

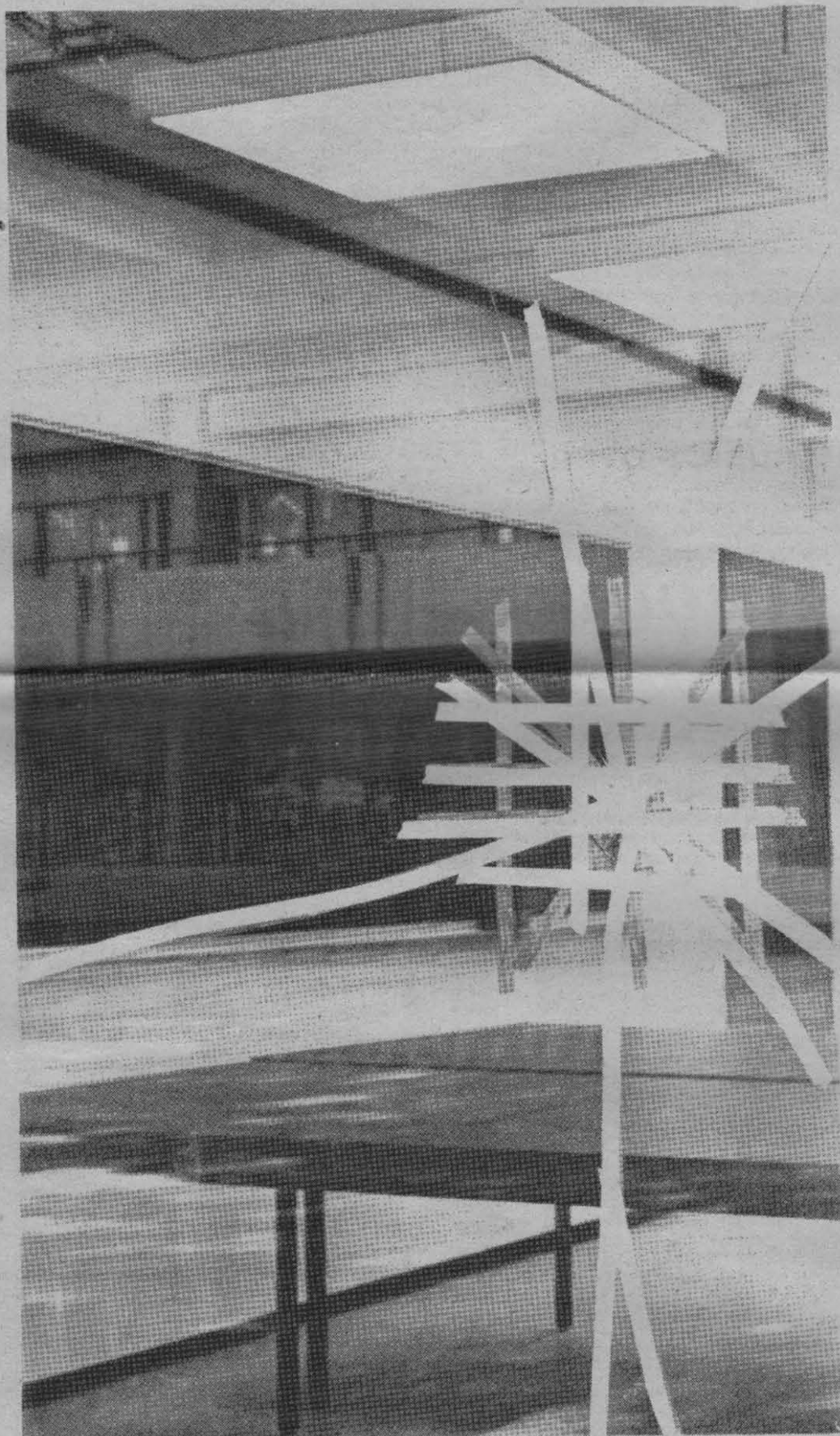
THE ARENA

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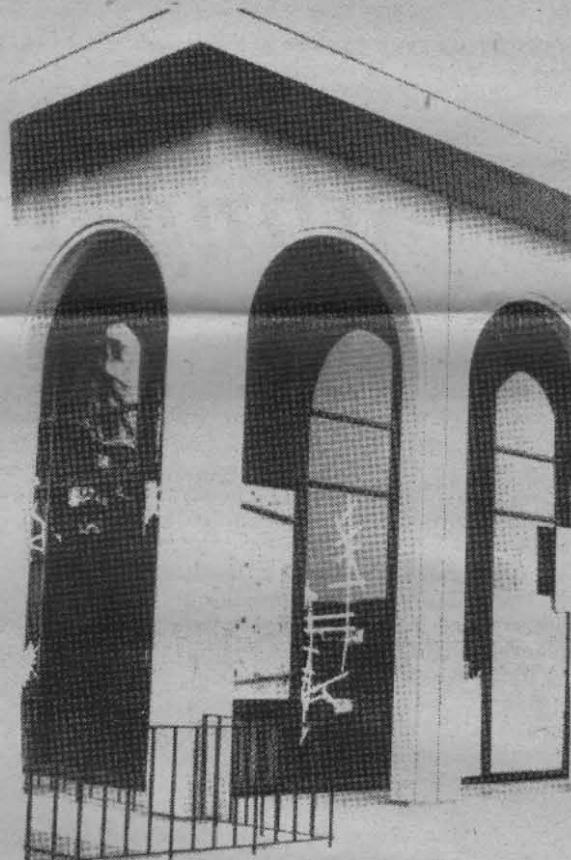
"One feature of a free society is surely the freedom of individuals to advocate and propagandize openly for a radical change in the structure of the society — so long as the advocacy is restricted to persuasion and does not include force or other forms of coercion."

—Milton Friedman, **CAPITALISM AND FREEDOM**



"The Injury and the Crime is equal, whether committed by the wearer of a Crown, or some petty Villain."

—John Locke, **TWO TREATISES OF GOVERNMENT**



"Freedom is a tenable objective only for responsible individuals."

—Milton Friedman, **CAPITALISM AND FREEDOM**



"Let us not attempt to reconcile contradictions, but firmly embrace a rational alternative."

—Alexander Hamilton, **FEDERALIST PAPERS**

ARENA ENDORSEMENTS

Last year's ASSU Senate was chaotic. This condition came about for two reasons: a handful of Senators, labeled "obstructionist" by ASSU President Pat Shea, took delight in preventing legislation and appointments on purely political grounds; and, equally detrimental, many Senators entertained the notion that they were serving in the United States Senate, and consequently were unresponsive to the true needs of the student body.

THE ARENA feels that the ASSU needs Senators who understand the proper function of a student legislative body, that is, to return as much power to the individual student as possible. THE ARENA urges that all voters become aware of the past records of the candidates listed on the ballot. Many of these have served in previous legislative bodies, and others have established a record of participation in violent acts against the University. Many were specifically labeled "obstructionist" last year by the Council of Presidents.

THE ARENA recognizes that a large number of candidates are willing to work in order to serve the students. The candidates that we have endorsed range from conservative to anarcho-libertarian, but all share a grave doubt as to the relevance of student government as it has existed in the past.

In the hope that the ASSU Senate may be structured on a reasonable basis this year, THE ARENA endorses the following candidates in the following constituencies:

Undergraduate Humanities and Sciences

1. Ernesto Rael
2. Mark Venezia
3. Archie Schrotenboer
4. Steven Guerra

Undergraduate General Studies

1. Chris Hocker
2. Buzz Thompson
3. Harries-Clichy Peterson, Jr.
4. William Bell
5. Rick Peral
6. Hall Daily
7. Robert Levine

Undergraduate Engineering and Earth Sciences

THE ARENA makes no endorsement in this constituency.

Graduate Humanities and Sciences

1. Raymond White
2. Rexford Stark

Graduate Engineering and Earth Science.

1. Peter R. Antoniak

Graduate School of Business

1. Noel Casey
2. Tom Mahon

Graduate School of Education

THE ARENA makes no endorsement in this constituency.

Graduate School of Medicine; Unaffiliated

1. Richard Ilka

Graduate School of Law

THE ARENA makes no endorsement in this constituency.

The Hare System of voting makes possible the ranking of candidates in order of preference. THE ARENA recommends that the candidates be listed in the orders indicated above, while realizing that any of the endorsed candidates would be excellent representatives of the ASSU. It should also be noted that, because of the method of operation of the Hare System, only those candidates whom you wish to be elected should be marked on your ballot.

WHEN THE MUSIC'S OVER

Wailing For Another World

These past four weeks have been tragic for music fans. We have lost two of our greatest performers; the effect has not yet hit many of us, but it is true. Jimi and Janis are dead and who knows how long it will be before the absence of their talent and the realization that they can no longer carry on the legends they began will be felt. (It has taken us til now to fully appreciate the beauty and emotion of Bessie Smith, to whom Janis paid tribute quite recently in the gift of a gravestone.

Hendrix's death came as more of a shock, mainly because we hadn't been crushed since the death of Otis Redding and had forgotten that rock stars aren't immortal. Janis Joplin's death did not come as such a surprise. As Ralph Gleason states—"She was living on borrowed time." Janis was forever asked by interviewers and critics why she exhausted herself so passionately and relentlessly. She always replied that she had to give everything she had or else life wasn't worth living. She couldn't worry about the future because it would ruin the present. She drank too much, she screamed too loud, she moved too hard, but that was her magic and dynamic image.

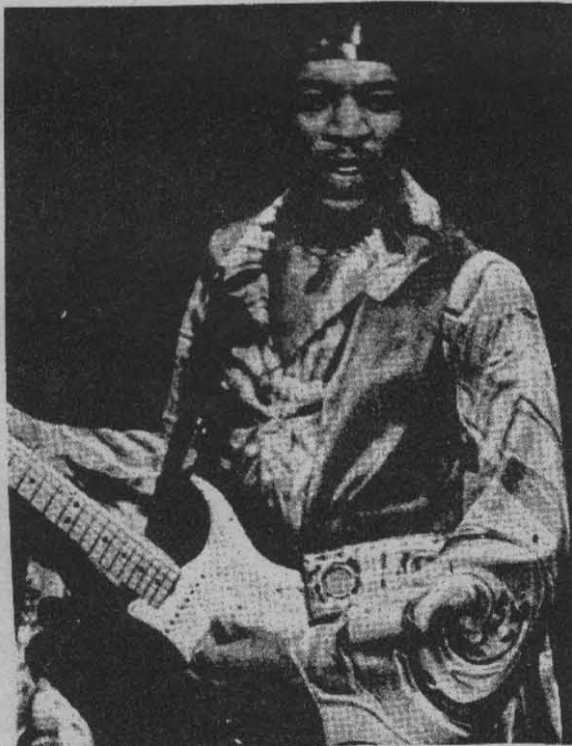
Janis Joplin virtually became an overnight success at the Monterey Pop Festival in 1967 with her bluesy version of "Ball and Chain." Big Brother and the Holding Company withdrew into the background after that; Janis left them to form a band of her own.

Her first album in her own right (neglecting Big Brother's first album as of no consequence or credit to Janis) was "Cheap Thrills", a package of songs sung at live performances. That was when Janis was at her peak, singing before an audience. After the success of her first album, she vowed that she would always record live. She couldn't sing the same in a sterile empty recording studio. She had to feel the presence of the audience. On stage—that was the moment when she lived, oblivious to the world, unthinking, yet straining and feeling every muscle and emotion in her body. Janis frequently remarked that those were the only times that mattered to her, when she was singing her heart out in front of an audience. That was what she lived for and she gave them everything, perhaps too much.

Natural Themes

Janis had a style new to this generation, gutsy, earthy, tense, wailing. She sang the way we felt, that's why we loved her. She sang for us, pouring out the obscenities and oppressions that were inside her. If you had ever seen her in person, you would have

known how alive she was. And when she sang "Ball and Chain" you could feel her trying to wrench something out of herself in some sort of cathartic experience. It didn't matter that she wasn't black, Janis had as much soul as any blues singer, including Billie Holiday and Bessie Smith. And her life was to finish in the same harsh destiny, living too fast, working too hard, but that's what made her one of the greatest blues singers we have ever seen or heard.



It was at the historical Monterey Pop Festival in 1967 that Hendrix also made his first appearance before an American audience. Like many of our artists, he gained a following in Europe before he performed in the States. Sad to say that the souvenir

"live" album containing Jimi's songs at the Monterey Pop Festival (also containing songs by the late great Otis Redding) was released a month before his death.

Hendrix was so totally different from what anybody had known, a black sex-electric rock and roll star. While most black performers mainly catered to blacks, Jimi chose to play white rock and roll. In the beginning, Hendrix's performances were gimmicky, as he played his guitar with various parts of his body and ultimately destroyed it at the end of his act. However, most of that gaudy display had disappeared from Jimi's style, and when he got down to it, he could really make it wail. Nobody played guitar like Hendrix, reaching heights, depths, lightning and thunder that painted pictures for the listeners. Yes, Jimi wrote some great magic dope music.

Need For Difference

Jimi Hendrix made his name known after the English trend, started by the Beatles. There was a need to have somebody non-innocent, non-orchestral, somebody with an earthy, pulsating presence and Hendrix was the man. His style was voodoo, child, sexy, bluesy, rock and roll, although some of his solos can be classified as jazz. Not only did he perform his own songs with inimitable style, but his versions of other people's songs ("All Along the Watchtower," for example) surpassed those of the composer. It is pointless to go into his songs and pick out every instance of genius, for there were many in his playing ability as well as his technology in recording (listen to "Can You See Me" with earphones), and his creativity in composing and lyric-writing ("Scuse me while I kiss the sky").

Hendrix's Woodstock stint clearly exemplifies his originality and creativity in playing as well as his funky, hard-driving sound. Jimi's audition of the "Star-Spangled Banner" has already become a classic, the thunder of the bombs bursting in air and the ironic, shrieking cry of the "Land of the Free-eeeeeee" was violently beautiful; then to descent into the pulsing beat of "Purple Haze" was a glorifying experience.

It's sad to think that some artists are never recognized until it's too late or that their talent is often frustrated. Fortunately, Hendrix and Janis have left their indelible mark in the course of music, becoming legendary figures in their own time. We were lucky to have them.

Introducing Libertarianism

by Steve Jolivet

Why "introduce" libertarianism? Because it is a new political philosophy which few people know about.

Libertarianism's main concern is individual freedom. Most people are familiar with individual freedom even today. But they are equally aware that it is vanishing. They thus see individual freedom as a conservative notion, and usually associate it in some undefined manner with odious imagery of the evils of "capitalism", "rugged individualism", the "Robber Barons", etc. When the libertarian explains that he is concerned with just that sort of freedom which is described by these words, he is viewed with disdain.

But libertarianism is unique because it is a radically moral philosophy, unlike other philosophies of individual freedom. Libertarianism grudgingly uses the word "capitalism", but without the imagery, by defining it in appropriate moral terms. When it is properly defined, the fact becomes obvious that capitalism has never existed, and that all of the evils attributed to it have been caused by a lack of it, by state-imposed collectivism—not because of it.

Thus libertarianism does not have any ideals in the past, only pitifully feeble hints. It is the only political philosophy which is *not* conservative; it is concerned with individual freedom at a time when no other philosophy dares. It is today's only radical political philosophy.

No Collectivism

It is radical because it examines the roots of man's social existence, by examining man himself. It declares that man, by his nature, lives for his own sake; i.e., he has no higher ethical purpose than the furtherance of his own life as he sees fit.

To the degree to which he lives as a man, he lives as a trader, neither deriving unearned (coerced) benefit from others, nor allowing others to derive unearned (coerced) benefit from him. (He may dispense with his life's work as he pleases—e.g., charity, or he may join communes—but any recipient of the product of his work will have a right to it. As long as the relationship is noncoercive, it is a relationship of trade.) It is morally impossible for him to live in any other manner. Collectivist myths notwithstanding, there is no collective brain, no collective values, no collective good. Man lives for himself, not the collective.

Just as there is no collective good, there is no collective wealth. All wealth must be produced by man himself. To say that man does not have the right to the wealth which he produces is to say that someone else does have that right, that the non-producer has a moral claim superior to that of the producer. If carried out consistently, this claim

would mean that nobody would be obligated to produce at all.

Property is anything of value to man which is necessary for man's mind and energy, or which is necessary for that production. Since man must live by dealing with property, he can have a right to his life only if he has a right to that property—its use and disposal. Since property is anything of value to man and is scarce—scarce because its existence depends on human activity, which is limited—all rights are derived from property rights. A man's life is his property, and gives him the right to maintain it as he sees fit—e.g., through the free exercise of speech, religion, etc. Without property rights, no other rights are possible.

All Property Private

Be carefully analyzing man's nature, libertarianism is the first philosophy which consistently proclaims man's right to his life and property. ("Capitalism" has previously been justified almost solely because it is efficient, or "good for the people" or "the race"—not because it is the only political system which exalts the individual above the collective.) Libertarianism is the first to proclaim that all property—roads, water, air, everything that is valuable and scarce—must be owned by individual men, without exception.

If there is no collective good, it follows that the state must be kept at an absolute minimum. This tenet is the basis of libertarian thought and permits an ideological range from Ayn Rand to Karl Hess. The former believes in a limited government, the latter in free-market anarchy. The limited-statist believe a government is necessary to define and ensure man's rights, that "man's rights" is a meaningless concept without a government whose sole legitimate function is the protection of those rights.

The free-market anarchist believes in the same moral right to life and property, but differs politically by claiming that no government can demand a monopoly of force in any given area over unwilling men—that men should individually or in voluntary associations work out their own system of rights. The difference often leads to radically different political orientations vis-a-vis the present system. Some anarchists believe in acting to destroy or undercut the government, often by allying with non-libertarian groups with similar intentions; while most of the limited-statists are sympathetic to the existing imperfect state.

New Ideas

With very few exceptions, these ideas have not been around long—an astounding fact which illustrates the stranglehold which collectivism has on our culture. There has been a smattering of anarchists,

such as Thoreau, and there have been various attempts at justifying a near-total free market capitalism in the past half-century or so.

The movement probably derives a considerable amount of its strength from Ayn Rand's book, *Atlas Shrugged*, published in 1959. It was this book which first outlined her philosophy, objectivism, which defined man's rights in comprehensive and consistent moral terms, and based these definitions on the deepest philosophical premises. Rand shows that there is an objective reality external to man's consciousness, that man can comprehend this reality through the use of reason, that man has a specific nature which requires a specific morality (rational self-interest), and that complete capitalism is the political requirement of man's moral existence i.e., it is his right.

It should be reemphasized, that Objectivism is the first philosophy to define morality and capitalism entirely in terms of the individual, and to do so comprehensively. The Declaration of Independence, for example, says nothing significant about private property, and claims that rights are "given" to man by a Creator. Thus, the comparative lateness of Objectivism is partly explained by the influence of Objectivism, which only since 1959 has helped furnish the most essential aspect of libertarian ideology: its firm moral base.

Another reason should be noted for the recent advent and rapid increase of libertarianism: the profound failure of all forms of collectivism, and the obvious, disgraceful hypocrisy of those intellectuals who still cling to it. Given our civilization's long cultural tradition of collectivism, it is understandable that most intellectuals still fall for it. But what is intellectually and professionally inexcusable is the fact that they refuse even to give thoughtful consideration to an alternative to collectivism—that is, the possibility of ordering a society around the total private ownership of property.

Intellectuals merely assume that "we" have problems and that those problems must be solved collectively, by the state. But time is running out on collectivist "solutions", and the derelict intellectuals must wake up to this fact. The problem is a moral one; it concerns the relation of man to his life, his property, and the state. Libertarianism is the only philosophy which seriously considers this problem; further, it is the only philosophy which provides a solution.

(Editors' Note: Mr. Jolivet's views concerning Ayn Rand and Objectivism are not necessarily shared by others on THE ARENA staff, although nearly all recognize Miss Rand's contribution to libertarian thought.)

Nuances of Libertarianism

By Mark Venezia

Consistent libertarians agree that man does have a basic nature—the *abstraction man* can only survive as a producer. Though many men can survive as parasites through violent exploitative relationships—man's basic right to his own life is ultimately only maintained through production and voluntary exchange. There must always be producers off which to live. The revolt of the producer is the revolt of the oppressed.

The ideal human society is one in which coercion does not exist—where all associations are voluntary, where men live through the voluntary exchange of what they produce. This is free market anarchy.

A voluntary society in ideal form offers infinite alternatives. Individualists view man as an end in himself while Socialist libertarians see man's creative potential only fully released in the community. But this divergence over how man should conduct his life within the framework of his rights is solvable without violence. In a voluntary society communes could be established without any transgressions on the rights of members.

Although libertarians may agree on their basic moral framework and the essentials of an ideal society, the theory is subject to many interpretations in its applications. Among the many issues which libertarians differ are (1) the limits of self defense, (2) the justification of "national defense" (3) the utility of violent revolution in the current social context, (4) the use of police, (5) private property relationships, (6) the nature of government property, (7) whether they should involve themselves in an electoral process involving competing evils.

Usually libertarians will distinguish themselves as radical libertarians or limited statist (conservative) libertarians. On the following issues which tend to split the libertarian movement, what I (and perhaps only I) perceive as the radical libertarian position is presented first—the conservative-libertarian position second.

THE ARENA

LIBRA: Manuel Garcia O'Kelly Davis; SCORPIO: Rich Grey, Ray White; SAGITTARIUS: Buzz Thompson, Spectator; CAPRICORN: Steven Guerra; AQUARIUS: John Washburn, Leo; PISCES: Chris Hocker, Mike Cobb; AIRES: Thomas Jefferson; TAURUS: Ernesto Rael, Craig Ostfeld; GEMINI: Mark Venezia; CANCER: Steve Jolivet, H-C Peterson, Jr.; LEO: Bill Bell; VIRGO: Robert A. Taft.

* * *

THE ARENA is published semi-weekly at Stanford University. Correspondence should be directed to c/o Buzz Thompson, Box 2122, Stanford, California 94305. All contributions are considered: letters to the editors, short features, articles, photographs, and questions regarding the philosophy and policies of THE ARENA. Letters and articles must be typed and double-spaced. Down with bureaucracy! Up with ad hocracy!

Protection-Retaliation

A logical derivative of the basic right to one's own life is that man has a right to do anything but initiate violence. What means can one use in self defense? Certainly one has a right to recover any damages and immediately act in self defense. Obviously there is a market need for protection, but who can determine the rightful jurisdiction of a protection agency? Are there objective rules for the protection of rights and would a market tend to provide them? Radical libertarians would tend to rely on the market; limited statist sanction a limited government with voluntary taxation but complete territorial jurisdiction. Also at issue is the right to threaten and carry through with a sort of punitive justice optimally suited at a deterrent against the infringement of one's rights. This issue is not divided along radical-conservative lines.

"Defense"

The issue of whether a state has the right to defend its continued existence is so fundamental that it will probably put radical and conservative libertarians on opposite sides of the barricades in hand to hand combat next spring unless there is a miraculous coalescing of the movement by then.

A theorem of radical libertarian sociology is that every state's primary purpose is to have a monopoly of violence over a given territory. Violence is its existence. Governments demand for monopoly over the violation of freedom makes any claims of its legitimacy absurd. The myth of legitimacy must end. The state must be crushed.

Continued on page 4

POWER TO THE PERSON!

The following mythical interview does not necessarily represent the views of one person, but is intended to indicate the opinions of most libertarians on the Stanford campus.

Question: *What do you consider to be the libertarian's role in campus affairs?*

Answer: I think that the role of an active, vocal libertarian is to implement the libertarian ideal to the fullest extent possible in every possible situation. This ideal is, in two words, individual freedom. Just as a libertarian economist advocates the principles of the Free Market, the libertarian student extends these principles to the university. Along with the free economic market, he desires a free academic market, free for those representing all points of view to discuss them openly without fear, ridicule, name-calling, damage to his property, or physical violence.

Q: *You mean you have to be a libertarian to believe in open discussion of ideas?*

A: Of course not. But the prominent groups on the Left, such as the Revolutionary Union and the White Panthers, have made it clear that they favor a physical revolution in order to implement their ideals. To me, a revolution or any sort of violence rules out open discussion, or, to use a cliché, rational dialogue. When a person initiates violence, he is saying, in effect, "I have no more to say. You haven't agreed with me yet, so I'm going to force you to agree with me."

To a libertarian, the mere belief that you have analyzed a situation correctly does not give you the right to force this analysis on others. This is why concerned libertarians have attempted to prevent manifestations of physical revolution at Stanford. Complete freedom to act as one pleases, which is at the root of libertarian philosophy, implies that no coercion of any sort, perpetrated by an individual, a group, or a government, is acceptable.

Q: *So what you're really advocating is anarchy.*

A: Yes, but not in the sense in which the word is commonly used. A libertarian holds that a government, being by nature coercive, is therefore evil. Thus, the ideal state is that which has no government, or anarchy. The libertarian believes that an individual or a voluntary coalition of individuals is to a great extent perfectly capable of conducting its own affairs peacefully, without harm to other individuals or groups. The draft, Social Security, and even the income tax is coercive and immoral.

Q: *Isn't all that somewhat impractical?*

A: Well, it can't happen tomorrow, or even in the foreseeable future. But definitely a start can be and

must be made. Surely much of the governmental bureaucracy can be trimmed down to a size that is manageable and efficient. The larger the government, the larger the evil.

Q: *Aren't you agreeing with the Radical Left here?*

A: With some of the Radical Left, yes. Decentralization is a major plank in any radical platform, because an individual's freedom is inversely proportional to the amount of control exercised over him by the State. I would say, however, that violence is necessitated only when all hope of lessening this control is gone. This is not the case in this country, although the governmental tangle of red tape can be dishearteningly frustrating.

Q: *Then you are a flag-waver?*

A: Only in the sense that I believe that the United States was founded on basically libertarian principles, and that most of these principles, although dormant, are by no means dead in this country. The fact that I can say that, and that Bill Buckley and George McGovern and Jerry Rubin and William Kunstler and even Spiro Agnew can say what they have to say without being whisked away into a dungeon proves it. The arrests of individuals—although termed by some "political repression" and an abridgement of their right of free speech—have, in nearly every case, been based not on their words but their actions, actions which were coercive and, hence, themselves repressive.

Q: *Aside from the question of violence, is there a philosophical difference between you and the Radical Left?*

A: There definitely is. The left-winger is a socialist of one degree or another. Those of the Radical Left advocate abolition of private property, thus doing away with free enterprise, competition, the free market, and capitalism.

The libertarian Right maintains that the right to property is as fundamental as the right to life. In an imperfect society, socialism implies that some control, regardless of how decentralized that control is, must be exercised in order to enforce co-operation among individuals with regard to communal property.

For example, socialism of a small scale exists if a friend and I are given a car to share. If I wish to drive it to San Francisco at two o'clock on Tuesday and he wishes to drive it to Sacramento at the same time, and each of us is irreconcilably committed to driving to that place at that time a conflict has arisen that can only be resolved by an outside force.

I have the right to go where I want to go when I

want to go there, as does he, and if I lose that right because an outside agency has decided in his favor, then I am a victim of coercion. However, if I own the car, my right can not be challenged, and I can not be coerced. I am under no moral obligation to give the car to him. This is the reason that, without private property, my life has no meaning other than that imposed upon it by a force outside of myself.

Capitalism and free enterprise imply the free exchange of goods and services among individuals. If I would rather have a stereo than a car, I am free to exchange these goods, or sell the car to buy the stereo. Under socialism, the car is not mine to sell or exchange, nor is the stereo, and I will not have the unrestricted right to their use unless each individual in my socialist community agrees with me that I should drive the car to a particular place at a particular time, or that I should put on a particular record at a particular time. The chances of this are slim.

Q: *But aren't the people hurt by this kind of system?*

A: Any so-called oppression of "The People" by greedy capitalists is a result of apathy, indifference, and ignorance on the part of the people, and incompetence and overextension on the part of the government. In a free market, the capitalist who increases his profit margin by raising prices will soon be driven out of business by competitors who sell at lower prices but greater volume.

The consumer who buys an inferior or over-priced product because he believes the advertisements has only himself to blame. Also, the government that fixes prices, such as is the case with the airlines, has eliminated the incentive for one company to provide better goods or services than another, thus creating a gap between quality and price.

The concept of a "class conflict" between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie implies that these conditions are permanent. A libertarian claims that in a free market, anyone with ability, regardless of class, will have the opportunity to produce goods more efficiently, or services of better quality, and thus take his place at the top of the system until another is able to improve on the quality of the good or service.

To a libertarian, it is eminently fair and moral that an individual with ability should derive benefits in proportion to his ability.

Q: *So you would disagree with the slogan "Power to the People"?*

A: The people have as much power as they are able to create, and as much as the government allows them to have. The slogan of the Libertarian Right should be: Power to the Person!

Libertarian Split...

Continued from page 3

Conservative libertarians see the state as only the enforcer of social regulations. A state which in net balance (relative to other possible social structures) seems to allow enough freedom that debate and intellectual movements might change it has the right to exist. Such a stance leads to a near justification of the entanglement of the "military-industrial-complex" in the economy.

Revolution

At issue is whether the federal system of government in America should be measured relative to the absolute standards of the rights of man or relative to other politico-economic systems which seem feasible today. Should American revolutionaries be judged according to their rights and actions or according to their goals? Are actions intrinsically justifiable (i.e. one has a right to stop anyone from initiating violence including the state) or must one measure every act by the criteria: will it further freedom in the long run? How much of the American welfare-warfare state can one tolerate and what chance does the system allow for libertarian transformation without violence?

Property

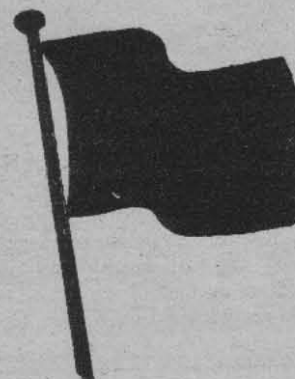
The radical libertarian position: government is continually redistributing property, seizing it through the theft of taxation. Thus existing property

relationships are tainted with illegitimacy—the violence used directly or indirectly in acquisition.

Conservative libertarians consider the legitimacy of a state and all its actions in terms of its historical context. While opposing the state's power expansion, the legitimacy of used state power is sanctioned if men are still relatively free.

Police

As a corollary to the issue of justifiable revolution, does the use of police necessarily legitimize the coercive power of the state? Or is one justified to call in and use the police to project one's legitimate rights?



Assuming the former, can one justifiably exercise one's rights (of free speech, free press, etc.) even when they would aid the police? These questions hinge on whether violent revolution could possibly alter the structure of society in the right direction.

Government Property

Are government legally owned institutions and property (i.e. universities, land, roads, weapons, etc.) in essence the privately controlled stolen goods of officials, or publicly administered property in trust for those who are taxed to support them? And if they are the former, does one have the right to simply seize and utilize them for one's own purposes? Did the street people and students of Berkeley have any more right to control the use of "People's Park" than the government of the State of California?

Of course none of the foregoing are issues debated by our prospective rulers running for office. Here libertarians of all stripes are disenfranchised while inconsistent power-mongers battle for control. Corporate liberals offer us the total entanglement of voluntary organizations with the state in their common goals of a great society. Then, traditionalist conservatives come forth with blatant repression and imperialism. Contemporary political movements all contain an ingredient of power lust, for they seek control over the state. Libertarians want only its dismantling, but, unfortunately, the methods these iconoclasts use often run counter to one another.