left. She marvelled that there was such an avid cold war market for the books of converted Stalinists when Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman among others, had said substantially the same and better nearly twenty-five years before, only to be smeared outrageously then by many of the same folks trying to brush off all evidences of previous Stalinist hand-holding.

Agnes Inglis was simply uninterested in any scheme to produce heaven on earth through executions, even if it involved only *one* execution. From her point of view the social ills of mankind did not lend themselves to cures brought about by dosage with concentration camp brutality and lead slugs. Privately she believed that the old order of bourgeois society was much easier to live under than the most brightly scrubbed bureaucratic state capitalist totalitarianism but she handed out no bouquets to any kind of status quo. She had no faith in political democracy and I do not believe she ever voted for anybody. It was her belief that the central committees of political parties simply forced their selections upon the mass electorate, and she doubted at all times the possibility of ascertaining virtue by counting noses. Likewise she was completely unmoved by the platitudes of orthodox liberalism, since she was of the opinion that the "liberals" had killed off liberalism years before.

Miss Inglis' interest in the labor movement was genuine, and her contacts with the union press and its educational departments were extensive. After the nation entered World War II she slowly became convinced that the big unions with their oligarchical leadership structures were so intimately involved in war politics that for all practical purposes they had become merely the industrial arm of the state. She rejoiced at all violations of the wartime "no strike pledge," and took heart at anything which indicated live interest by the labor rank and file in the conditions of their life. Nearly everyone in the labor movement in Michigan knew of her work, and she once received a flattering award

esteemed especially the land reformers such as Thomas Skidmore, and to a lesser degree, George Henry Evans. Other favorites from this era included Godwin, Josiah Warren and John Francis Bray, the old English reformer who lived most of his life in Michigan, about whom she was a world authority. The labor-for-labor ideas of Warren long impressed her, as did some of the works of Kropotkin, especially *Mutual Aid*, which complemented the vast literature in the Collection dealing with the hundreds of communitarian experiments native to this country. The cooperative exchange of labor products of people living close to the land was probably her ideal social order. She never seemed to tire of the discussion of the land problem.

Perhaps the most impressive intellect she encountered in the radical movement was Benjamin R. Tucker; a most highly prized possession of the Collection was a nearly full run of Tucker's celebrated anarchist paper *Liberty*. But the French, Spanish and Italian anarchist sections were just as well filled out. The publications of the FAI, CNT and POUM she amassed made the Labadie Collection the world's outstanding depository of materials dealing with the radical non-Stalinist side of the Spanish Civil War. A few steps through the aisles of the Collection disclosed literature of all types; Hebrew language anarchist and labor papers, Chinese translations of Kropotkin, Hindu translations of several important radical treatises, Swedish, Norwegian, Hungarian and Finnish syndicalist papers, a large section devoted to German radical writings and an even bigger one in Russian. Large files of labor newspapers of all types filled many shelves as well.

The group she knew best from personal experience and one she never ceased talking about was the Industrial Workers of the World. She revelled in the humor of their revolutionary songs and the verbiage-stripped news columns of the *Industrial Worker*. One of her favorite stories was an anecdote connected with a visit paid her by the late Patrick J. Read, a veteran of the Spanish Civil War fighting and an editor of the IWW paper whose tenure was marked by what she thought were the highest standards the paper ever reached. Read and two printer compatriots strode into the Collection one day and insisted on wearing their hats inside the building all day, to the discomfort of several. Read insisted, she said, out of refusal to honor a "bourgeois institution." Pat Read was one of several persons who made significant contributions as a personal acquaintance. A thick file of letters reveals a perfect riot of names and it would be unfair to rank them in an estimate of significance. Emma, the labor organizer Fred Beal, Hippolyte Havel, John Nicholas Bffel, Carl Nold, and of course, repeatedly, Jo Labadie, these names constantly entered her conversations. But for the most part she men-

INTRODUCTION

WE NEVER CALLED HIM "LARRY": A REMINISCENCE OF LAURANCE LABADIE, WITH SOME NECESSARY ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ABOUT OUR MUTUAL FRIEND, AGNES INGLIS

The death of Laurance Labadie on August 12, 1975, in his 78th year, removed from the scene the last direct link to Benjamin R. Tucker, and amounted to the virtual closure and the last episode in the socio-economic impulse which became known in the early decades of the 20th century as "Mutualism." This blending of the ideas of Josiah Warren, P. J. Proudhon, William B. Greene, and Tucker, along with peripheral contributions from Stephen Pearl Andrews, Ezra Heywood and additional embellishments of others less well known, was succinctly elucidated in the 1927 Vanguard editions *What Is Mutualism?* and *Proudhon's Solution of the Social Problem*, by Clarence Lee Swartz and Henry Cohen, respectively. From the early 1930s Laurance Labadie was the most polished exponent of this ideological tradition, his articulateness being commended by Tucker himself, in a dedication to a photograph he presented to Laurance dated September 6, 1936.

Laurance was born in Detroit on June 4, 1898. His father was Joseph A. Labadie, a celebrated figure in Detroit labor and radical activities, an almost lifelong associate of Tucker, and founder of the famed collection of printed and manuscript materials which has been housed in the Library of the University of Michigan under his name for over two generations. The family descended from mixed French and Indian stock which had settled in the Great Lakes region since the 17th century penetration of the area by the famed *trappeurs* and *coureurs de bois*. The Indian blood in the family undoubtedly had become extremely attenuated by Laurance's time, but it was part of his ancestry which he continually referred to with pride, and undoubtedly romanticized, while doing so. However, I remember spending time on several occasions examining thick albums of ancient photographs of the family, noting the reappearance generation after generation of short, stocky men, some with rather pronounced Indian physiognomy. In any case, Laurance was proud of both these ancestral strains, probably emphasized to him as time passed because he was the last of the line and sole survivor bearing the Labadie name. His only living relative is a married niece, daughter of one of his two sisters.

Laurance was the most unusual self-taught and intellectually self-disciplined person I have ever met. He learned to think and write over a

long period of lonely years, perfecting his style and skills in solitary study. His teachers via literature were Tucker and the galaxy of writers in Tucker's journal, *Liberty* (1881-1908), Proudhon, Warren, and a substantial coterie of obscure and mainly unpublished controversialists with whom he corresponded on politico-economic themes for 40 years. But Tucker was his primary model, and he compared favorably to Tucker in clarity of expression several times.

Laurance as a letter-writer developed the most fiercely logical and precise style I have ever read, with an exceptional economy of words and absence of extraneous padding. But this characterized his other writing as well, a lengthy string of essays, very few of which were ever published. As he observed to me in his letter of May 28, 1948, "Clear and simple writing is the most difficult, if only for the reason that clear and simple thinking is so rare, and bluffing via nebulosity so easy." A related remark, which I heard from him several times, was, "When you get in deeper water you use bigger words."

The singular thing about Laurance was that he was not a professional writer or an academically-trained 'intellectual'; his formal education had barely taken him into high school, from which he thought he had providentially 'escaped' (even though secondary schools were formidable 65 years ago compared to what they are now.) Unrelated even remotely to the pedagogical world of talk and print, he was essentially a skilled worker, one of the very first rank of tool makers in Detroit for years, with an accumulation of related skills which gained him the reputation of prime craftsmanship in anything he undertook. To appreciate the quality and excellence of his work one must take into consideration some of the difficulties under which men worked in the 1920s and early 1930s, before the electronic revolution, when men eyeballed tolerances of a ten thousandth of an inch. Among his talents were all the building trades: the rebuilding of much of the property he occupied for 25 years at Suffern, N.Y. (about which more later) demonstrated that. His shop on these premises was a model of compact, logical organization, even after he had become very careless about his personal affairs and habits. Here he preserved some examples of his tool-making prowess, which can only be described as exquisite.

In addition to all this, Laurance learned to set type and to operate a small job press, inherited from his father, and which the latter had used for several decades in printing his own small literary achievements, including a great deal of verse, issued sometimes in remarkable little editions often printed on the reverse side of wallpaper. This tradition of self-publication Laurance carried on for years, and a stream of small works issued from the basement of 2306 Buchanan Street, painstakingly set from fonts of tiny type by hand, locked up and run off on the small

week, as well as requests for information on almost every fragment of the radical and libertarian movement. Her memory was astounding, and began to give out only in the very last few weeks. Debilitated though she was by old age and a diabetic condition, her mental processes did not deteriorate. It was the opinion of a few who spent extended periods of time listening rather than talking that she had forgotten more about the radical movement than most of the alleged experts and authorities knew.

Here she spent, mostly in an unpaid capacity, the better part of twenty years, gradually expanding the periphery of her knowledge of the subject matter with which the Collection was concerned. Her own money went off in payment for subscriptions to obscure publications of several kinds, and cash of varying denominations often accompanied letters to old radical friends who had seen the early days through and were now living in precarious circumstances. Circles of anarchists of Russian, Italian and Spanish origin became her friends in Chicago, Detroit, Boston and New York. Toward the end she started receiving more mail from California, as contemporaries tended to locate there in retirement.

The collection became a home for the materials of a considerable number of ideologies for which Agnes Inglis did not especially care, but she meticulously preserved and noted everything that came. She said on several occasions that she hoped that its universality would continue, that no doctrinaire filtering of its materials to make it conform to someone's narrow view of intellectual purity would take place. There was a strong streak of sentimentality in the structure of the Collection, however. Many things which were housed there were quite out of place. Numerous books and pamphlets of no relation to the field of radical and labor literature whatever were kept there simply because they had once been the personal possessions of radical donors. This was a matter which was a subject of good-natured bickering between us for some time, and no attempt was made to bring the "dispute" to any positive conclusion.

I do not know anyone who ever figured out Agnes Inglis' personal philosophy. Long contact with the spectrum of libertarian-radical-labor ideology left her favorably predisposed toward almost all its shadings, or at least toward the persons involved, if she found their beliefs too contrary to hers. One could take for granted that if a social situation involved an underdog, her sympathy was with him. Her loyalty was well-dispersed among a large number of kindly gentle people who advocated a wide variety of non-violent solutions to mankind's economic and social problems. Of the latter day group she prized very highly a number of anarchists and syndicalists, but there was a strong affection for the proletarians of the nineteenth century in her makeup. She

silence frequently after an ironic remark or two about the "post-war planning" and the "golden post-war future" of the professional publicists. Her outlook on the immediate future became more and more Orwellian, talking from time to time of our "Russianization" in our efforts toward impeding the Soviet Union. Like her occasional correspondent Steven T. Byington, a contemporary, and former close associate of the American anarchist Benjamin R. Tucker, she believed the whole Western world was about to crawl under a blanket of totalitarianism and enjoy its illusionary warmth for an indefinite period of time to come.

The era of Harding-Coolidge normalcy was anticlimactic in that it provided none of the heady excitement of participating in the incidents growing out of the wartime tensions. There were no flights from raids, such as when the student radicals in Ann Arbor invited the anarchist architect John Beverley Robinson to speak under private auspices, or the memorable occasions which featured appearances of personalities such as Emma Goldman. The exigencies of war scattered the group, and the twenties were spent in gathering up the frayed ends. This was the time her numerous contacts with working people and radical intellectuals blossomed into permanent friendships. The freedom and camaraderie experienced at proletarian picnics and gatherings during this time permanently sealed her off from pre-war days. She often told me that from this time on she never again seemed to "enjoy the company of the bourgeois." Early in the decade she first got to know Jo Labadie and became a frequent visitor at his home. This led to her introduction to his famous labor and radical library, a substantial accumulation of material which had been in the possession of the University of Michigan since 1911. From the late '20's on, it became practically her major interest in life. She gradually identified herself with it to such a degree that its care and needs engrossed her energies almost all the time, and an appreciable part of her means as well. It certainly should share her name some day.

Constant correspondence in efforts at promoting donations to it resulted in an amazing response. Duplicate copies of publications unlisted anywhere else, and scarce periodical runs unknown to the standard union lists of serial publications, became not uncommon. With her growing network of contacts and friends and aided by sympathetic library superiors, the shelves of the space originally provided for the Collection soon overflowed. But much of the material was at best only partially classified. No one ever learned to use the peculiar card catalog she devised, and librarians trained in the orthodox manner shook their heads in confusion at the system of classification. But contributions and mail from a dozen or more countries often crossed her desk in a single

printing press. The first three essays in this collection were first produced in this manner. In the course of becoming acquainted with his father's library, that part of it which had not been despatched to Ann Arbor, Laurance not only learned writing style and his father's artistic achievements as a printer and publisher, but served as a preserver of several of the signal works of the individualist-anarchist tradition going back to the early 19th century; his editions of Tucker and John Badcock were especially praiseworthy.

But all this was what Laurance Labadie did in his spare time. He joined the labor force during the First World War, and began a substantial stint in the automotive industry with a job at the old Continental Motors out on East Jefferson Avenue in Detroit in 1918. He subsequently worked as well for Studebaker, Ford and Chevrolet, in the latter becoming part of the team of advanced experimental mechanical specialists who worked closely with the designers, during the early 1920s. But Laurance changed jobs frequently, and tolerated little stupidity from foremen or other superiors. It was ironic that though he spent so many years working in the automotive industry, he never learned how to drive a car. (It was believed that Tucker never even rode in one.) Laurance worked in a number of shops during the Second World War, saved his money, and thereafter was never again employed in work involving his primary competence. Much of my personal contact with him occurred in the following five years, during which time I was pursuing graduate degrees or teaching at the University of Michigan.

The first time I met Laurance, he came out to Ann Arbor on a bus, and we conversed for a goodly span of time in the south cafeteria of the Michigan Union, where most of our conversations in the late 1940s took place. He liked the environment, with its semi-darkness and its massive oak tables carved with the initials of generations of students, and radiating a rather formidable atmosphere of respect for tradition. Here one rarely was heard to raise his voice, and there were days when there was more genuine intellectual traffic at its tables than the University's combined classrooms. Laurance loved coffee, and occasionally talked about another coffee-lover, John Basil Barnhill, editor of a famous journal of the Tucker era, *The Eagle and the Serpent*. (Henry Meulen, the editor in London of *The Individualist*, probably the only organ in the world advocating monetary ideas close to those of the Proudhon-Tucker-Labadie sort, once told a story of losing touch with Barnhill after years of contact, and then getting a cryptic postcard from him, from a Detroit hospital, which simply said, "Dear Meulen: coffee is the devil. Yours, Barnhill.")

Laurance had been alerted about me by Agnes Inglis, the curator of

the collection of materials housed in the general library on campus which bore the name of Laurance's father. My sustained burrowing and endless questions apparently indicated that I was serious about it all, though Laurance was somewhat wary on our first contact, long acquainted with dilettantes whose principal characteristic was the ability to ruin a good topic or subject. It did not take long to convince him I was not fooling and thenceforth we met regularly, in "the Collection," as we called it, in the Union, and on occasion at his home in Detroit on Buchanan Street. His home was easy to reach by bus from Ann Arbor. One rode it to the Detroit terminal on Grand River Avenue, then took the Grand River local out to Buchanan, got off and walked three blocks south to 18th Street; #2306 was on the corner.

Laurance's personal library was formidable, duplicating many things in the depository in Ann Arbor, but made more remarkable by his impressive correspondence files. Even at meals we 'worked,' I doing the cooking while Laurance read to me from copies of his letters to such as Henry Cohen, Gold O'Bay or E. C. Riegel and many others who became embroiled in the seemingly interminable matching especially of monetary ideas. It was this correspondence which first made me appreciate his fierce pursuit of logic and improved expression, which resulted in more clear thinking and straight writing than I have encountered from anyone else but Tucker over the years.

But we inevitably gravitated to "the Collection," as most people who knew of it usually referred to it. The mark of Laurance's father "Jo" was all over it, but it had grown enormously in the more than four decades since its original creation, mainly as a consequence of the tireless labors and around-the-clock devotion to Agnes Inglis, its curator until her death in 1952.

Laurance and Agnes were the first and virtually the only enthusiastic supporters I found for the writing project which eventually appeared as *Men Against the State*, in the five years between the completion of its first draft and its first publication. Laurance read it all for the first time in the late spring of 1949, and wrote me on June 26 of that year, "I doubt whether anyone will ever do a better job on the subject you've tackled."

Agnes was so obviously a partisan of the manuscript that it made me self-conscious, but it was a vast boost to have such unqualified support from people who knew so much about the subject as these two, and who personally knew and had known several of those figuring in the study. It provided at times a kind of eerie feeling of having been involved personally from the start as well, a feeling which was much expanded after a research residence of several weeks in New Harmony, Indiana, and another later on at Brentwood, Long Island.

Laurance had seen parts of the first three chapters dealing with Josiah

point. It is a coincidence that in the summer of 1951, during the ebb tide of her energies, one of the last persons whom she was able to help out with information was Mrs. Pankhurst's son Richard, who was engaged in a study of the nineteenth century English radical William Thompson. It is probably because of this impressive initiation that the "woman movement" enrolled her as a permanent participant. She gave up at an early date the notion that acquiring the vote meant the end of sexual discrimination, but feminine equality was a matter she took up as a life-time concern.

Of far greater significance in determining the direction of her later intellectual journey was a pre-war meeting with Emma Goldman, which she often said was her first contact with the radical movement. A testimony to the lasting impression of this meeting is a sheaf of a hundred or more letters from Emma which were placed in the Collection long ago. It is because of this and many similar deposits that the correspondence files of Angés Inglis are part of the most valuable materials assembled there. Included in it are letters from almost all the radicals of note the world around, whose careers are spanned by the two world wars. They discuss the technical aspects and the ideological content of radical literature and publication in half the countries of the world, as well as a wealth of personalities of the most comprehensive order. No one to my mind who has ever used the Collection for research has failed to leave it impressed at least in this respect.

As a resident of Detroit and Ann Arbor, her active participation in socio-political controversy during and after the first World War attracted much attention from friends and family members. Ultimately it led to a substantial departure from both. Her efforts on behalf of political prisoners, members of the IWW, stray aliens and friendless radicals and others, unfortunate and unlucky enough to run head on into the reaction released by the conformity drives attending the plunge of the U.S.A. into the fighting, are well known. They need little comment here. The persons she helped are her best memorial. But it did earn her the repute of a radical among the police, and she remained one the rest of her life. She often described the stormy days of 1917-1921, recalling the activities of the radical "auxiliary" with high elation and without a particle of regret. She never understood the second war, with its different and much more unobtrusive and efficient programs for absorbing and anaesthetizing radicals and deviates from accepted avenues of expression. She spent the second war period in an uneasy waiting, convinced that we were becoming more and more like the enemy we were fighting, and took heart only from the occasional peep of news which managed to slip out concerning the scattering of war objectors the world around. Of post-war politics she tired rapidly, and would lapse into prolonged

of the old Detroit worker-anarchist Joseph A. Labadie into the best known and probably the most comprehensive collection of printed and written propaganda of the radical movement anywhere.

To a few of the thousands of students incessantly crossing the campus diagonal of the University of Michigan she was a slightly-built, stooped old lady with deeply lined face and kind brown eyes who dressed in long-out-of-style clothing, quaint hats and shapeless shoes, employed in some obscure capacity in the huge general library. But with the exception of a handful of graduate students working on themes dealing with labor or social history, hardly anyone knew her as curator of the Labadie Collection, hidden away in the top of the bookstack area. The materials in the Collection do not circulate and access to the area itself was not generally available, factors which tended to favor its obscurity and that of the principal person connected with it. Nor did she feel that it should have been otherwise. It is an occasion when one encounters a person who enjoyed the quiet of anonymity as much, or who thrived at a labor so little noticed, commended or rewarded.

As an acquaintance of hers for ten years and a close associate for the last six years of her life, it was my good fortune to be in almost daily contact with her for months at a time. The impressions gathered over this period of time makes a complex picture of a person who contradicted the usual stereotype of the social process of aging: as Agnes Inglis grew older, she grew more radical. In fact, her extreme stands on economics, politics and religion narrowed down her circle of social acquaintances among the apprehensively conventional, with whom she was placed by circumstances, to the point of elimination.

In scores of long conversations I never found her interested in talking freely about the early years of her life as a fantasy existence, spent within the environmental limitations of private school education, comfortable means, Presbyterianism, and the futile stop-gap social work endeavors associated with them. She often remarked whimsically that the time spent in humanitarian activities in the Franklin Settlement House in Detroit and Hull House in Chicago was dismissed as "do-goodism" by completely unreconstructed radical friends, but she was inclined to laugh a bit about the matter and let it pass. Although reminiscing occasionally of the loneliness and desolation as a young girl, regret and remorse were luxuries I never knew her to indulge in.

Agnes Inglis' position in the field of unconventional thought and behavior was bound at both ends by the English suffragette Sylvia Pankhurst. In 1910 they met at a sorority luncheon in Ann Arbor which preceded a speaking engagement for the latter in town. Agnes remarked to me that "the girls didn't appreciate her, but it was quite an event for me." Her gradual estrangement from middle class gentility began at this

Warren in 1947, and we spent some time in correspondence and conversation about Warren's ideas and activities. He remarked that after I had reported on my findings at New Harmony that he had learned more about Warren from me than I had learned from him, but I was inclined to believe that it all about evened out. And contributing to our discussions when they occurred in "the Collection" was Agnes, who responded with the radiant energy of a teenager to our ongoing reconstruction of this long-neglected story.

I guess Laurance and I both loved "Aggie," as we sometimes called her, but in our own company only. (When people started calling Laurance "Larry" I do not know, but it was after he had left Michigan. Agnes never referred to him at any time in any way except "Laurance," and everyone I ever met who knew him in the 1940s in Michigan did the same. Though his father had been known by nearly all by the affectionate "Jo," addressing his son as "Larry" always struck me as similar to calling Tucker "Benny.") But as to Agnes, both of us in our own personal, introverted, repressed and unexpressed ways, showed our affection through deeds instead of words. I guess there was nothing either of us would not have done for her, but she was not an easy person to do things *for*. It took her nearly eight years to call me by the familiar name used by all my associates, and no matter how informal things got, there was always a part of her kept in reserve. Laurance had known her for many years before I made her acquaintance, in 1943.

We occasionally went to lunch together in the Michigan League, and if the steps of the main library were icy, she would allow us to take her arm, but only until we had passed the treacherous spots; to do otherwise would have been an indication that she was no longer independent and capable of taking care of herself, even when approaching 80. That was important to her. I can remember a considerable succession of Sunday night vegetarian collations in her apartment near the U-M campus, listening to her recall ancient and exciting days, and her personal recollections of Emma Goldman, Hippolyte Havel, John Beverley Robinson and many others, among a formidable 'mist procession' of related notables; active in radical circles since World War I, she *knew* more people in that world than most others even *read* about. (The meal was almost always the same: a spread of cold cooked vegetables, especially lots of carrots, hard-boiled eggs, and a dessert of dark wheat bread toast and cherry jam, and tea. I used to spoof her mildly about her vegetarian convictions against killing animals to eat, and she acknowledged that she did break ranks by wearing leather shoes. Had she lived into the plastic revolution she might have been able to eschew even leather footwear and enjoy the last laugh on me. But she was adamant in her refusal to bless any political system for the same reason she enjoined

killing animals for food: she was against any and all political solutions achieved by murder, even if such a goal was to be achieved by *just one* murder.)

In a letter she wrote on the evening of October 28, 1951 (a Sunday, and probably the result of thinking about our Sunday night ritual meals of the past), she remarked, "I'm 81-nearly-and frail and don't work as I have worked, but it makes everything all right. My life is full." By that time Laurance had relocated at Suffern and I was in northern Illinois. We never had another gathering in Ann Arbor; Agnes Inglis died there January 29, 1952.

Perhaps the most painful piece of writing I ever had to put together was an obituarial recollection I wrote about her for David T. Wieck's occasional journal *Resistance*. In a routine physical examination a short time before, she was discovered to have a mild diabetic condition, and probably was worried to death by the news. She wrote me repeatedly how demeaning she felt it to be to have to visit the huge University hospital, and leaving with the feeling that she had been dealt with like a piece of furniture. My memoir was not published until the August, 1953 issue of the journal, and Laurance did not comment on it until in a letter of October 20 of that year. With characteristic feigned detachment he wrote, "I read your article on Agnes. Wieck liked it. I wrote him that you were the only person I know of who was able to write anything about her." As this introduction was taking shape, it was realized that this entire project needed this tribute to her from me, to round it out properly, and it is reprinted here as an appendix, for the first time in a quarter of a century. But for some years Laurance and I continued to speak of her as though she was still around. "The Collection" was something we talked about to the very end, even during my visit with him at Suffern in November, 1973. Most of his library went there in 1976.

An intellectual relationship with Laurance Labadie was an education in itself. Conversationally or via correspondence, he would eat you alive at the faintest sign of wavering of intelligence. The injunction against tolerating fools was something he took very seriously. One of the surest cures for an attack of the stupids, many found out, was a tangle with Laurance. As a writer, his unpretentious, stripped-down, to-the-point style (which Tucker probably would have been delighted to print in *Liberty* decades before), was not maimed by academic baffle-gab and the waffling resulting from the fence-straddling paralysis induced by the bogus "objectivity" disease of 'hire' education, contracted from training in the sophisticated concealment of opinions behind the technical disguise of simulated aloofness or disengagement.

Laurance had always developed his economic and politico-social ideas

1933." *Economics of Liberty* and *Reflections on Socio-economic Truths* were hand-composed and first published on a single sheet of paper resembling newsprint cut to twice standard (5½x8½ in.) book size, utilizing only the inside, thus blank both front and back when folded in half. Laurance signed both these essays, but they are not dated. When asked as to the approximate date they were done, he could not remember, but thought he may have done them in the mid-1940s, or earlier. *What Is the Educational Problem?* is from the original typed manuscript copy, dated November 5, 1958. *Education-What For?* is from a carbon copy of the typed manuscript original, signed and dated November 9, 1958. *Regarding Man's Concern With Truth* is from the original typed manuscript, signed and dated November 1, 1958. "*All the World's a Stage*" is from a carbon copy of the typed original, signed and dated May 21, 1950. *Consideration of Some Basic Sociological Truths* is from a carbon copy of the typed original, signed and dated March 5, 1961. In slightly different form it was first published in the May 1, 1961 issue of the *Indian Libertarian* in Bombay. *On Man's Thinking* is from the original typed manuscript, signed and dated December 26, 1960. *Excerpts From a Letter to a Friend Apropos Human Rights* is from a carbon copy of the typed original, signed and dated April 19, 1949. *Origin and Nature of Government* is reproduced from *Balanced Living*, Vol. I, No. 2 (February, 1958), pp. 18-19. *War-What For?* is from a carbon copy of the typed original, signed but undated. From internal evidence it seems to have been produced at about the start of World War II. *From Nowhere to the Garbage Heap* is from a carbon copy of the typed original, signed and dated January 9, 1965. *Comments on the Proposals of Some Modern Saviors About Avoiding the Menace of Atomic War* is from a mimeographed edition of a typewritten copy, signed and dated April 18, 1960. *What Is Man's Destiny?* is reproduced from the original version published in the *Journal of Human Relations* (Wilberforce, Ohio), Fourth Quarter, 1970, pp. 1152-1159.

APPENDIX I

AGNES INGLIS: RECOLLECTIONS & IMPRESSIONS

by James J. Martin

The death of Agnes A. Inglis on January 29, 1952, in Ann Arbor, Michigan removing from the scene another of the few remaining free-swinging independent radicals of the pre-World War One era in this country. A resume of her career in conventional obituary form is unnecessary for the considerable number of radicals and libertarians all over the world who came to know her in one way or other. Her passing, in her eighty-second year, deprived many these people of their only common contact, an irreparable loss to them. But more than that, it finished the work of the most indefatigable collector of the printed and documentary materials of the radical movement anywhere in the world. In the process of a score of working years she developed the core library

alism. In making a living professing to remedy these evils, they inevitably come to have a vested interest in their existence. Governments and the military purport to protect the public from enemies, and if there were no enemies they would have to invent some, for the simple purpose of rationalizing their existence. Lawyers thrive on contention, and what can be more welcome than social turmoil, promising nice fees? Physicians thrive on human illness; what would they do if everyone should become healthy? The stress and strain of the rat race becomes a bonanza for a class of opportunists called psychologists and psychotherapists. Pulpit pounders and moralists for revenue thrive on sin and fears of hell, and they too must throw up hopes and fears for which they will offer surcease.

The "health, education, and welfare" section of government is another boondoggle. First we manufacture indigent and superfluous people by legal monopolies in land, money and idea patents, erecting tariff barriers to protect monopolies from foreign competition, and taxing laborers to subsidize rich farmers and privileged manufacturers. Then we create "social workers," etc., to care for them and thereby establish a self-aggravating and permanent institutionalized phenomenon.

The invasion of Vietnam by the U.S. government is another boondoggle, which not only rationalizes the existence of a large military establishment, but also creates work for an exceedingly large war-material industry—or what Eisenhower called the military-industrial complex.

The operative forces now in existence cause a general tendency in the nature of a one-way street, the more horrible because the process is hardly understood even by the people who ostensibly "manage" it.

Everyone is taking in someone else's washing in a gigantic make-work project. There are at least a half dozen major forces now operative, all tending in the same direction, with very few countervailing influences—and that direction is oblivion. Death comes to everyone. What real difference does it make if it comes simultaneously instead of consecutively, as far as the individual is concerned?

It is no longer a question of "choosing" a good or better *system*, but a question of whether life on earth will continue.

Since the human race will not abolish governmentalism, governmentalism will abolish the human race.

Bibliographical Note

Anarchism Applied to Economics was reproduced from the original edition, hand-composed and printed by the author on both sides of a single sheet of coated stock, signed, and bearing the publication place and date "Detroit,

uncluttered with theological constructs such as "natural rights," "natural law," "objective morality," and the like, a large part of these and related ideas stemming from a power position occupied by their exponents, and utterly unamenable to any kind of proof, as is the case with all religious assertions, a circumstance which accounts for the interminable arguing which all such positions encourage, and for the never-ending contumaciousness which always attends the contentions that result. (If a case for a rational and equitable libertarian order cannot be structured without recourse to religious props, then the field might just as well be abandoned to the irrationalists and it be admitted that a world ungoverned by spooks is an utter impossibility. The polemics of economics are drenched in theological postures; the earnest exposures of one another's "errors" is done in language reminiscent of religious broadsides of the early 17th century, and fanciful theses concerning likely economic behavior in the future or in defense of systems which have never seen the light of day nor are likely ever to do so are advocated with a heat comparable to that which attended the controversies of early Christianity over the nature of Transubstantiation.)

Of all the areas of economic theory, Laurance preferred to expand upon money. After Warren, and especially Proudhon and Tucker, he respected only two modern money theorists, Hugo Bilgram and E. C. Riegel. Bilgram's *The Cause of Business Depressions* (New York: 1913, reprinted, Bombay, India, 1950) and Riegel's *Free Enterprise Money* (New York, 1944) were the only works he ever recommended to me to read. He knew Riegel personally and though he thought him the best after Bilgram, nevertheless he and Riegel engaged in sustained correspondence over points in the latter's book which were considered unclear.

It is interesting that one of the two principal modern seers of the "Austrian" school of economic theory, Friedrich Hayek, has now come around to a variant of the proposals of these and other private money exponents in the past, to the dismay of his followers, long enmeshed in the dogmas of the gold standard. (An excellent summary of Hayek's *Denationalization of Money* was made by the veteran libertarian economist Prof. Oscar W. Cooley, titled "Nobel Prize Winner Would Privatize Money," in *Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph*, April 26, 1978, p. 7-B.) In actuality, the entire individualist anti-statist position from Warren and Proudhon to the present is inextricably tied into the insistence on the necessity of competing money systems and the evolution of marketplace control over money, credit and interest rates. It is still too strong medicine for most 'libertarians,' who persist in dogged devotion to the gold standard, which is essentially a formula for a different brand of State-controlled money, run in collusion between sly

State finance ministers and the major holders of gold, tying currency to a gold price fixed by agreement, and made invulnerable to the free trade in gold and consequent frequent periodic adjustments in the light of changing gold prices, by force. That this results in a money system not much different in total effect from existing fiat money systems is obvious; says Prof. Cooley, "Our dollar today, in fact, is more truly a freedom dollar than the gold standard dollar [of the past] was." The evolution of the modern State suggests that a neo-gold-standard dollar would produce an even worse situation than the now-fashionable State-manipulated issuance of unsecured paper.

I listened to many of Laurance's monologues on money theory, some of them even for some time on the telephone, only contributing my approach at the end, which was usually expressed in the simple declaration that "Money is something that will buy something," for which I was reproached for neglecting the function of money as a "store of value" and concentrating only on its function as "a medium of exchange." But he admitted that mine was surely the concern of the overwhelming majority of the people in the world. (A recent promotional piece distributed by a venerable investment brokerage house in Colorado states as a fact that of every 100 persons who reach the age of 65 in the USA, 95 of them are "flat broke.")

Perhaps I became too much of a 'Stimerite' for Laurance. He never came to terms with Tucker's abandonment of economic and financial analysis for Stirner, and mainly tried to treat the situation as one in which Tucker's views and enthusiasms between 1881 and 1901 were all that one needed to go on. My similar waning interest in economic and money theory changed much of the nature of our communications as I gradually moved to the Pacific Coast for a decade as Laurance settled on the Atlantic. There were times when the distance separating us resulted in sustained periods of silence from both ends. In 1951 and again in 1956 I spent from late spring to early fall in nine European countries. During the first of these Laurance was laboring mightily to bring the Borsodi property, the old School of Living of the 1930s, in Suffern, into the kind of shape he wanted it to be in. I wrote him on my return, remarking that we were getting to be rather irregular correspondents. In his hasty undated reply he commented, "Yes, we've been paying about as much attention to each other as a couple of brothers," while concluding, "Please tell me something about your jaunt around Urup." On the other hand there were occasions when something of mutual interest touched off a stream of dispatches back and forth. Though our personal meetings ended our other contacts made things seem as though we had never parted ways, and our more substantial exchanges concerned more the

perhaps not one in a million who has the wit to see through the hoax. Whether the State is considered a necessary evil or a positive good, it is usually thought to be a thing of permanence, like the law of gravitation. In the face of the fact it is completely preposterous to expect that the general battle for power between governments (whose mere existence as mutual threats mutually support each other), could possibly eventuate in anything other than the mutual extermination of the human race.

Humans are neither good nor bad, but are corrupted by intrinsically inadvisable and bad institutions. They are inadvertent victims of their blunders, especially the blunders of perpetuating actions which may have been life-promoting in a given historical happenstance but which today have become anti-life to such a degree as to threaten all life with annihilation.

For thousands of years the interminable warfare between the organized gangs called governments have been carried on without making any appreciable dent on the general continuity of life. The obvious fact is that the means for slaughter and devastation have never until now been effective enough to complete the annihilation before sheer exhaustion brought an end to the conflicts. That minor hindrance has been overcome with a vengeance by the hired activities of scientists and technicians who are reputed to have contributed to a boondoggle that might stimulate sluggish economies and make certain people rich, meanwhile amassing a world overkill capacity of ten or more times in the attempt to achieve a balance of terror which, according to our protectors, is a sound basis for peace. In the words of the quipper, "How crazy can you get?"

The whole U. S. economy has become something of a boondoggle. In the scramble for money, some persons create evils and dis-eases, thereby calling forth whole professions to ameliorate or "cure" the created evils. Politicians, priests, lawyers, psychotherapists, doctors, educators, cosmetics manufacturers, the judiciary, advertisers, etc., etc., in fact, practically *all* economic and pseudo-economic activities are cases in point.

In case the reader of these lines feels that I haven't made the case for annihilation and oblivion, I call attention to a phenomenon that seems to have been overlooked. In any economy which also has the feature of an inadequate market demand, there arises the problem of keeping the wheels of industry going and everybody busy. In such an insecure and distressful state of affairs, deceit becomes a "way of life." Anything for a dollar: built-in obsolescence, shoddy goods, adulterated foods, worry and fret, and what not. The large segments of the populations become engaged as professionals, purporting to ameliorate the evils which they seem not to realize are caused, in the final analysis, by government-

As for the naive but heroic promulgators of the doctrine of “live and let live,” since they are always enemies of the Established Order, they are to be harassed and pilloried, nailed to the cross, forced to drink hemlock, or otherwise simply murdered.

Violence is the only language understood by the minions of Established Order, and violence is the means of eliminating order of any sort, established or otherwise. It will be the means by which human kind will abolish itself. When has man ever invented a more efficient way of slaughtering people that he hasn't used?

As long as individuals place their faith in the hope that some thing external to themselves, be it God, Man, or Devil, Santa Claus or institutionalized abstractions, will save them, they will continue groveling around like chickens with their heads lopped off.

Practically everywhere in the world, probably 80% of the land and natural resources are owned or controlled by only two percent of the population, while the issue of money and credit, the means by which cooperation is carried on, is in the control of a handful of men.

This criminal state of affairs, which is not as much personal as institutional, is prevalent in every country in the world. It is not called “criminal” simply because those in power are the ones who make the definitions and the laws, and they who make the definitions and the laws, are not going to describe themselves or the institutions of which they are the obvious beneficiaries, as criminal. Such laws are carefully devised so as to harass and destroy the victims who protest or offer resistance, or who resort to whatever means may seem available in their attempt to stay alive. The schemes are self-supporting, for as Caesar is reputed to have said, “With money you can employ soldiers, and with soldiers extort money.”

Neither are the hired flunkies called historians, social scientists, or civics teachers in the respective slave enclaves called “nations” going to, nor even be allowed, to say that the debilitating and degenerate Frankenstein monsters ruling over them are other than almost ideal, or that the personnel of these organized monopolies of the use of violence are other than noble and self-sacrificing individuals whose hearts bleed for the masses under their jurisdiction. Indeed, was there ever a politician trying to get into office who wasn't wringing his hands in alarm, and deploring the lack of solicitude of the politician he aspired to replace? Millions of dollars are spent trying to elect persons into office, the salaries or stipends of which are but a small fraction of this amount. This might lead an objective observer to surmise that politicians can be bought by the gross, like bananas, by the highest bidder.

The most astounding feature of the general political phenomenon is, that of the several *billions* of people populating the earth, there is

larger issues and the general circumstances attending what might be called “man's lot.”

This had to be, because I was convinced that wrangling over theoretical economics was a wearisome futility, and that the ideas of economists were like those of evangelists: unprovable; one either believed them or one did not. My own experiences as a ‘businessman’ in the latter half of the '60s indicated to me that such things as prices were mainly psychological and a reflection more of the warfare of wills among buyers and sellers than they were of ‘supply and demand’ factors and production costs, frequently plucked out of thin air on an experimental basis, and sometimes arbitrarily *raised*, not lowered, when the product did not sell. The subject of money was similarly to be understood through psychological explanation rather than through the turning over of the tenets of theorists. Something with no intrinsic value at all was functioning as the monetary basis of the largest part of the world's surface, including the USA, simply because it was acceptable to the great majority through whose hands it passed, and in full knowledge that it had no ‘redeemable’ content or quality. I am still waiting for a credible explanation why a worthless material may serve as the medium of exchange among hundreds of millions for many scores of years, such a circumstance being basically uninfluenced by the hostile bellows of its critics. (The volume of literature and talk pouring out in denunciation of the money system is absolutely paralyzing in its enormity, yet this unbelievable industry amounts to little that is perceptible in the form of change; the multitudes go on exchanging goods and services for this money with barely a murmur, the whole tableau made a little humorous by the eagerness of the denouncers of this “worthless paper” to accept large amounts of it for the things they have for sale, ranging from scarce substances like gold to newsletters informing the buyers that the money they use is “no good.” This kind of analysis makes sophisticates smile, but they in turn are still trying to tell us how an economy functions like the man trying to explain how a gun operates by pointing to the smoke emerging from the end of the barrel after it has been fired.)

When it came to ruminations concerning the ‘big picture,’ we got on somewhat better, particularly in the decade of the '60s. A matter which we occasionally dwelled upon, but on which Laurance did not write other than peripherally and indirectly, was the zero record of any government solving unemployment and inflation simultaneously. Economic history did not reveal, so far as either of us could recall, a case where these two situations had ever been tackled at the same time and successfully solved; they were always taken on *seriatim*, and reversed when palliatives to relieve one of them exacerbated the other, requiring

a turnaround of attention, and vice versa. In the 20th century there had been only emergency authoritarian regimes which had grappled with both problems at once, though the apparent degree of success had really resulted in only cosmetic solutions, producing *repressed* inflation and *repressed* unemployment via various degrees of massive governmental intervention; it was only war which seemed to come to the rescue.

Few people were more aware than Laurance that *private* enterprise and *free* enterprise are anything but synonyms, which Tucker had discussed in different terminology and under different circumstances in his famous discourse on the trusts in 1899. As for the more recent period, for nearly 60 years an army of professional anti-communists had posed the problem in Persian opposites of capitalist children of light and communist demons of darkness. But in the late 1960s they suddenly discovered that Big Industry, Big Finance, Big Commerce and Big Agriculture (the latter controlled by the other three) got along famously with Big Communism, and that there were more unions and union members hostile to communism than there were among the opulent and the plutocratic. Then there began the serious investigation of global collusion among them, and the attention to the Bilderbergers and the Trilateral Commission, and related international string-pullers. Laurance's analysis cut through to the core of the affair well before any of the eloquent mouthpieces of the Right or Left intellectual establishment stumbled across the situation, and elaborated their topical version.

There was one matter to which we returned many times, one which had nothing to do with current affairs, world politics and national programs. This was the train of thought loosed in a celebrated book titled *Might Is Right, or the Survival of the Fittest*, first published in 1898 under a pseudonym, "Ragnar Redbeard," whom no one has ever identified with any certitude. It is surely one of the most incendiary works ever to be published anywhere, and was subsequently reprinted in England in 1910, and two more times in the USA, in 1927 and as recently as 1972. Laurance gave me several copies of this over the years, including a hardbound copy which contained his marginal comments growing out of our various discussions, in his tiny and precise handwriting, almost all in red ink. In the late '40s we drifted to this work and its various theses on several occasions, and repeatedly thereafter. One issue which especially aroused our speculations grew out of "Redbeard" 's undeviating preoccupation with physical force as the constant for resolving all important issues, including survival. But it did not appear to Laurance and myself that history unqualifiedly supported this view. Throughout time there appeared numerous folk who had managed to survive, many for very long periods, employing a totally different range of 'survival values.' These stratagems eschewed weaponry and muscula-

peace and prosperity, to say nothing of their liberty, are the respective governments ruling over them. No "national" government will allow the suspicion that it (and by inference those apparently in power), are the real enemies of the people. That is why all governments can agree on one thing, that anarchists are promoters of disorder and chaos. This preposterous game has been virtually universal during all known history—it is today as virile and vicious as ever.

That some of the real masters and beneficiaries of monopolistic privileges may not be the actual personnel of the law-making, jurisprudential, "law and order" enforcing bodies tends to blur the master-slave relationship. In some countries it is further blurred by the fact that the allotment of monopolistic privilege is impersonal, thus making it appear that opportunity is equalized, with the possibility of slaves becoming masters, and vice versa.

No single individual can produce a great amount of harm in this world unless he could enlist or command a large number of people to do his bidding, which is the quintessence of authority. True, it is said that in union there is strength, but what does this prove? It applies to evil-doing as well as good.

When it comes to institutionalism, it is quite a different matter. For institutions have a logic and force independent of the persons who compose them. These forces, especially if established on a permanent basis, not only can not be "perfect" but may even effect consequences in direct opposition to that which had been originally intended. Thus arise what are called the contradictions in society. These particular contradictions could not or would not arise in a free or anarchic society.

The fact that permanent institutionalism, especially with authority and power, immediately becomes degenerative and anti-life, has been noted by the observation that "Power corrupts; and absolute power corrupts absolutely," a statement that has been mouthed by unthinking persons to imply that if the prevailing power structure be ousted, and presumably themselves be placed as alternatives, some sort of problem would have been solved. This sort of unthinking self-righteousness is the basis of the proposals of Conservatives, Liberals, Marxists, and self-styled Revolutionists and governmentalsists in general. Constitutionalists, Republicans, Democrats, and Fascists are of the same menacing breed—the grave-diggers of liberty for all.

As for general populace everywhere, concerned primarily with trying to scavenge a livelihood out of the cultures of which they are victims, they are more in the nature of funny putty to be molded by the unscrupulous predators who also seem to be a permanent element in every civilization known to man. It is evident that these criminal predators have been having the best of it as far as material benefits are concerned.

one tribe could rob and murder another tribe. Since men were more agile than women for such actions, a division of labor became the practice whereby the men did the fighting while the women did the work and cared for the young. Thus probably began the enslavement of women who in subsequent raids were captured instead of killed, and possibly polygamy arose as a way of life, with the stronger men holding a large entourage, and establishing rules that they would not steal each other's women. If the men got killed off in battle the tribe probably converted to matriarchy.

We may imagine times when in their haste in raids some of the invaded became maimed instead of killed, and were able again to acquire food. When this was observed, when it became evident that it was possible to rob them again, a great idea arose among predators. It was realized that it was not necessary to kill a man in order to acquire his goods; he could be enslaved and exploited. It was not only practical but humanitarian in that it promised a lease on life. The conquerors became the masters and the conquered the slaves. Predation became organized on a permanent basis, for man is a creature of habit.

All through history invasion, conquest, subjugation, enslavement and exploitation has been the name of the game, and is the most salient factor in human relations even up to the present day. Government and the institution known as the State remains the relationship between conquerors and the conquered; and the relations between States during all eras of so-called Nationalism is essentially one of hostility between predators. Each governmental power tends to enlarge its domains and the number of people it can exploit. Their own "subjects" they mulct under the euphemism "taxation." The State, every State, *as an institution*, is *intrinsically* the enemy of the people over which it can maintain jurisdiction. In the master-slave relationship which exists between them, the slaves become the pawns in the power moves between governments. Not only are these slaves victimized and robbed by the governments ruling over them, but their opportunities to make a livelihood are restricted, their time, energies, possessions, and even their persons and lives conscripted in the wars between their respective masters.

Government is professed to be a protective apparatus; and politicians break their hearts assuring us of the solicitude they hold for us. But if we must be protected, it must be against something, perhaps quite rightly other governments. Thus the predatory institutions called the State mutually support each other. Anyway, if there were no enemy, it would be necessary to invent one. It is always the other guy who is the sonovabitch. And billions of people all over the world are thus implanted with fears, completely unaware that the real enemies to their

ture, consisting of cunning, treachery, mendacity, pettifoggery, chicanery, betrayal, misrepresentation, deception, insincerity and fulsome flattery which had marked the numerous levels of hangers-on and other parasites and related courtiers of every tyranny, long-lived or otherwise, which stretched out over the millennia. However, we both concluded that "Redbeard" had surely undermined the largest part of the rationale to which conventional society appeared to be anchored.

Though it was a rare incident of mutual concern which did not involve reference to historical materials, Laurance was not very enthusiastic about my involvement in teaching the subject. I agreed with him that much of which was memorialized about the past involved a vast contingent of rogues. And, when we were in a speculative mood on a galactic scale, I conceded that the affairs of the species through much of record-keeping reflected too much concern for the deeds of the endless round of liars, thieves and murderers to which the world had been subjected across the millennia. In his sustained and deepening gloom concerning affairs domestic and foreign he found my willingness to take part in the world at least on a limited basis, simply for the fun of watching the whole loony show, as something akin to the efforts of a cheerful village idiot, diligently tending a radish garden on the lip of an active volcano.

The content of Laurance Labadie's literary labors changed considerably beginning in the early '50s and extending on for about a decade. He began to examine broader topics and confront far larger issues than those of micro-economics, which had absorbed his energies for so many of the early years of his intellectual development (Laurance stated to me that he was past 30 before taking any interest in the world of ideas.) The principal reason for this abrupt change in the emphasis of his work was his early postwar involvement in the affairs and interests of the decentralist impulse, sparked by Ralph Borsodi and especially by his principal lieutenant, Mildred Jensen Loomis, a dynamic and articulate activist whose incredible energy in advancing its ideas and programs was easily the most important factor in the spread of interest in this mode of life in the quarter of a century after the end of World War II.

Borsodi's famous blast at the growing nightmare of urban industrialism, *This Ugly Civilization* (1929), occurred at a time before any of the later trendy and fashionable environmentalists and ecologists were even born. And his withdrawal and experimentation with a rational, logical and scientific subsistence homestead as an alternate way of life he documented in another book, *Flight From the City* (1933), another most premature work, which was to be an inspiration for many who were to take belated steps in his direction. Borsodi was "under wraps" most of the later 1930s, his views being as abrasive to the New Deal seers as they had been to the element whose world collapsed in the fall of 1929; once

in awhile he surfaced, in such journals as Seward Collins' *American Review*, but the involvement of the US in the war in the late fall of 1941 seemed to wash out all interest and effort along his prescriptions. However, it was during the war that Mrs. Loomis began to emerge as an articulate spokeswoman in his cause, a proponent in such journals as the *Christian Century* for something which was still well ahead of its time. (Borsodi's penchant for premature thinking was exemplified by his 1948 book *Inflation Is Coming*, which if taken seriously by persons with a few resources to invest, could easily have made all of them multi-millionaires.)

Beginning in 1946 the Borsodi-Loomis efforts began to take shape as the vanguard of a 'movement,' and their ideas, activities and achievements were broadcast in a series of periodicals, *The Interpreter*, *Balanced Living*, and later *A Way Out*. Mrs. Loomis recognized the historical continuity of the ideas dating back to Warren, Spooner and Tucker which Laurance was mainly responsible for making known to her, and which her contemporaries were re-discovering, sometimes through just practical encounters in the everyday world. But this aspect gave to the homesteading movement an ideological base of a kind, which was incorporated into an already large body of other ideas derived from Borsodi and others. The result was that some issues of the School of Living periodicals were remarkable reading experiences, in those days thirty years ago when it seemed as though the welfare-warfare State had become all that Americans might ever know. (Laurance and I once journeyed down to Mrs. Loomis' 'base' in Brookville, Ohio in the late '40s for a long weekend, and I was immensely impressed by what she and her husband were doing on a deliberately chosen small acreage, utilizing all that could be done by maximization of rational, logical, scientific intelligence.)

A related but independent influence upon Laurance at about the same time as his contacts with the School of Living decentralists took place was the psychologist Theodore Schroeder. He spent considerable time with Schroeder at the latter's residence in Connecticut, and wrote me repeatedly concerning the subjects they discussed. It became obvious to me that Laurance increasingly appreciated some of Schroeder's views, and traces of them show up in essays written after 1950.

Laurance Labadie's extended relations with the School of Living is really a separate and necessarily far longer topic than can be taken up here. It is brought into this phase of the discussion here because it had a significant effect on what he was to write thereafter, and especially because many of the essays of this collection were produced in that period. That Laurance bought the original Borsodi School of Living property in Suffern and moved there to live in 1950 seemed to have

fight, and in that fight will employ the bomb which is the avowed purpose of governmental consolidation to avoid.

Unfortunately the argument implicit here is not one which may be able to be proven by saying, "I told you so." In the meantime one may indulge in agreeable chagrin, saying "Such things cannot be." Perhaps man's original sin was to think at all, as some theologians tell us. But thinking will be necessary if men are to discontinue their primitive ancestors' blunder of perpetuating and institutionalizing the robbery and incidental murder which he resorted to as an unwelcome expedient in some of the scrambles which he faced in times of scarcity. Habit may be a labor-saving device, but it can also become a disastrous piece of negligence, as is becoming obvious.

Or if one wishes to become philosophical, he need not become *too much* concerned about blowing up the earth. After all, we all have to die sometime, and if it be in the cards that the whole farce is to be terminated, so be it. If men are such fools as to allow themselves to be blown to ned, perhaps it is all for the best. From the cosmic point of view it doesn't make a particle of difference either way. But there are enough psychopaths in high places on both sides of the cold war as to make the odds for annihilation an almost sure bet.

WHAT IS MAN'S DESTINY?

How did human kind get into its present condition, with groups of people called "nations" on the verge of slaughtering each other and making the earth unfit for organic life?

Ages ago, during periods of absolute scarcity, when the means for survival happened to be insufficient for the needs of a whole community, if they distributed their supplies equally, no one would get enough and all would die. Under the circumstances, the continuity of life required that some must die so that others might live. How could such a decision be made?

Suppose they found themselves with food enough for only half their number. Every individual wants to live; self preservation is a primary urge. It is absurd to believe that some would deliberately choose to starve, to the advantage of others. They were faced with a biological urge, not a moral judgment. Quite naturally the situation gave rise to scramble. Those with the least scruples, physically more powerful, and more cunning survived. Robbery and coincidental murder were the factors deciding the issue. This must have happened *within* tribes.

As robbery and murder unfortunately became necessary for the continuity of a tribe under conditions of scarcity, it became apparent that

be amassed to produce the atomic bomb. And of course the possibility of amassing capital and manufacturing bombs in totalitarian countries is simple enough. It is the very existence of concentrated power to tax and to use tax money to enhance the very power which taxed in the first place, which constitutes a one-way street to hell.

In a non-governmental world, in a world where the political State had been replaced by voluntary associations in which people produced and exchanged necessary goods and services, it would be impossible to induce enough people to invest their savings in such mammoth military establishments as now obtain.

I believe there is no assurance whatever in evading the increase of more and more military expenditure by the hope that government rulers are going to agree to the diminution of military might. In fact they mutually support each other by their mutual threats. The hope that governments will agree to reduce military might finds lodgment in minds that misapprehend the nature of government. But such minds are virtually universal simply because they have been taught in government-controlled schools throughout the world. What would surprise me is that anyone so "educated" had managed to think his way out of the universally-induced superstition that governments are in any way other than unmitigated evils.

The shallow observance that often governments are solicitous in patching up the evils they themselves have caused (through granting privileges to special persons and interests) blinds people to the fact that the woes they suffer are of governmental origin. Any objective study, not only of the history of governments throughout the ages, but of their origins and necessary nature, would confirm the conviction that the State is the institutionalization of robbery, coercion, slavery, and indeed murder, as a method for conducting societies.

As things are going now it is a matter of time when more and more governments will possess the atomic bomb, and to expect—in opposition to the theory of Clausewitz, that they are continually going to refrain from using them to implement their inherently imperialistic policies is, in my opinion, a vain hope. This seems to me should be plain to anyone whose brains have not been brainwashed by nationalistic teachings in state-controlled educational institutions.

It is claimed by many people that in democratic countries the people rule. Unfortunately for that theory, in the country which produced the atomic bomb only a handful of people knew that the bomb was being produced, and presumably the dropping of it and the snuffing-out of nearly a quarter million innocent lives was the decision of one man.

World government as a solution of the threat of atomic war? No government is going to relinquish its sovereignty without putting up a

some symbolic significance, though he never tried to do there what the Borsodi family had done 15 to 20 years earlier. (Borsodi later was to go to India for an extended stay spreading the message of his version of decentralized living.) But the periodicals edited by Mrs. Loomis were Laurance's major opening to an audience larger than that consisting of his private mail associates such as myself, and his communications and a few of his shorter pieces were published there. One of those whom he met through the agencies of the School of Living, Don Werkheiser, was responsible for Laurance's last published effort, which appeared in 1970.

A dark and morose strain began to dominate Laurance's writing in the middle 1960s, and his work appeared so grim that it made even most editors of radical journals flinch and run. Strangely enough, one of his steadiest supporters was the editor of the *Indian Libertarian*, in Bombay, Arya Bhavan, who printed a succession of Laurance's pieces, though they necessarily had only a tiny exposure in America. The only attempts to print several of Laurance's essays at one time were made in 1966 and 1967 in *A Way Out* in special issues edited by Herbert C. Roseman, a young latecomer to the school of those who esteemed Laurance's mode of literary expression.

Actually, Laurance and I had discussed a possible edition of a collection of things which he thought had been ably done shortly after the Libertarian Book Club published my edition of Paul Eltzbacher's *Anarchism* in 1960. But his reaction to this suggestion was so bleakly negative then, and for some time thereafter, that it led me to abandon the project, and work at different ones, among which were the first reprinting of Max Stirner's *The Ego and His Own* in almost 60 years, the first reprinting of Spooner's *No Treason* in a century, and a combined French and English edition of Etienne de La Boetie's *Discours de la Servitude volontaire* for the first time in 400 years.

It was in this latter series that I reprinted John Badcock's *Slaves to Duty* for the first time in a generation, using Laurance's famous basement-press *Samizdat* edition of 1938 (with minor corrections and a few annotations), and dedicating the edition to him. Shortly after that, in a letter on March 15, 1973, I once more proposed to him the issuance of a selection of his essays as a volume in this series. We talked about it by telephone and via correspondence for some weeks, and it was to bolt down the details, so to speak, that I flew out to see him at Suffern early in November of that year, the last time I saw him, though we spent some time on the telephone thereafter, following my return to Colorado (Laurance had some time back stopped answering his mail).

It is commonplace in the issuance of collections of this kind to accompany them with a send-off consisting of a learned disquisition on the

galactic meaning of it all, an "in depth" probing of the author in virtually every dimension, and an attempt to tell the reader all about his thought processes and especially his secret ideological leanings, spelled out almost as if each contribution required hand-leading and spoon-feeding, lest the reader, if left entirely to his or her own resources, might emerge from the experience still wondering what was supposed to have been found. But this symposium has nothing pretentious in it to require such a puff. It is my conviction that Laurance Labadie, a self-taught workman for most of his life, wrote directly enough to be understood by anyone with residual common sense and perhaps a dictionary, and the willingness to re-read what had not registered the first time around. Laurance remarked to me several times that he learned to write with great pain (usually while conveying a mixture of chiding and admiration aroused by what he alleged was my "effortless ability" to express myself); anyone who finds him hard going owes him an extra one if only because of his difficult journey from such a distant location. And the Boneless Wonders who long ago adopted a course based on Voltaire's observation that language is a device for the concealment of thought might profit from an auto-didact who never learned the ways of calculated obscurantism.

We live in a time of compounded hypocrisy of such scope and sophistication that not many seem able to apprehend the nature of it all, let alone possess or come by the intellectual tools necessary to penetrate even its outer layers. We hear from the loudest of our pacemakers what amounts to a constant psychological warfare, though purporting to advocate with mind-numbing decibels 'balance,' 'moderation,' 'intellectual and academic freedom,' the 'need to know,' as well as many other civic virtues such as 'the right to hear both sides' and the like (few issues have just two sides, but the convention which is draped upon us all starts with this crippling assumption.)

So in the interest of all this, assuming a residual degree of belief in the genuineness of these and other related near-platitudinous verbal reflexes, this edition is presented as a contribution to the general illumination of the ideological community, as what a self-taught isolate, at great personal cost, thought of the world and some of its perennial concerns, as opposed to the mountain of polished evasion and cleverly phrased diversions, continuously added to by the multitude which ceaselessly emerges from the formal educational and idea-manufacturing sector, which bears official blessing and sanction as the proper basing point the remainder of us should use in confronting what Proudhon described as "the social problem."

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will be intolerable. But the point is that without the pump-priming via the military machine, financed largely with fiat money, the economy would come to a standstill. This fact bulwarks the rationale for an ever larger military establishment, nicely aided by the threat of the communist block.

On the communist side, there is some likelihood that the populace would not endure their abuse except in the face of the threat, or alleged threat, of "capitalist imperialism." The engines of coercion or governments of both sides of the cold war therefore mutually support each other, and we observe a self-aggravating situation.

Thus we find an almost inevitable war situation arising out of the economic rules and coercive controls which obtain in both communist and capitalist systems. Even were all "countries" communist and nationalistic, there would be no assurance whatever that there would be no war between them. This is so because of the inherently belligerent and predatory nature of the State itself. The tendency of arbitrary power is to add to itself, until at least the rulers confront a greater military power, or if internal dry rot should precipitate a revolution.

If such a revolution be of an organized military type of operation, such as is implied by political organizations, in contrast with a spontaneous upheaval, it is inevitable that the factions of the revolutionary movement fight among themselves for exclusive power, and out of this conflict the outcome is practically certain to be a stronger organized coercive power, even stronger than had existed before, and so the tendencies in the world today are in the direction of either the super slave state or, in view of the destructive potency of modern weapons, utter annihilation.

The so-called fight against communism is at bottom a reactionary fight to maintain the evils of capitalism. It is the fighting of an effect, since the theory of communism as a social system is an outgrowth of the evils of capitalism. To try to maintain an evil against a greater evil, when the latter is a more or less logical development of the former, is a grand piece of idiocy. In this insane battle both evils will be eliminated, but only by the elimination of the human race.

From my analysis, the only way to avoid the threat of atomic war is in the abolition of governments. Is it too late to hope for this? The Russian government seems here to stay, and destined to get more brutal if necessary, as long as it can enforce loyalty on its police and soldiers. There is no question whatever that the governments of Russia and China are the worst menaces, simply because they have more people and resources at their command. Yet in the democratic countries it is only through the collusion between the government and monopolized banking systems that enough capital, largely in the form of ersatz money, can

is one of those phenomena which Nietzsche calls Eternal Recurrence, and whether it has occurred thousands of times is a matter for speculation. It could hardly be a matter of history, for there would be no one to write it and no one to read it even if written. It would be a finale in the grand manner—presumably millions of years of evolution snuffed out in a flash. What tragedian or believer in *Gotterdammerung* has imagined such a spectacle?

The dynamics of State Socialism is the preparation for war. This is explicit in the theory of socialism, in that it presumes to fight against so-called reactionary forces in order to inaugurate and maintain the system,—in this instance, forces within a country. But since State Socialism is also a war against “capitalism,” it implicitly is a war against all non-State Socialist countries. It is one of the principal tenets of Marxian Socialism that it is ultimately to be a world system. And since they are not averse to the use of force to achieve the system, and of coercion to maintain it, it is obviously a military operation from start to finish. What is obtained by force must almost necessarily need be maintained by force, especially if it be a *system* to which all individuals must conform. All the actual attempts to achieve State Socialism substantiate this opinion.

On the other hand, if what is meant by capitalism is the State's upholding of unlimited absentee holdings of land as property; if it means the monopolization of the issue of money and credit, either by the State or by an organization protected by the State, with (as a consequence) the arbitrary and exorbitant charges of interest over and above the competitive cost of such service; if it means the exclusive privilege to use manufacturing processes by means of patent monopolies; if it means obstacles placed in the way of freedom of transport and exchange—if capitalism means an economy based in these state-granted special-privileges, then as long as the beneficiaries of these coercive and invasively-held exploiting privileges control the power of the State, there is little hope for freedom in this world. Moreover, war between capitalist nations is almost inherent and inescapable with such a state of affairs. Such a war is possibly being fore-stalled at the moment because of their common antipathy to out-and-out totalitarianism.

The financial systems of capitalistic countries make increase of debt and depressions a mathematical certainty. This certainty is attempted to be postponed by inflation. But notwithstanding that in America about forty billion dollars is being pumped into circulation as buying power, through military expenditures, without a corresponding amount of goods being added to the market, sellers have such difficulty disposing of their goods that they offer them without any down payment, even for as long as six months' time. The eventual consequence of this procedure

ECONOMICS

ANARCHISM APPLIED TO ECONOMICS

Value is the exchange equivalency of something measured in terms of another thing. The fundamental quality upon which value depends is utility in satisfying desire. In economics, utility does not mean the ‘real’ or ‘actual’ ability of a thing to accomplish or assist in accomplishing a result but means the *human estimate* of the ability of a thing to satisfy desire. This estimate may be erroneous but is in effect the measure of the desire for it. In economics, therefore, desire and utility may be considered convertible terms.

Now in procuring anything, there is a hardship to be overcome. Without this hardship nothing would possess value for no one would exchange one thing for another thing which could be had without effort. So two factors are necessary in order for a thing to have value, desire and effort to be overcome,—*utility* and *labor*. Value may be enhanced by stimulating desire or by creating an artificial hindrance to production thereby affecting the equalizing effects of the law of supply and demand under competition.

Now presupposing effort to be necessary for the acquirement of two things of exchange, will they not be exchanged on a basis of equal effort? Not necessarily, for if A can produce one thing with an effort of 10 and another thing with an effort of 20, and the measure of effort for B to produce the things is in inverse ratio, it will be to the advantage of both to produce and exchange in any ratio between the limits of which means a decreased effort for both parties. If A gains 10 times as much as B it is still to B's advantage to exchange so long as he gains, because of reduced effort, in acquiring what he ultimately wants. The actual ratio of exchange would be determined by psychological and material conditions.

But when producers increase in numbers there arises competition in offering articles in exchange to benefit by the decrease of effort due to the division of labor. And presupposing enough producers of each commodity to satisfy the respective demands for them, competition will tend to make them exchange on a basis of labor time or effort necessary to overcome the obstacles of production.

For, should the demand for any article be more than the supply of this article offered for exchange, the probability is that a rise in the price or value* will ensue. And presupposing a number of marginal workers, that is, producers whose aptitude in producing different articles is

*Price is value expressed in monetary units.

approximately equal, there will be an influx of capital and labor into the production of the article which has increased in exchange value.

So it may be said that, *granting free competition*, that is, free and equal access to the means of production, to the raw materials, and to an unrestricted market, the price of all articles will always tend to be measured by the effort necessary for their production. In other words, labor as a factor in measuring value will become predominant.

Should there be any restrictions, however, to these phases necessary to free competition, the desire or utility factor will tend to become more prominent as a factor in the exchange value of those things to which artificial hindrances to production have been applied.

From the Anarchist standpoint, these artificial hindrances which are the cause of three main forms of usury—interest, profit, and rent, are, in the order of their importance, monopoly in the control of the circulating medium—money and credit, private property in land not based on occupancy and use, patent rights and copyrights, and tariffs.

It is also the claim of anarchists that government and States are *involuntary and invasive* institutions originated and maintained for the purpose of protecting and enforcing antisocial rights. They claim that the very first act of governments, the compulsory payment of taxes, is not only a denial of the right of the individual to determine what he shall buy and how much he shall choose to offer, but is nothing more than adding insult to injury when the very money extorted from him should be used to his disadvantage. They therefore attempt to instruct people in the belief that government, whether it be the rule of the mass by a few or of the minority by the majority, is both tyrannical and unjust, that any form of rulership is bound to redound to the detriment of the ruled.

How the government protects the *privileges* by which usurious exploitation is made possible is easily seen upon investigation. Money interest is due to the privilege attributed to a certain kind of wealth, gold, to be used as a basis for the reissuance of money, thereby putting the control of the monetizing of other kinds of credit indirectly into the hands of those holding this kind of wealth. Interest, therefore, is simply a *royalty* paid to the privileged class for the right to monetize one's credit. And the rate of interest on money fixes the rate of interest on all other capital the production of which is subject to competition.' The rate of interest is an index to the 'use value' of money and bears no relation to the labor cost of furnishing money because competition in the right to monetize wealth has been restricted to the holders of a certain kind of wealth.

Interest is nothing more than a tax and like *all* taxes is prohibitory in nature. In all productive enterprises as in all individuals there are grades of efficiency. Because of this slight inequality of natural abilities

In America, which was a vast area sparsely populated by heterogeneous people from various parts of the earth, it was simply impossible to establish a highly centralized government. It was a matter of luck that liberty received its greatest advance in history. It was not until the conflicting privileged forces of capitalism had developed so far as to include invasion of all aspects of living, together with the technological advance which makes a police State possible, that government grew from being a mere pest to a downright menace.

The situation was similar in China which was too vast a territory and governed by too many separate bandits to allow a strong central government. It was not until as the aftermath of a war between powerful predatory regimes, plus the physical and psychological advances which are advantageous to the institutionalization of organized coercion, that the present totalitarian regime became possible.

In Africa, the same process is now proceeding with great rapidity. In this instance the first aspect is the separation of colonial areas from their erstwhile masters. On the surface this appears as an advance toward independence and liberty. But in point of fact it is merely the changing from foreign masters to home grown masters. The state, or rather the respective states with the inherently imperial drives which characterize it as an institution, will have these drives accentuated if either the capitalist or communist "methods of production" become implanted, as they are being implanted. The result is a foregone conclusion. These States will begin to fight among themselves; there will be allies and collusions, and the process toward consolidation and totalization of power will go on apace, accelerated by the use of modern weapons and a type of brain-washing which is found when the State monopolizes the school system.

The processes mentioned here, namely the consolidation, accentuation and centralization of coercive power is actually being advocated with a great degree of plausibility. Not only the Marxian communists, but the Nazis under Hitler, the Fascists under Mussolini, and even the New Dealers under Roosevelt, and of course the previous attempts of governments to gain control of open territories, as well as the trends inherent in capitalism itself which gave birth to colonialism—all these movements had at the end of their process, avowed in most cases, the rulership of the world. And today we are being presented for consideration world government as a solution for the dilemma in which the world now finds itself—in short, world slavery to the all-embracing and omnipotent State as a solution of mankind's ills.

There is one fly in this panacean ointment, and this is that the conflicts implicit in the process are going to be fought with weapons which are definitely annihilistic. Whether this progress toward utter annihilation

What sort of world precisely do these wiseacres have in mind? A population of well-kept irresponsibles, dabbling in art and perhaps otherwise engaged in enjoying "the good things of life," with their cares, worries, and talents (and even thoughts) left to the hands of social engineers? Shades of communism!

The federal government is already distributing over 50 billion dollars, via military expenditures alone, without adding a nickel's worth of goods to the market. If peace and utopia should descend upon us (horrors!)—but couldn't our government continue to pay out this amount to those recipients, for playing tiddly winks?

And instead of merely distributing survival income, why not follow logic and do a good job of it and have our government give everyone a million dollars, which then could be invested in backward countries like South America, Africa, and the Near East, the recipient living off the income, and nobody needing to work, and the free enterprise system conserved? Maybe our college-bred sociologists never thought of this. I offer the idea free.

COMMENT ON THE PROPOSALS OF SOME MODERN SAVIORS ABOUT AVOIDING THE MENACE OF ATOMIC WAR

During man's history, as an aftermath of scramble due to circumstances of absolute scarcity, the populations of the world in their ignorance have allowed closely-knit predatory and quasi-military organizations called governments to arise like cancers in their midst. People have allowed these organizations to grab whatever portions of the earth they could maintain jurisdiction over and call such domains "nations," foolishly believing that in some way these governments were beneficial to them. At the present time these governments, in their conflicts with each other in trying to expand and get more territory and people to rule over, threaten to decimate mankind and make the world uninhabitable. There is no way to stop them, because each of them would be as ready to turn their guns on their own populaces as upon other populaces if their own powers were questioned. This has certainly been the overt policy in Russia, and it is now happening in other countries as well.

For centuries, Russia has known not much other than autocratic absolutism. It probably should not be too much of a surprise that the outcome of a revolution which had been quickly captured by the worst form of authoritarian socialism should be the largest centralized slave state in history.

and on account of previous exploitation there have developed individuals and combinations of individuals possessing different aggregations of wealth. Now let us see how it is that the rate of interest on money determines the rate of interest (i.e. capital returns or that portion of profit *not* due to increased efficiency) on all other capital the production of which is subject to a competitive supply. By the latter is meant buildings, machinery, and products such as groceries, clothing, hardware, amusements, etc. The larger producer of these things is fortunate enough to own the capital he employs while the smaller producer finds it necessary to monetize some of his wealth, that is to use his credit, in order to produce on a scale commensurable to reap some of the benefits of a larger scale production. Now he has, in addition to the unhampered natural cost of production, an additional cost which is payment for the allowance of monetizing his wealth. As the price which both producers get for their goods is the same, it is evident that the producer who is not indebted for any of his capital reaps a profit equal to the rate of interest plus that which is due to increased efficiency or to the decreasing cost due to large scale production. A similar occurrence obtains in all things subject to a competitive supply. Interest, by far the most potent force for the acquisition of unearned income, continually squeezes out the little fellow and causes vast amounts of wealth to accumulate into fewer hands. Without it, all great enterprises could not be accomplished except by the joint subscription and cooperation of a large group of persons. The Anarchist position for the abolition of interest is the repudiation of all laws prohibiting mutual banks and the abolition of all restrictions to free trade.

Rent is the *tribute* paid by the non-owning users of land to the non-using owner. It is quite evident that *ownership* in and by itself cannot and does not produce anything. It is only by the use of land and things, only by labor, that anything can be produced. Therefore the anarchist denies the right of ownership of land if that ownership is not based on the occupancy and use of land. No one should be allowed to hold land out of use because it is a denial of the first requisite of Anarchism, the equality of opportunity.

The other restrictions to free production and distribution are patents, copyrights, and tariffs. Anarchists deny the right of property in ideas or processes, and deny that any individual or combinations of individuals shall be restricted in exchanging their products when and where they please. They claim that all restrictions are in the form of a tax and that all taxes are ultimately paid by the consumer and insofar as the consumer is at the same time a producer, if the producer is not at the same time an owner, exploitation naturally ensues.

This concise statement of the position of the anarchist should be

evident and even trite to any reflective person. While Anarchism is, in one sense, not a constructed philosophy, that is, not a "system," anarchists stand firm "constructively" in the position above stated. What form voluntary associations which anarchists contemplate will take, remains for the future to evince. Anarchism, primarily, is not an economic arrangement but a social philosophy based upon the conclusion that man is happy and independent in proportion to the freedom he experiences and can maintain.

In a world where inequality of ability is inevitable, anarchists do not sanction any attempt to produce equality by artificial or authoritarian means. The only equality they posit and will strive their utmost to defend is the *equality of opportunity*. This necessitates the maximum amount of freedom for each individual. This will not necessarily result in equality of incomes or of wealth but will result in returns proportionate to service rendered. Free competition will see to that. To base society on the supposition "that the laborer of great capacity will content himself, in favor of the weak, with half his wages, furnish his services gratuitously, and produce for that abstraction called society," in the words of Proudhon, "is to base society on a sentiment, I do not say beyond the reach of man, but one which, erected systematically into a principle, is only a false virtue, a dangerous hypocrisy." A hypocrisy, unfortunately, eagerly subscribed to by a weak, downtrodden, and misguided portion of the populace.

ECONOMICS OF LIBERTY

The following purports to be a clear and concise outline of libertarian economic theory. Liberty means to be free *from* as well as free *to do*. To be free means to be independent—not forced interdependence. Independence implies exclusion, hence a libertarian economy will involve property rights. Free exchange may be made by barter, with money, or through credit. A free economy, then, due to the inconveniences of barter, will almost necessarily be a money economy, undoubtedly a credit-money economy.

1. Theorem: If every individual, either alone or voluntarily organized into a group, has an opportunity to produce what he wishes and how he wishes, and to trade when, where, and on whatever terms he chooses, products and services will exchange virtually in proportion to the arduousness required in their production.
2. Proof: For as water seeks its level, competition compels one to charge for his services and products no more than what others are willing

social ameliorators, including the military and police to put down unrest, to take care of each of the physical, mental, and moral cripples who has been manufactured by the prevailing "ways of life."

Practically everyone who presumes to comment and propose, *re* the present situation, looks upon it more as a *condition* instead of a stage of a process of deterioration. As already stated, this process involves the muling of populaces by means of an inequitable system of land tenure, and a diabolical monopoly of the means by which substantially all cooperative endeavor is carried on, namely the money-issuing monopoly, which in this country is the Federal Reserve System. None of the self-styled social fixers proposes the eradication of these denials of the essentials of freedom in economic activity. Practically every one of them is trying to concoct some scheme to distribute survival-income to the victims.

Since none of these worthies seem to be even aware that the bottom causes of a process which has resulted in political and economic power being now concentrated in the hands of less than 2% of the population, we may assume that The Process, which obviously entails the downright robbery of each individual's birthright, and the increasingly wholesale murder of protesting victims, will continue. No government will have any scruples or hesitate to mow down dissidents.

The late technological advances, automation and cybernation, are *not* the results of the deliberate choice of man. They are inherent and inevitable aspects of the monopoly system. And the effect on humans is not to liberate and elevate man, but to robotize him. Unless and until the criminally exclusive privileges upheld by all governments are eradicated, or relinquished by the respective Establishments, the underlying phenomenon which has reduced large segments of populations to slaves or penurious receivers of handouts, and the aggressive economic penetrations and inherent imperialism of governments which inexorably lead to war, will be a foregone conclusion.

It is being proposed, as an answer to the questions raised by the civil rights movement, by cybernation, and the prospects of an atomic holocaust, that everyone be given government checks, and presumably the political and economic life of the country be relegated to the tender mercies of power elites who no doubt will be entrusted with our health, education, and welfare, "from cradle to grave." One might comment on the infantile state of mind of the worthies who so propose—a sort of parasitic exploitation in reverse with the State as a full-fitted nursemaid taking care of its victims. But who would expect the members of any institution, school, or study group that had been subsidized by the "powers that be" to come to any conclusion inimical to the privileges of their sponsors?

Considering its comparatively auspicious beginning, the American social order has degenerated probably faster than any other in history. That over one-hundred and twenty million people should willingly acquiesce in three reigns of Rooseveltism indicates to what a calamitous condition it has fallen.

Possibly one good thing would result from a first class war during our present techniques of destruction—it might end the sorry farce and turn the earth over to the bugs and beasts.

FROM NOWHERE TO THE GARBAGE HEAP

The individual man is an organization that must of necessity live on and off the earth, and it is incumbent upon him to engage in at least some degree of cooperation in order to survive. He cannot now freely so order his life. Some are obliged to pay others for living on the earth (rent); and all are subjected to being mulcted for an opportunity to cooperate with their fellows (interest). With such a state of affairs, it is mathematically inevitable that increasing numbers of people are bound to be dispossessed and left out.

The effect of the land and money monopolies is the concentration of ownership and control of productive capital, with a consequent manufacture of scarcity and scramble. The increasing insecurity at the margin reaches upward, and the scramble for the dollar, as it affects corporate enterprises attempting to sell to an inadequate market demand, compels an effort to decrease prices, which can only be done by eliminating labor as a factor of cost. It induces abnormal technological advance, with incidental uneconomical rate of obsolescence, completely oblivious of the effect on individuals. These individuals inevitably become impoverished and completely alienated from participation in the economy. The social stresses generated by the situation are proliferated in all directions, with the inescapable effect of manufacturing sickness and dis-ease, neurotics, and meaningless lives, and the deliberate murder of those who protest and who stand in the way of The Process, which itself is an invitation to communism. A feature of the process is the accumulation of investment capital which, not being able to be profitably invested in an economy already over-capitalized, measured by the effective demand, searches for other places in the world for profitable investment.

This expensive intrusion and concomitant murder is now taking place in the Congo, in Viet Nam, and it is incipient all over the place. At the rate things are going, it will require 6 to 10 fixers of various sorts, such as doctors, psychologists, social workers, and a whole slew of alleged

to do it for. Men gravitate to those activities giving the greatest return, and competition is normally most keen in the more remunerative industries, thus always tending toward equilibrium and equality which, as they are approached, causes competition to become less intense or at least balanced among all productive influences.

3. The price system means that one must pay for what he receives. Operating under free competition, the price system (free enterprise and free market)—

a. leaves all productive enterprise open to anyone wishing to work at them,

b. permits experiment and innovation but only at the cost of experimentors and innovators, except in case of fruitful results when costs of experimentation and entrepreneur risk becomes a temporary element of price,

c. adjusts division of labor by putting the right man in the right place,

d. promotes individual initiative and responsibility,

e. eliminates inefficient production,

f. adjusts supply with demand—production with consumption needs,

g. continually reduces cost of production hence raising living standards,

h. stimulates progress,

i. abolishes exploitation by making price equal cost of production,

j. is the most democratic method of cooperation known and the only economy operating without bureaucracy.

4. Obstacles to production and exchange are of two kinds: natural, and law created or artificial.

A. Natural and unavoidable obstacles are of two sorts:

a. Subjective, those due to idiosyncrasies of individuals, such as inclination, knowledge, and ability.

b. Objective, due to difficulty of extraction, cultivation, or manufacture,—sometimes because of locality, climate—natural forces to be overcome.

B. Artificial obstacles are of two sorts:

a. Hindrances to production, such as monopolistic ownership and control of:

1. Natural resources, as mines, oil fields, advantageous sites—Land.

2. Capital in productive processes as exclusive rights, as patents.

b. Interferences with trade, such as:

1. Tariffs.

2. Monopolistic control (lack of free competition) of the issue of money and credit.

5. To understand the nature of human exploitation (as practiced to-day) one should know that remuneration for removing the obstacles to production is equivalent to the "value" or social estimate of the importance of such service.

A. One way to remove such obstacles is by production itself.

B. The other way is for privileged persons to permit the use of facilities which the law has enacted as special rights. Examples:

a. permission to use land (natural resources) for *Rent*.

b. permission to use productive processes for patent Royalties.

c. permission to use one's credit as an instrument of exchange for interest.

d. permission to trade for Tariff revenue (also causing profit through high prices).

e. the above mentioned legal frauds sanctioned and upheld by the State and supported by the forcible collection of Taxes.

(N. B.) all these methods of getting wealth without working for it are caused by arbitrary restrictions of opportunity and denials of competition, and the result—abject poverty on the one hand, superfluous riches on the other, concentration of control, and depressions or industrial stagnation.

6. Economic liberty demands the removal or disregarding of the privileges causing artificial hindrances to production and exchange. This means revolutionizing our concepts of what property should consist.

7. Given economic liberty:

A. No man could become inordinately rich, because:

a. It would be practically a physical impossibility.

b. It would become a psychological improbability that a man would even desire more than his needs when insecurity is obviated by making economic opportunity free and equitable.

B. Only a fool or an incompetent would remain in need when opportunity to produce were open to him.

REFLECTIONS ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC EVOLUTION

Aside from various forms of robbery, legal and illegal, there are three methods by which humans get sustenance in their relations with others—parasitism, benevolence, and reciprocity.

Parasitism is the inescapable relation between mother and child which is absolutely essential for the prolongation of life. it is characterized by consuming what one has not produced. The urge for the furnishing of sustenance on this basis is love. The process of maturing is

his own intellectuality. But there is evidence of an alarming decline in his mental powers even during recorded history.

As far as purely mental processes are concerned, the fellow who discovered that scrambling could be better done by ganging up was a genius comparable to the discoverer of the wheel. Likewise, the fellow who first realized that another's labor products could be obtained by other than killing him—that, indeed, a continual despoilment might be inaugurated by his enslavement, was another genius, possibly even a humanitarian, of no mean powers. To the extent that these means for obtaining goods seemed necessary for the persistence of human life, their conception was highly rational and showed growing powers of observation and thought far above that possible for the amoeba. It is the contention of some, agreeing with Christian theology, that the original sin of man consisted of thinking and reasoning. It may be that they are right.

It is significant, however, that notwithstanding the enormously increased productivity since earlier times, these very same gentry operate and are admired and lauded to this very day. This may be observed by our attitudes toward the military and the so called business enterprise fellows who are bent on "getting theirs." None of the moderns seem to have the wit to understand that plundering the other fellow isn't economical any more. But one of these days some genius may stumble on the idea, if we aren't blown to bits beforehand.

The discoverer of the possible justice to be obtained by the inauguration of the principle of property certainly had more sense than the subsequent promoters of that principle who spread it to ideas and privileges the very nature of which denies the application of the principle if its original and rational intent were to be maintained. The beneficial and valid effects of property have therefore not merely been nullified but have been directly contradicted. This, moreover, has occurred at a time when no excuse for predatoriness seems justified. One may understand birds squabbling over a few grains of wheat, but if beside those few grains there stood a heap of wheat, more than they all could eat and of better quality, the squabble would to most of us appear to be downright lunacy. Yet the analogy with mankind's present behavior is nearly perfect.

The final criterion for judging intelligence is in the ability to make accurate distinctions. But modern man has become so gullible and mentally inert that he cannot distinguish between the practices by which he is destroying himself from those which may be used for his benefit. There is hardly any professional practice, from the preaching of religion to the practice of medicine, which is not today hell-bent in promoting an inferior type of human.

allow anything else to be taught in the schools? Further, are citizens not taught that rulers should be loved and revered, particularly the kind of government that happens to be over them? In some societies people are allowed to choose their own bosses, which is supposed to be very advanced. This is the political condition of the world today.

When a "nation" is relatively wise politically it requires considerable force, in the shape of police and army, to keep the populace in their place. Where people are steeped in political ignorance, very little force is necessary, especially when the illusion is kept up that when choosing their rulers they are actually ruling themselves.

I know of hardly one reformer or any other person proposing any feature for the betterment of mankind, in a hundred thousand, who does not propose or expect to implement his proposition through the coercive power of government. The method of political thought from Plato down to the technocrats was to prefabricate an ideal society, and then to get governmental power to coercively fit people to their systems. The classic example of this type of thinking and action is the attempt to impose systematic communism on a populace. Communism itself is such an infantile conception of the solution of the social problem that it is no accident of circumstance that it is accompanied by continual liquidations.

At the present time, the strongest support for government appears to be habit, a common garden variety of ignorance, credulity, and superstition, sustained by a vast amount of mis-education perpetuated by governmental schools in every quarter of the globe. To this must be added emergencies in which sections of a populace find themselves, (such as the present-day farmer) in a predicament, the immediate release from which no other power than government appears to exist. Thus, from the very evils caused by government, do governments find a pretext to come in as succor, and thereby enhance their powers.

Irrespective of their relative banefulness (for some governments are worse than others) the present day power struggle between governments threatens the annihilation of mankind in a carnage that can hardly be conceived as possible in the absence of all governments whatsoever.

WAR—WHAT FOR?

During the last century the theory of evolution was coupled with that of meliorism. Man and the social order were considered as growing and developing, changing for the *better*. Thus, modern man tends to depreciate the mentality of his forebears and to have a conceited estimate of

to depart from the getting of something for nothing and to be self-supporting as soon as possible.

Benevolence is a species of action motivated by sympathy—the ability of putting yourself in the other fellow's place. In this form of receiving without giving there begins to emerge the calculation of whether the recipient is deserving. Also does the expectation of reciprocity begin to appear. These judgments are made by, and are the sole prerogative of, the giver. Benevolence loses its beneficial features when it is organized, when it is compulsory on the part of the donor, and also when the attempt is made to try to incorporate it by indoctrination into the mores of a civilized order.

Reciprocity is the natural and normal relation between sane adult human beings. It depends upon a calculation of the efforts and benefits involved. These calculations are the very aim and essence of a market economy, the object being the attainment of equity via competition.

In these three forms of human relations we see being developed transfers of physical benefits, and mental attitudes, corresponding to the growth out of complete helplessness toward a condition of relative self-sufficiency.

In terms of social evolution, robbery may be considered a form of maintaining sustenance in certain stages of human development, but as productivity and foresight advance it proves to be an uneconomic method of human relations.

Robbery cannot, legally speaking, be generalized as an economic principle. Neither can parasitism or benevolence. Each of these leave out the paramount essential of economic life, viz., production.

Economics is the study of the relations which arise in the course of men cooperating in satisfying their desires. Robbery, parasitism, and benevolence are necessarily left out of consideration. An economics of non-producers is an absurdity. Non-producers, in any society, must get their living from someone else, and it makes all the difference in the world whether the recipients are the objects of voluntary and spontaneous actions of their parents, relatives, neighbors and friends, or whether the satisfaction of their consumption needs is to be incorporated into a social system by force (as with the State).

When all forms of private property are abolished, exchange hampered or prohibited, competition wiped out, and money forbidden, the liberty and independence of the individual is gone and there remains a tyranny as totalitarian and despotic as can be imagined.

When people begin to understand that the State originated for predatory purposes and for conquest, and realize that its underlying aim ever since has been to camouflage what in reality is its essential feature of controlling people so that it can arbitrarily rob some for the benefit of

others, they will begin to understand the motives and effects of State activity in every quarter of the globe. They will begin to ponder on other alternatives for solving their problems than resort to the State machine. Such a recourse is today almost completely absent from the minds of reformers and revolutionists. In fact, subtract the idea of the State as an implementor of social policy from the minds of nearly all those bent on reform and their thinking processes would be immediately halted.

Likewise, take the ideas of parasitism, benevolence, and (legal) robbery from just about the same minds and they can hardly conceive of a workable social order. Such is the condition of reform today that hardly any of the reform element think in terms other than "social security" achieved thru the operations of the paternalistic State. In terms of psychology it points to various stages of immaturity, to minds incapable of thinking objectively of the conditions and imperatives necessary for a sane society. The lack of mature thinking is bringing us to the brink of catastrophe.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND WORLD POLITICS

ORIGIN AND NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

At various times during the evolution of man, groups found themselves in a circumstance of real scarcity. When a group of people had food for only half their number, if they divided equally all would die, and history would hear no more of them.

It is man's nature to want to live, as an individual. Therefore scarcity begat a scramble, in which the stronger succeeded. Strength and predatoriness were life-preserving characteristics in a milieu of scarcity.

In a scramble, it would naturally be discovered that handicapping another—even by killing him—would facilitate getting the goods in his possession. People learned another way of acquiring goods than working for them. Under the circumstances, robbery and accompanying murder appear to have been necessary if life were to continue. Individuals within tribes no doubt learned that cooperation in robbery was a safer procedure than lone robbery.

In time it must have occurred to someone that one tribe could rob another tribe. In such forays the winners would kill the losers. Natural handicaps made women weaker than men, so men became the warriors and the women did the work. Women thus being useful, in subsequent raids they were captured instead of killed.

Somewhere along the line a fellow who had been clubbed for his goods survived, and proceeded to gather more goods. When this was observed, probably the greatest humanitarian idea that man has discovered throughout the ages was born—that it was not necessary to kill a man in order to get his goods. This boon was slavery, which at least promised a lease on life. Thus, in conquest between tribes, the conquerors became the rulers and the conquered the slaves.

This, in my view, was the origin of the State, which may be defined as an organization of rulers who rob the populace over which it can hold sway, and which uses that populace as soldiers to enlarge the territory and number of people it can exploit. The political history of the world has been the record of internal struggles to grasp State power, and between governments to enlarge their domains.

(That governments provide services which citizens want or can be persuaded to want, does not alter the basic concept of nature and origin of the State.)

The ruler-ruled relation became in the course of time so ingrained as to become a universal superstition. It is the common belief that no society could exist without government. Indeed, what government will

EDUCATION

WHAT IS THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM?

At the beginning of Ralph Borsodi's "Education and Living," he criticizes John Dewey for saying that the role of education is to train the child for the society in which he lives; and he (Borsodi) maintains that, *no*, the aim of education should be to fit the pupil for a "normal" (or sane) society. Good point, but let's not overlook that Dewey has a point too.* For we do not yet have a normal or sane society, nor do we know precisely what it is. But are not both of these men doctrinaires who differ only on the *content* of what is to be indoctrinated?

Borsodi says that the teachers should be the real leaders in society. Plato believed that philosophers should be the rulers. Are not both of these views authoritarian and inimical to liberty? *Which* philosophies, and *which* teachers?

Borsodi believes there should be a change from mis-education to "right" education. But who is to decide what is "right" education? Since what is obviously required is a *method* or process of ascertaining "right," those who prescribe *content* before discovering a *method* have got the cart before the horse.

I question whether the process of decision-making should proceed from the top down, from some authority, even teachers. I think it should be a transverse operation, working through competition, whereby a choice may be made between a number of *different* implemented opinions about *how* and *what* to teach. The making of decisions regarding choice of education should be the prerogative of all concerned—parents, pupils, and others, as well as teachers—otherwise we shall have established an authoritarian *monopoly of decision* of how the world shall be. It this what Borsodi wants?

We learn and decide according to fruit, and fruit is the *end* of a *process*, not something that can be determined at the beginning, because while we may hope for a given result we cannot be assured what the result will be merely because we hoped for it by using a given procedure or set of norms. The condition of the world today is largely the result of the education of the schools, with the rather apparent conclusion that something is radically wrong with education. What can the error be? My contention is that it is because of the authoritarianism of both the State and educators in the educational process.

*These men are not exactly speaking of the same thing; Dewey is referring mostly to technology, while Borsodi is concerned with *mores*.

Most of our educators are doctrinaires; they differ merely on *what* is to be indoctrinated. Few have the remotest conception that the crux of the question consists in a *method* of effecting decisions rather than *content*. None are libertarians; much less can they believe that liberty in education is possible or would work. Here is the tragedy of superstition and conceit and pusillanimity. As a matter of historical fact, educators with rare exception have been apologists and rationalizers and adaptors to the particular status quo in which they lived and operated. (Borsodi is right in criticizing Dewey on this score.) And it is a notorious fact that relatively few of the greatest minds were the products of the schools.

It seems to me that Ralph Borsodi, in the process of disintegrating and separating factors of the social problem, for the purpose of analysis, which is the right and proper way of getting a clear perception of the elements of a problem, has forgotten or failed to do the reverse, namely to synthesize or put together these elements and observe how the "mechanism" works in toto. The result is that he is left with these *fragmentalized* and *compartmentalized* elements, which he styles the "major problems of living," apparently unaware that none of them operate independently, but in reality react upon and affect each other in a most complex manner. Real life is an interacting compendium of all his "problems," and to "solve" any one of them as if they were independent of and disconnected from all the rest seems to me exceedingly unrealistic.

Further, if, as it seems to me, Ralph Borsodi does not have a synthetic or integrative principle, one that is also *dynamic*, he does not really have a philosophy—has no way to integrate his fragmented fourteen "problems"—and necessarily his idea about a change from mis-education to "right" education merely implies a change in the symptoms of the authoritarian educational methods which have come down through the ages. In such case the educational question is: What kind of stuff shall we instill into the heads of these youngsters? In this frame of reference what they have managed to do, mostly, (begging my pardon) was to educate youth on how to be stupid! Really, doesn't the condition of the world seem to bear up this contention?

It can hardly be fairly objected that Borsodi's concept of "normal living" is an integrative concept. It is a mere norm, an *arbitrary* standard; and *there is nothing dynamic about it*. *Liberty*, on the other hand, is a *dynamic method*, not only by which adequate norms may be ascertained, but also furnishes the *process* by which progressive betterment may be assured. It is one thing to proclaim *what* should be taught; it is quite another to maintain that the method of determining *what* is by complete freedom of all opinions to operate.

Freedom in education implies the freedom to establish schools, and

(which in any event would only be a rationalizing of your own desires) would be to discard all hallucinations about "rights" and propose acting as one's inclinations direct—in short, that "instinct" is the safest guide. Of course this will demand considerable courage from the individuals in our modern goose-stepping snivelization, and will not meet acceptance by the proponents of the "natural depravity" or "original sin" theory. Another and perhaps better alternative would be to gauge all human action according to consequences. This might involve a "transvaluation of values."

To summarize briefly, I contend that there is no such animal as "natural rights" and that all you might say about governments, constitutions, or edicts of God (ten commandments, etc.) would be mostly hogwash for the gullible. No person has any "right" to do anything, unless he has the *power* to do it, or because his neighbors do not prevent him from doing it. Or, if it be claimed that he *does* have "rights," I maintain that they are not of much value if the State or "Society" takes it in hand to veto them.

The very tendency of thinking in terms of "rights" usually results in the smug assertion of them, and then waiting until politicians embody them in laws before they can be acted upon. Why not try to get people out of the clouds in their thinking about what they may, should, or can do. Direct action is what is needed. Tell people what to *do*, and don't worry about their "right" to do it, like some pettyfoggling lawyer.

Humans are neither good nor bad, but egoistic. I personally believe they are rather congenial cusses, but they are so astoundingly stupid and have little confidence in their neighbors. That is why demagogues have such an easy time of it playing on their hopes and, mainly, fears. If they would only have sense enough to treat each other fairly, or at least leave each other alone, there should be no inordinate amount of trouble in the world. They would certainly have to do away with that relic of a warlike age, the State, that messes up all their activities. And yet, when I look around me and see so many of the dubs even more ignorant than myself, I can have but little hope for the human race.

So, my advice to you is to investigate human well-being *directly*, as you have been doing, rather than indulge in a lot of circumlocution and useless speculation about "rights." The latter can safely be left to metaphysicians and theologians.

Cordially
Laurance Labadie

conquest. As time went on, the slaves actually believed they couldn't do without their masters, until today we see them concernedly run to the polls to elect new ones every few years.

These stupid human animals can become inured to almost anything, and only occasionally rebel, and demand "rights" for themselves, against their masters. They never dream of abolishing mastership itself. The most energetic advocates of "rights" are, naturally, authoritarian socialists, communists, fascists, nationalists, 100% Americans and what have you, and other such lack-wits ad nauseam, who want to set up a supreme master in the State which will take care of them and direct them in all things.

Prior to government, there could not have been any concept of "rights" whatever. Men breathed, ate, hunted, propagated, etc., because it was the natural thing to do. No one could even imagine that he did so because he had the "right" to do so. The American Indian, for example, lived in this clime not because he thought he had a "right" to use the earth. "Rights," in land, originated or rather were brought here from Europe where property in land was "right." By the way, I think your obsession about "rights" is a hangover from your ardent single-tax days.

Altho it is improbable, "rights" may have originated by men agreeing to forego the use of might, to make recourse to consultation, compromise, and agreement as the most economical method of getting by in the world. And natural selection might indicate that those who resorted to this method, rather than settling differences by warfare, in the long run survived. This was Kropotkin's and, I think, Herbert Spencer's interpretation. However, mutual agreements put into the form of contracts are of different origin and nature than so-called "rights." They came into existence among *equals*.

At any rate, the stupid belief that "rights" originated from either God or the State is pure superstition, promulgated by preachers and politicians to promote their game of getting a living without work and to enhance their "take."

The plain fact of the matter, it seems to me, is that, like many other transcendental, teleological, and social "truths," all theories of "rights" are merely human inventions, used by one party or another in order to enhance, as they think, their ability in getting along in the world. "Ethics" is another branch of the same tree.

The foregoing is, at least, a hasty outline of my convictions anent the doctrine of "Rights." The very advocacy of "rights" is itself a hostile attitude and I doubt whether a peaceable and gregarious society can be built on such a premise.

A more useful alternative to whatever you might write on the subject

the freedom to choose which schools to attend. The field of education becomes a universal experimental ground, so to speak, *mutable* and changing as opposed to *static* institutionalism. There will be no "leaders," except in the sense that anyone who proposes something new and feasible is a leader. Such freedom is necessarily a component of a free and competitive society, allowing variety from or by which *only* *comparative values* be made, thus assuring merit.

Authoritarianism in education, which means monopolistic control of making decisions in the scholastic field, not only eliminates the salubrious features of freedom, but by allowing the State and its paid hirelings to be the sole arbiters in matters educational makes decline in quality inevitable. The truth of this may perhaps be understood better if we think of schools under Mussolini, Hitler, or the Russian system; but the system in this country is precisely the same. And the end product is what Borsodi calls "this ugly civilization." Certainly, but what may one expect? Yet Borsodi merely believes that the wrong stuff has been taught; he (as well as everyone else apparently) utterly fails to realize that the fault lies in authoritarianism itself.

There is now considerable concern about the efficacy of American schools as compared with Russia. Note that this alarm is evoked from a *comparison*—in an authoritarian system there is no opportunity for comparison (a thing cannot be compared with itself), therefore the degenerated condition of American education was heretofore oblivious. But a grievous error is in the making. The Russian system is *not* superior to ours. Both systems are the *same*. Yet in the unthinking and stupid bluster here, more money will be appropriated, more power granted to the dispensers of the extorted loot, and more arbitrary decision-making power placed into the hands of so-called educators—all to no avail because the same deleterious factors which brought education to its present sorry pass will not only be maintained but accentuated. Thus we merrily continue on the road to Statist perdition—while blithely condemning the similar absolutism in Russia!

Ralph Borsodi is only too right in indicating the vital importance of education. But this is only *one* of the important factors in the general battle between liberty and authority in *all* fields of living, especially economics. At the moment, liberty is being crucified by the insane gyrations of politicians and people alike—and as I have indicated, by so-called educators. It is high time that people of intelligence and integrity call a halt to this insane parade toward catastrophe. And I call upon the School of Living to discard its piecemeal approach to the "problems" of society and to realize that the actual solution to all of these problems hinges upon an integrated and dynamic principle having at its core the *liberty of the individual*.

The "educational problem" does not consist in proposing a new set of "truths" to be inculcated, but, as with all other "problems," consists in a free field for the competitive operation of voluntarily organized educational efforts. To believe that the better educational methods will not prevail is to say there is no hope in relying on the intelligence of mankind. In which case the indoctrination of what someone considers "right" education will be of no avail either.

To base the well-being of individuals on the proposition that the well-being of some fictitious entity styled "society" requires "protectors" leaves conspicuously standing the annoying question: Who is to protect us from our protectors? One may similarly ask who is to protect us from our present "educators."

Some other time we may investigate the proposition that Liberty is the greatest integrative principle known, by which the inherent *contradictions* which exist within and between all principles may be *reconciled*, to the end that there shall be a continual and continuing tendency toward *equilibrium* in society.

EDUCATION—WHAT FOR?

Discussions about education blandly assume the necessary existence of buildings, classrooms, teachers, pupils, and a curriculum. But education in fact is something which everyone acquires every day and hour in life. Everything we experience educates us in some way. That is to say, something impinges itself upon us, and there is an impression made which evokes some kind of reaction, with appropriate consequences, and the whole episode is recorded upon something we call our memory (whether conscious or subconscious), and probably is correlated with other impressions we have received. It appears to be an exceedingly complicated and mysterious phenomenon—education.

Be all this as it may, it almost never occurs in such discussions to suppose the complete abolition of formal or schoolroom education. Why indeed should this appear so silly? Of course it will appear silly to professional educators, but I am speaking about the rest of us.

Speaking for myself, much of what I learned in school I found out later was pretty much nonsense. But it was much more difficult to unlearn this stuff than it was to learn it. I had to unlearn it however before something sound could take its place. Here was a terrific waste of effort which might have been avoided if I hadn't been "educated" in the first place. Moreover, the things I learned afterwards were things I was

EXCERPTS FROM A LETTER TO A FRIEND

Apropos your series of articles on Human Rights:

There was a University of Chicago "professor" who wrote a book entitled *Might is Right*, under the pseudonym of "Ragnar Redbeard." In it he maintained that life is essentially a battle in which "to the victor belonged the spoils," and claimed that the truth of this fundamental warfare is disguised by various pretenses, ruses, and moral codes, originated and propagated by the weak who couldn't stand up to the stern realities and who expected to soften-up their adversaries. He elaborated his contentions by citing history, politics, business, religion, etc., in fact all the activities of humans (and animals?). The book is rather uncomfortably convincing, though I think the author was terribly unscientific and unreasonable in *justifying* what seems a pretty sorry scheme of things.

It does not seem to require much acumen to realize that the power of might is the most potent ingredient regarding human conduct, and over-rides all "rights," and until mankind decides to forego the use of might it will naturally be the deciding determinator. Stirner said, "I would rather have a handful of might than a bagful of right," or words to that effect. Anyhow, that is the only language that governments, as such, understand.

"Rights" could hardly have preceded government in some form, as you surmise. Your "rights" are postulated as being *against* something, and the only thing anyone could be against was some hindrance to living, *viz.*, government. "Rights," therefore, are usually considered as limitations on government (such as the Magna Charta and the American Bill of Rights, etc.). That governments had power, and could often over-ride "rights," made it appear that the "rights" were *granted* by governments. Naturally, it wasn't long before the theory arose that governments themselves were protectors of human "rights." In fact, this is the kind of baloney taught in all "state-supported" schools, everywhere and at all times; and of course religious schools and churches teach that God grants all "rights."

Whether warfare, even though disguised, was and is a normal mode of human activity, it has been fairly well established that the origin of government was a band of robbers who in conquest set themselves up as rulers over the people they had plundered and subjugated. As it was to no advantage to have these slaves scramble among themselves, the tyrants "maintained law and order" among them, and in time even directed them in "public works," such as building roads, making armor, battleships, etc. originally of course for purposes of further plunder and

simply because man discounts the future in favor of the present, and perhaps in most cases rightly. He certainly is not going to act in accordance with what is called his free will, if such action means his immediate extinction.

What am I saying, in substance? I am saying that man in the past has inadvertently established a permanent institution which is static in its nature, which tends to resist change, which fundamentally is based on coercion and violence for the specific purpose of slavery and exploitation, the suppressive nature of which has caused the distortion and mutilation of the human psyche, and which has got into operation intangible and inscrutable forces that man is neither aware of nor understands, but of which he is the inevitable victim.

This establishment was inadvertent, not the product of either his immaturity or neuroses, nor of any hypothetical "original sin," but simply because of ignorance and stupidity. For man is neither good nor bad, but egoistic and endowed with an inscrutable will-to-live. Nor can anyone be blamed for ignorance. That criminal institution which we call the State was fortuitous in its origin and devastating in its effects, seconded only in its deleterious influence by organized religion.

Do you for one moment claim that a half or a dozen pompous idiots at a "summit" conference are going to or can reconcile the insane confrontation of which they are the embodiment? Or that this can be true because 2 billion imbeciles believe it to be true, and if only I say that it is not true?

Or that I am mistaken if I say, what I cannot prove, that in this year of our lord 1960 the relations between humans are such—have gone so far in the direction of degeneracy—that any hope for the continuance of life on this planet is quite negligible?

Even if it were granted that the master-slave relationship was inevitable or even natural, and that such relationship be unified, universalized, and complete, the fact seems obvious that the various masters at the present time, on both sides of the cold war and in between, have not and do not seem to agree to unite upon any given scheme by which to hoodwink, coerce, and exploit the masses of mankind.

Without mentioning the others, if the Pope and Mr. Khrushchev, for instance, can come to some agreement upon which they can unite their operations (with of course including other so-called leaders), then it is conceivable that the mass of mankind, who actually believe in slavery of one sort or another, will be spared an atomic holocaust. For the unavoidable outcome of the tendencies now in operation are either the slavery of totalitarianism or complete annihilation.

interested in and did not need to be disagreeably pounded into me. Most of what I "know" I got outside the schools, soaking much of it up in day by day contacts.

Frankly I really cannot see where I would have been much worse off, if any without any formal education at all. No doubt everyone has heard someone express the same idea at one time or another.

Specialization has gone so far as to erase versatility. Most of us are salesmen, or motormen, or executives, or nut-tighteners, and not much of anything else. Few of us stop to consider what's the sense of what we are doing and I suspect that at least three-quarters of what people are engaged in doesn't really amount to anything, if indeed it isn't downright pernicious.

I also have a suspicion that if formal education were abolished, there would arise in its place forums where people would get together to discuss things, to inaugurate laboratories to experiment with and test some of the ideas or theories which occurred to them, to construct things, etc. All in all a voluntary spontaneous developing of thought would arise to supplant much of that formal, dull, specialized caricature which is called the school system today. And who knows, maybe even teachers would get to know something themselves.

I have not too much difficulty in imagining that the inane, vacuous "conversation" which goes on when people get together in homes, cocktail parties, and the like would cease, if for no other reason that schools which educate us how to be stupid had ceased to exist.

Is anybody of even limited experience going to deny that the driest, dullest, boring stuff put into books is writ by professional educators? Considering their numbers, how many of the professional pundits can you name who ever really amounted to much?

I have listened to several radio programs dealing with the education question, by those in the educational system, and about all they could talk about with any vim and conviction was if only teachers would be paid more money. From the top to the bottom, college presidents to truant officers, what they couldn't do in the way of "education" if they weren't subjected to such stinginess in funds. They may be right, but somehow I developed a sour taste in my mouth.

Parents would appear to be the natural teachers of the child, but one wonders what would happen to filial respect when the alert, inquisitive mind of the child meets the vacuity of mind not uncommon among parents. The economic pressures which are causing the break-up of home life are not conducive to the education for sane living which some deem so important. It is no secret that kindergartens and some primary grades appear to be for the purpose of "keeping the kids off the street" or a place to stow them so that the parents might get a respite from the

annoyance of the little brats. Truly the sins of the parents are visited down even to the fourth generation.

Before we go haywire pouring more funds into the education mills, I propose for serious consideration the complete abolition of the educational system, and contemplation of what would arise in the supposed void.

REGARDING MAN'S CONCERN WITH TRUTH

The human mind is so constituted that, given a modicum of experience in living, it forms within itself, as categories, a distinction between reality and illusion. The expression of reality, usually in words, he calls truth, and the converse of truth is error or a lie. These are primary elements of thought behind which there can be no analysis of cause.

In order to cope with the external world, it is important for a man to understand its reality, so that he may act accordingly if he expects to obtain what he desires (if anyone knows what he wants.) To live successfully he is vitally interested in truth.

But in his relations with other men, whose interests often diverge from his, to the extent to make them contestants, it is not to his interest to have those others as smart as he is. And therefore it is not always to his interest to tell others the truth. In fact, quite the contrary.

Thus, we see with man, as with other animals and plants, such subterfuges and deceptions as camouflage, bluff, secrecy, baiting, lying in wait, surprise, and pouncing on the unwary. In the natural world it is a vast devouring spree with life living on life, or thriving on decomposed remains of life, a whole process which is sometimes called the life cycle.

A similar phenomenon obtains with and among the human species. Practices at all times when we are in the company of others, we are putting on some kind of act, even unconsciously, to aggrandize ourselves, and to put others in unwary positions, a sort of universal pretense or lying. We each want what we want, and if "appearing natural" or telling the truth serve our purpose—OK; but if not, not. Even an infant learns the process quickly, and becomes one of the shrewdest and almost telepathic organisms in its game to "use" its parents—until it is taught how to be stupid.

Of course we invent the pretense and inject into our professed *mores* that everyone should tell the truth, but the subconscious motive for this exhortation is the hope that the other fellow will be impressed, and be naive enough to follow it, in which event it would save us the wear and tear of being continually on the alert. Often we even fool ourselves.

think about the things which do not interest him. He simply is not curious enough about the things which do not interest him. He simply is not curious enough about them to give them a moment's thought, even supposing he was aware of them; he just does not care about them, feeling that there are things of more importance to him to think about.

Man is thus on the horns of a dilemma that more or less inheres in the nature of things. The things he is not interested in and which presumably he could contemplate objectively he finds unprofitable for him to deal with. Whereas the things which do concern him, and which if he is not an escapist he must necessarily face, he is obviously incompetent to consider objectively. He is thus as a thinking machine almost condemned to a degree of ignorance and idiocy.

My late writings attempt to show that this is so, not merely from a philosophical point of view, but in actuality. I have shown in several places that the immediate interest of most people is such that substantially everyone has a stake in and is almost inevitably contributing to the eventual annihilation of mankind. I have shown that Liberty, under which a tendency toward equilibrium would always be operative, got sidetracked during the course of man's evolution, and that institutionalized coercion and violence became established as the *modus operandi* for the conduct of affairs of humans. And that this contravention of the natural liberty of man, by its replacement by the State, has so changed or obliterated this tendency, that the result has been the arrival at a predicament which is past the point of no return; and that the terminal of this process is utter and mutual extermination.

This denouement is doubly assured because of the fact that everywhere Liberty, instead of being advanced, is increasingly becoming extinguished.

Incidentally, the vision which appears at the end of this longer range or telescopic view can only be obtained by the very sort of integrated and operational thinking which I have been insisting upon, as opposed to the fractionalized, disconnected, compartmentalized and static way of thinking which is characteristic of Borsodi and so many others. With organic phenomena the salient question is function; thinking realistically about it requires an awareness of movement, of tendencies, and of a dynamic point of view. For obviously it is only when we can think in terms of tendencies is it possible to predict the future.

One might almost predict his own actions, which are hardly at one's command, because it is impossible for anyone to decide upon or determine what the influences and circumstances are to be, which any one of us must face. To counter-influence these requires a much more comprehensive understanding and power than any one possesses. And yet these circumstances are going to determine our reactions and behavior,

The conclusion stares one in the face that substantially all of what man considers his thinking is merely rationalizing. He rationalizes his desires, his actions, his predicament if it happens to be one which he can cope with or which is advantageous to him even tho it be disadvantageous to others. Man justifies, validates, and excuses whatever he wants to do, or what circumstances force him to do, or what and where in his opinion his interests lie, whether this opinion be conscious or subconscious.

There is of course nothing new in what I am saying. There are probably thousands of expressions throughout literature which show that what I am saying has been known. Isn't there an expression that no man can see the mote in his own eye? It is the simplest thing in the world to see the faults of others at the very same time that we cannot see the very worst deficiencies in ourselves, or in the members of our circle or group.

A practical point to be derived from the above is the need for considering before listening to or reading what anyone says, to ask: what is his circumstance in life; what axe is he grinding; what is he trying to prove; and why. Who is he; what are his interests; what makes him tick. When we consider these aspects of communication, we are careful not to take any man too seriously. And incidentally it would be well to take into consideration one's own situation in life before assuming that one is able or competent to learn anything from certain other individuals. It is often if not usually the case that two persons are each in such predicaments that they cannot learn anything from each other, even if both were saying the truth.

"What is Truth?" asked Pilate; but he did not wait for an answer. He probably knew damn well what "truth" was to the person of whom he asked the question. There could be ten different "truths" coming from as many different persons, and none of these alleged truths the real truth. As yet man has not invented a truth machine, and perhaps never will, because if the machine has to get its information or data from humans, it already is obliged to work or think with doctored or biased data. By the way, is there any significance to the expression that when anything is messed-up it is said to have been doctored?

Some of the stuff I have written in criticizing the ideas of others was to the effect that, in view of their positions in life, they were unable to or would not think effectively.

Now I want to expose a contradiction, which may incidentally contribute to the gradual understanding of the philosophy of contradiction which happens to be an important aspect of my schemata of thought.

The contradiction is this: that while man cannot think objectively or "disinterestedly" about the things which concern him, neither can he

In an ordinary world one would suppose that all this would be tacitly understood, and we would not be so gullible as to be gulled by others. But instead of even such naturalness, we try to manufacture dubs wholesale, by indoctrinating or trying to indoctrinate others into believing that "the truth will make you free," and injecting fears that if one can not be truthful one will suffer,—if not in this world then in the next. It is almost safe to say that there is no individual alive who hasn't in some form or another been indoctrinated with such nonsense, which paradoxically makes life more difficult for all. Such indoctrination might well in fact be the basic cause of such disintegrations of personality as are known as neuroses. That is to say, individuals who have been indoctrinated with impossible morals, considering the world in which they must live, and have therefore developed internal conflicts, and have impulses working at cross purpose and so are woefully deficient and inefficient in making their way in the world.

The truth will make you free. The hell it will. Most likely it will make you the dupe of others and may land you in the hoosegow, or the gibbet, as has happened to too many who have spoken their piece—while liars and rascals have risen to be the cream of society. They are the ones who have been eating the pie and cake, while the indoctrinated or gullible ones have been grovelling in the gutters.

The whole complex of civilization is a fabric of truth and lies, quite a pattern, with the Church, the State, law and justice, medicine men and psychologists, advertising and selling, marriage, education, and all the rest of it nicely woven into the tapestry. To be a success in this world one needs to "use one's wits." The profession of politics consists in fooling the public; and the purpose of a diplomat is outwit his compeers of other countries. Anyone to whom one needs to press this point must be exceedingly naive indeed.

Talking about human relations a la Aristotle and other pundits—apart from their being tools and weapons serving the will-to-live—is pious and pompous nonsense. The reaction which the realism of a Machiavelli evokes in us only proves with what terror we face the facts of life—thanks to the teaching of those in authority who thrive best on gullibility and fears of those caught under their jurisdiction.

Brutal parents insist that their children tell the truth, under dire threats of what will happen to them if they are caught telling a lie. Since they cannot win the love, respect, and confidence because of their own unlovely characters, they resort to coercion, too stupid to realize that by their threats they are promoting the very untruthfulness which they desire to avoid. A loving and honest parent does not have to preach truthfulness to his children; they learn it by example and by being treated honestly and fairly. But to deny the child the opportunity to

defend himself by telling an untruth, is to disarm him in his battle for life. An overprotected child or terrified child is going to have tough going in his relations with others. Grown-ups are the greatest liars, and to not a few their very professions depend on trickery of some sort or another. If your child tells you a lie, the fault if there be any is yours, not his.

Am I preaching deception? Not at all. I am merely stating facts; facts that anyone with both feet on the ground should be cognizant of if he doesn't want to be an unwitting promoter of the very duping process which is crucifying all of us.

I think the foregoing is about as subversive a statement as might be made, yet it seems to me that those who do not realize the sense of it are plain fools. Incidentally, it may be useful seriously to suspect the self-righteous souls who, to satisfy their craving for the approbation of others, find it expedient to go about "doing good" in the world. This is particularly applicable to politicians and in fact to the whole State apparatus. The extent of dupery in the world may be estimated by contemplating the truth that in reality the State is little more than a juggernaut robbing and grinding the benighted souls which it holds in its power. And still so many idolize it!

There need be no hope that man will ever be an "honesty machine"; the very nature of things has destined him to be pretty much of a deceiver,—or to perish. More's the pity.

of long past conditions of absolute scarcity; and that now, like a snowball rolling down hill gathers mass and momentum, governments have reached the stage of being soulless monsters, blindly following their inherent dynamics, with no hesitation whatever of mowing down anyone who presumes to dispute their validity—all in the name of some abstraction called the public good. It is not because of the nature of the persons manning them—even a saint should never be given coercive power over others—but because of the nature of the institutions themselves.

These cancerous criminal organizations have spread their influences throughout the whole social body, with the result that perhaps 75% of all human activity is downright nonsensical, with everyone stupidly playing the role into which he inadvertently has been cast, with very few in this benighted world having the wit to sense what it is all about. Practically all of the busybodies and self-believed reformers and revolutionists are attempting to treat effects, or to manufacture new systems embodying the same imbecilities under which they now suffer. Individual liberty is being crucified and annihilated by professional and amateur meddlers, not the least of whom are the subsidized and prostituted nincompoops who, while trying to preserve the old chains or forge new ones, label the new manacles 'libertarian.' We thus see the supreme paradox of *professional* 'libertarians' quite naturally thriving on the absence of liberty, like vultures living on a decaying corpse. These worthies are all over the place and are doing their share in propelling mankind toward oblivion.

ON MAN'S THINKING

There is a great deal of misconception about the way man thinks. Except in rare instances, men do not think about or have ideas inimical to the way they live their lives. Every individual necessarily has interests, and these interests determine not only what they think about, but also how they think about it, and what their conclusions are. No person can think objectively about anything in which he is personally involved. All so-called objective or scientific thinking deals with things and matters over which man presumably has no control. There is no accident in the fact that scientists are irresponsible people, because in order to do scientific or objective thinking it is necessary not to be involved. And of course my definition of non-involvement almost means non-responsibility. The scientist is not responsible for his findings, since they supposedly inhere in the nature of things, and therefore are beyond his control.

in their clutches and are able to manipulate him to their advantage. Religions are debilitating in other ways, usually by promising pie in the sky, for a stipend offered here and now. It is astonishing how easily a human can be duped, especially when caught early enough. But it is with these viewpoints involving guilt and the herd or gregarious instinct that governments and religions have looked upon what they consider refractory individuals, and which has caused them to use indoctrination, intimidation, torture and murder, in the name of morality and 'law and order,' in order to maintain themselves as institutions. And it is with this mutual viewpoint that peoples, under the aegis of religions and governments ruling over them, face each other today. The political, military, and religious coterie speak in a gangster frame of reference, and with a gangster psychology—it is 'we' against 'them'—and to expect that such characters, or the institutions they man, are going to change the course of events, is the utmost in credulity and imbecility. For it is precisely within this frame of reference that the prevailing threatening confrontation finds its reason for existence. And yet in the name of 'humanism' are these very institutions being relied upon somehow to change things for the better.

Elsewhere I have made note that no individual who ever lived asked to be born, and had no say whatever who his parents were to be, nor what combination of genes and chromosomes he was to be endowed with, nor what time or circumstance he was to be placed into, nor indeed whether he was to be fish, fowl, or other fauna—that he was to be cudged by the institutionalized imbecilities of his ancestors because of the habit and conservativeness of man who in his terrors is so fearful of liberty and change—and to call these individuals guilty in the ordinary sense of this term can only be the work of theologians who foolishly or by design, and with the pretense of infallibility, invent bugaboo and sin, impart their fears and feelings of guilt to others and virtually erect into a dogma the vicious theory that man is the enemy of man (the good guy-bad guy theory).

The truth is quite otherwise. Man merely wants to live, and if in his ignorance he allowed to be established Church and State to be the authorities ruling over him by bamboozlement and violence, he is unfortunately the victim of his own stupidity, but not of his malice. Why man does not now get rid of these thoroughly vicious institutions that are crucifying him can only be laid to the force of habit, and to the fact that now these institutions have him in almost inextricable thralldom. That billions of individuals do not comprehend the criminal nature of these institutions, but actually believe them to be beneficent, does not make it true; nor is it less veritable if only I say that it is *not* true.

As stated before, practically all of our prevailing imbecilities arose out

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY

"ALL THE WORLD'S A STAGE"

The outstanding characteristic of human beings as distinguished from other animals is their prodigious propensity to kid themselves. The studies of psychologists would seem to be manna for the cynic. For we find that, aside from the primary urges, nearly all of the intense impulses of humans stem from feelings of inadequacy, of the lack of function of the potentialities within them.

The genius is oftener than not merely an ordinary person motivated by a fear that he will not have a sufficiently important role in the drama, farce, or comedy of life (as you will) and strives to compensate his feeling of insignificance by an intense development of his potentialities, usually only one.

Your weakling will tend to formulate a philosophy of power. Your educator subconsciously suspicious his own ignorance and wants to compensate by teaching, since teaching is a profession which explicitly implies superiority of knowledge. Your religious fellow is motivated by feelings of guilt. Your all-around misfit wants to revolutionize the world, into such form as he will be secure in. None of these worthies are able to face the fact that life is a battle and to take their roles in the melee, such as it is. Your exhibitionist needs an audience; your victim of the love-hate complex must needs have some rascality in his make-up to justify.

We learn from psychology that the infant is an unfeeling beast, a selfish brat ostensibly on the make and who cares not a whit from where he gets his sustenance. He remains such until he is indoctrinated by his elders. His parents realize that if he does not disguise his predatory instincts he will be "caught" and carefully guarded against by his peers. His teachers, puppets of the powers-that-be, naturally teach patriotism, love of country and God, to soften him up for use by his masters, Church and State, who intend to exploit him for all it is worth.

As we grow older, we ourselves, natural brutes tho we be, learn to dissimulate and camouflage our healthy impulses by politeness, we develop schemes of ethics and by pretense attempt to allay each other so that, when the opportune time comes, we are easier to waylay. Make no mistake that basically we care precious little about one another except for what we can get out of each other.

Stop to consider. Of all the animals man is the only one who deliberately enslaves and murders his kind for no sensible reason. You will find missionaries searching the world over for someone to convert. Christians, believers in the most monstrous conglomeration of nonsense, have

been most active in this nefarious enterprise. But don't be gulled; they are only the forerunners of the military and economic exploiter. History gives no evidence otherwise.

Your reformer and zealot, who presumes to love everybody, does not hesitate a whit to slaughter anyone who disagrees with him. The love-hate complex here comes in force in all its pristine glory. People are neatly divided into down but forward-lookers, generally the rag-tag of humanity, and the devils-on-wheels who manage to grab nice chunks from the common trough.

Your military, if it were not the subservient cannon fodder for sly knaves, might play an overtly candid role in the human drama, if they divided the spoils only among themselves. But they are too stupid for this, and become mere mercenaries. They are so the world over.

Next to the list of rascals are the politicians, altho it is a moot question whether the priesthood are not entitled to this position. Indeed, it is not so certain that they shouldn't come first. But let's not quarrel over that. These gentry are the slyest of the lot. To get by by chicanery is the height of human ingenuity, and your minister of the gospel is the cream of the crop.

Your radical, of whom I happen of the number, is nine times in ten a weakling and a pathetic individual with a tremendous urge to be a teacher and leader. Were he naturally such he would not have such an inordinate urge to be one. Schemes of something for nothing seem to be his especial field.

If you are an incompetent, if indeed you cannot stand on your own feet and never earned an honest sandwich in your life, aspire to be a politician. Among the saps and knaves of which this world is composed, your sailing will be easy. The way to the presidency or dictatorship is assured you.

Oh yes, psychology will be the undoing of all of us. Our roles will be dissected, the play will fall apart, yet the show must go on until the final appearance when understudies will emerge upon the scene.

"All the world's a stage and each man in his time plays many parts." The drama, it would seem, has been written by some cosmic joker.

CONSIDERATION OF SOME BASIC SOCIOLOGICAL TRUTHS

In times long past, occasions arose when the food supply, drastically insufficient to maintain a group of people, the well-being of one or some individuals had to be obtained to the detriment of others, and scramble and conflict naturally arose. Thus the origin of organized predatory coercive power grew out of ancient situations of scarcity. Hence the

infants and children, but an adult who is emotionally addicted to this as a *societary* principle is obviously dominated by infantile urges.

The natural relation between adults is not the parasitism implied in communistic principles, nor whatever authority as may be required between parents and children, but is rather in the increasing application of the principles of liberty and reciprocity. It is here that merit, as distinguished from need, receives its appropriate reward and becomes the predominating and necessary relationship if the human is to emerge from incompetency to competency. To do anything for anyone, especially a child, when that person is able or willing to attempt to do it for himself, is to hamper and stunt his development, to retard his education, and to condemn him to immaturity. And if the practice be generalized, as with communism (or as it has been progressively in America under the degenerating aegis of the Roosevelt and subsequent regimes), it is to contribute to the regression of the human race. The apparently increasingly need to take care of the 'health, education, and welfare' of the victims of an exploiting society, in order to preserve the system of exploitation, is undeniable evidence of social disintegration.

The natural evolutionary progress of societies, as of individuals, should be out of the incompetency of infancy toward the competence which finds expression only in liberty and reciprocity. That this progress can and has been contravened is one of the major features of history. In capitalistic countries it has been some owners of capital—bankers, industrialists, and commercial enterprises—who have been protected by privilege from competition, and who have fatuously deemed their successes in amassing wealth to be solely attributable to their competence, and who now so vociferously prate about 'free enterprise,' through subsidized agents and self-styled 'freedom schools,' educational foundations, and the like, meaning of course thereby that they do not want their privileges disturbed by any attempts by government to heal the ravages which their privileged and monopolistic prerogatives have been responsible for. It is somewhat like a misunderstanding or falling out among thieves.

Dangerously aggravating the societary habit of recourse to power and coercion as a *modus operandi* for the conduct of societies is the theory of the culpability of man, which is the central doctrine of most religious faiths. For if man is guilty he is blameable and punishable and subject to elimination. And so, if it is possible to imbue a person with feelings of guilt, which is fear of impending doom for something which he has been taught to be an infraction of God's will, and if the teachers of this doctrine can convince someone that they have the sponge, so to speak, by which the alleged 'sin' may be erased, then they have this poor victim

tinue the list down to the last inhabitant, all of whom to some degree or other constitute a working system, such as it is. There is an inherent contradiction in the very nature of things, and all the people involved are more or less victims. This is an enigma the nature of the extrication from which there is not space enough to expound upon here. Suffice it to say that there is hardly a single individual, as far as I can see, who has the remotest comprehension of the nature of the philosophical problem which is involved in social living.

That the process implied in the above leads to more and more prevalent, dangerous, and catastrophic so-called 'brinks,' and eventually war, is becoming increasingly obvious. And since this process involves a trend toward totalitarianism as the need for more concentrated and coordinated power appears to be necessary for the preservation of respective power groupings, the inexorable and inevitable objective is the consolidation of power units, until they boil down into two opposing groups. Then it requires but a spark to set off actual conflict.

Heretofore the denouement of such conflicts has been the victory of one side over the other. The blind drive which enlists science into the services of power has, in this stage of historical development, invented the atomic bomb as an instrument of war and destruction. This invention has relegated to the garbage heap perhaps 90% of the rationalizations of so-called sociological theory or 'knowledge' being taught by the brainwashed and terrorized so-called educators in the respective regimes in which they happen to reside. There is only one social philosophy which has emerged unscathed and actually vindicated by this development, and this is Anarchism, a social philosophy hardly over a century old.

The evils of antagonistic interests are attempted to be eradicated by recourse to communism, which inherently and even by definition makes every individual slave of a hypothetical construct conceived as the collectivity. This recourse is almost as prevalent in so-called 'private-enterprise' economies as in overtly collectivistic countries. The practical application of this doctrine requires the submission of each and every individual to the coercively implemented decisions made by a centralized power group. This is an utterly vicious doctrine notwithstanding whatever good intentions may be held by its practitioners. It arose mainly, and maintains its virility, because of its analogy with the emphatic love-and-concern relationship which exists between parents and children—because, indeed, of the fact that were it not for the operation of communistic principles, like 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs,' the human race couldn't survive. It is this principle which exists between parents and unweaned and incompetent

central evil of all historic civilizations is the *misuse* of the principle of property, or the exclusive exploitative control of persons, things and/or actions. First, slavery; then appropriation of land, then appropriative control of exchange. The result is what may be called social parasitism, originally as with a God-King; later as a king appointed by God; and still later with more secular overtones—each with appropriate hangers-on and beneficiaries, all supported by a military caste. This organized predation became known as the State.

The State is the institutionalization of robbery and concomitant murder, using coercion and violence as a *modus operandi* for the control of societies. Once implanted as the controlling agency over circumscribed areas, and the inhabitants thereof, the eradication of such aggressive power establishments appears to be virtually impossible. The reason is because, according to the line of least resistance, it is easier to follow precedent than to think; and current thinking and impulse is always done in terms of precedent. The master-slave relationship becomes entrenched as a 'way of life' in all so-called 'nations,' and the consequences of this inevitably and fatefully proceed toward the gradual degradation of all the humans involved. Whatever may be the trappings with which any regime may clothe itself, the fundamental design remains the same—any differences between the governments are mostly semantic and formal.

In modern times by allowing the people to choose the criminals* who are to rule over them, the overt reality of naked force and violence has been disguised, and the fiction of 'liberty' disseminated—a procedure which has been called 'democracy,' which is then considered by its victims to be highly advanced and just about the last word in social organization. So deeply ingrained is this superstition that the sup-

*The objection has been made that I have used the word 'criminal' loosely here. I define crime as the use of coercion and force against the peaceable individual. Since coercion and violence constitute the basic recourse of the State for enforcing its will, it necessarily fits onto the category of 'criminal' by this definition. It is naive to allow a criminal organization to define what 'crime' is, when it is a foregone conclusion that it will absolve itself. The person who accepts the good faith of those who would coerce and rob him, and confuses statute law with rational ethic, is indeed a slave indoctrinated to a superstition. Incidentally, I have indicated that those who aspire to be a 'cooperative commonwealth' and similarly conceived systems of combination which obliterate independent and competitive activity are also dominated by the same superstition. To clarify this matter, it will be well to say, perhaps, that the superstition in favor of governmentalism is well-nigh universal. In fact, no other idea existed up until slightly over a century ago.

posedly foremost aspirations for human betterment, which go under the name of democratic socialism, are labeled 'scientific,' 'cooperative,' 'management,' 'peoples' democracy,' 'one world,' 'brotherhood of mankind,' and indeed 'God's Kingdom Come,' and other euphemisms which appeal to well-meaning persons who happen to be long on good intentions and short on brains.

Modern military men—generals and admirals—are a continuation of the old-time bandits and pirates, except that they now are mere mercenaries working and killing for pay and glory, while the sharper ones at home gather in the real loot in the shape of territory and taxable slaves, called 'citizens.' Home populations need to be kept under 'law and order' by internal police and spy systems. The priesthood and ideologists continue to be necessary to rationalize or sanctify the entire procedure, and to torture and crucify those who become recalcitrant. And so-called 'educational' institutions in the hands of both the State and Church are intended to maintain the ignorance and superstition of the multitudes. Politicians are the professional bamboozlers. And so the old-time game of robbery and murder goes on, with the beneficiaries considered the cream of society. The whole congeries of imbecilities and crimes constitute more or less workable regimes, each with their particular 'way of life.' The most necessary, and paradoxically, the biggest robbers in these respective schemes of things, are those who have managed to monopolize the means by which substantially all modern cooperation is consummated, namely, the bankers, who perhaps hold the real power.

Inherent in the dynamics of nationalism is the ultimate clash of economic and military forces, the organs of predation and power. Those who aspire to achieve a modus vivendi between States are fatuously attempting the impossible. This is not understood simply because, at the present time, there are probably only a few thousand people, among the millions alive today, who think in other than a herd frame of reference, and who do not accept the master-slave relationship as some sort of natural order of things.

Inherent in the drives of what is known as 'capitalism' is imperialistic expansion. The two main factors of this drive are an interest-bearing money system and the consequent accumulations of investment capital which search for natural wealth in the earth, wherever it is located, as elements to exploit, and unlimited holdings of land as private property. Economic power begins to transcend the welfare of humans as a subconscious force which invokes many rationalizations not the least of which are protestations of moral respectability.

It is commonly known that State Socialism and Communism not only require semi-military operations for their inauguration, but are inher-

ently military and predatory societies, or what is called totalitarian, based on the ideas of duty and obedience.

It is from the stresses arising from the resultant built-in conflicts of interest derived from the master-slave relationships of Statism that myriads of evils are affected, for the alleviation of which various groups of specialists form themselves into professions which presume to cure. These groups or professions thereafter have an entrenched interest in the very existence of the evils the treating of which forms the source of their incomes, and which thus appear to be necessary and tantamount to their very survival. Thus becomes inaugurated a self-aggravating system within the coercively-maintained social body the self-alleviating features of which become increasingly atrophied. Repression and psycho-neurotic drives arise and become accentuated. The inexorable end of this process is the increasing tendency to resort to the theory that the State is responsible for the health, education, and welfare of its subjects or victims—a theory which is far advanced and which is just as prevalent today among degenerates in so-called democracies as in totalitarian regimes. Self-styled social engineers, now being duped by the smoke screen of over-population, are presuming to meddle with the procreative process, through world-governmental means, and it may reasonably be assumed that they will decide upon standards of 'superiority' by which to permit conception, and these standards will no doubt favor similar sorts of human culls which these degenerates themselves happen to be.

This comprehensive situation and process may progress beyond the point of no return, simply because of the static influences of Statism and the consequent diminishment of liberty with its ameliorative tendencies. Societies paradoxically seem to thrive on the very evils under which they suffer. We see today governments, controlled by imbeciles who, while presuming to care for the health, education, and welfare of their victims, are at the same time preparing for a holocaust that threatens to decimate the human race; and this astounding contradiction is being accepted by millions of manufactured idiots the world over, completely oblivious of the inherently criminal nature of these very governments.

Politicians, preachers, physicians, psycho-therapists, lawyers, professors, pill manufacturers, social workers of every description, and of course the military, and indeed the industrial complexes under which this combined lunacy operates—all these whose *raison d'être* are the ills under which man suffers, most of which are manufactured and are effects of governmentalism, appear to have an immediate stake in the existence of these evils, as opposed to their eradication—are actually busily engaged in the degenerative process. And indeed we may con-



Laurance Labadie (left) in a happier time, with friend Angus McMillan, on a day at a Detroit amusement park, in 1919.



Laurance Labadie and his niece, the last of the Labadie clan, now Mrs. Carlotta Anderson, in Berkeley, California in January, 1949.



Laurance Labadie at a modest repast with S. S. Chawla, Ralph Borsodi's special student from India.



Laurance Labadie (second from left) with fellow workers from the Chevrolet special experimental team.