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APPLICATIONS, EXPERIMENTS, AND ADVANCED DEVELOPMENTS OF LIBERTY

INNOVATOR

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THE EXAMINER - A MEASURE OF FREEDOM

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THE BATTLE OF MADISON AVENUE

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 Nor is it, Sir, for the defense of his own house and home, that he

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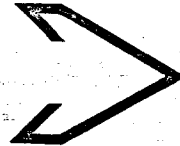
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Nor is it, Sir, for the defense of his own house and home

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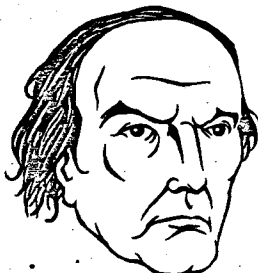
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THE DRAFT AND DANIEL WEBSTER

WHEN THE PRESENT GENERATION IS SWEEP AWAY...



Daniel Webster

In Congress, Dec. 9, 1814:

The question is nothing less, than whether the most essential rights of personal liberty shall be surrendered, and despotism embraced in its worst form. When the present generation of men shall be swept away, and that this Government ever existed shall be a matter of history only, I desire that it may then be known, that you have not proceeded in your course unadvised and unforewarned. Let it then be known, that there were those, who would have stopped you, in the career of your measures, and held you back as by the skirts of your garments, from plunging, and drawing after you

the precipice, over which you are plunging, and drawing after you the Government of your country.

Conscription is chosen as the most promising instrument, both of overcoming reluctance to the Service, and of subduing the difficulties which arise from the deficiencies of the Exchequer. The administration asserts the right to fill the ranks of the regular army by compulsion. It contends that it may now take one out of every twenty-five men, and any part or the whole of the rest, whenever its occasions require. Persons thus taken by force, and put into an army, may be compelled to serve there, during the war, or for life. They may be put on any service, at home or abroad, for defense or for invasion, according to the will and pleasure of Government. This power does not grow out of any invasion of the country, or even out of a state of war. It belongs to Government at all times, in peace as well as in war, and is to be exercised under all circumstances, according to its mere discretion. This, Sir, is the amount of the principle contended for by the Secretary of War.

A Magna Carta To Be Slaves?

Is this, Sir, consistent with the character of a free Government? Is this civil liberty? Is this the real character of our Constitution? No, Sir, indeed it is not. The Constitution is libelled, foully libelled. The people of this country have not established for themselves such a fabric of despotism. They have not purchased at a vast expense of their own treasure and their own blood a Magna Carta to be slaves.

Where is it written in the Constitution, in what article or section is it contained, that you may take children from their parents, and parents from their children, and compel them to fight the battles of any war, in which the folly or wickedness of Government may engage it? Under what concealment has this power lain hidden, which now for the first time comes forth, with a tremendous and baleful aspect, to tram-

ple down and destroy the dearest rights of personal liberty? Sir, I almost disdain to go to quotations and references to prove that such an abominable doctrine has no foundation in the Constitution of the country. It is enough to know that that instrument was intended as the basis of a free Government, and that the power contended for is incompatible with any notion of personal liberty. An attempt to maintain this doctrine upon the provisions of the Constitution is an exercise of perverse ingenuity to extract slavery from the substance of a free Government. It is an attempt to show, by proof and argument, that we ourselves are subjects of despotism, and that we have a right to chains and bondage, firmly secured to us and our children, by the provisions of our Government.

The supporters of the measures before us act on the principle that it is their task to raise arbitrary powers, by construction, out of a plain written charter of National Liberty. It is their pleasing duty to free us of the delusion, which we have fondly cherished, that we are the subjects of a mild, free and limited Government, and to demonstrate by a regular chain of premises and conclusions, that Government possesses over us a power more tyrannical, more arbitrary, more dangerous, more allied to blood and murder, more full of every form of mischief, more productive of every sort and degree of misery, than has been exercised by any civilized Government in modern times.

New Powers Assumed And Usurped

But it is said, that it might happen that any army would not be raised by voluntary enlistment, in which case the power to raise armies would be granted in vain, unless they might be raised by compulsion. If this reasoning could prove any thing, it would equally show, that whenever the legitimate powers of the Constitution should be so badly administered as to cease to answer the great ends intended by them, such new powers may be assumed or usurped, as any existing administration may deem expedient. This is a result of his own reasoning, to which the Secretary does not profess to go. But it is a true result. For if it is to be assumed, that all powers were granted, which might by possibility become necessary, and that Government itself is the judge of this possible necessity, then the powers of Government are precisely what it chooses they should be.

The tyranny of Arbitrary Government consists as much in its means as in its end; and it would be a ridiculous and absurd constitution which should be less cautious to guard against abuses in the one case than in the other. All the means and instruments which a free Government exercises, as well as the ends and objects which it pursues, are to partake of its own essential character, and to be conformed to its genuine spirit. A free Government with arbitrary means to administer it is a contradiction; a free Government without adequate provision for personal security is an absurdity; a free Government, with an uncontrolled power of military conscription, is a solecism, at once the most ridiculous and abominable that ever entered into the head of man.

Into the paradise of domestic life you enter, not indeed by temptations and sorceries, but by open force and violence.

Nor is it, Sir, for the defense of his own house and home, that he

who is the subject of the military draft is to perform the task allotted to him. You will put him upon a service equally foreign to his interests and abhorrent to his feelings. With his aid you are to push your purposes of conquest. The battles which he is to fight are the battles of invasion; battles which he detests perhaps and abhors, less from the danger and the death that gather over them, and the blood with which they drench the plain, than from the principles in which they have their origin. If, Sir, in this strife he fall—if, while ready to obey every rightful command of Government, he is forced from home against right, not to contend for the defense of his country, but to prosecute a miserable and detestable project of invasion, and in that strife he fall, 'tis murder. It may stalk above the cognizance of human law, but in the sight of Heaven it is murder; and though millions of years may roll away, while his ashes and yours lie mingled together in the earth, the day will yet come, when his spirit and the spirits of his children must be met at the bar of omnipotent justice. May God, in his compassion, shield me from any participation in the enmity of this guilt.

A military force cannot be raised, in this manner, but by the means of a military force. If administration has found that it cannot form an army without conscription, it will find, if it venture on these experiments, that it cannot enforce conscription without an army. The Government was not constituted for such purposes. Framed in the spirit of liberty, and in the love of peace, it has no powers which render it able to enforce such laws. The attempt, if we rashly make it, will fail; and having already thrown away our peace, we may thereby throw away our Government.

Security For Their Liberties

I express these sentiments here, Sir, because I shall express them to my constituents. Both they and myself live under a Constitution which teaches us, that "the doctrine of non-resistance against arbitrary power and oppression, is absurd, slavish, and destructive of the good and happiness of mankind." With the same earnestness with which I now exhort you to forbear from these measures, I shall exhort them to exercise their unquestionable right of providing for the security of their own liberties. DANIEL WEBSTER

(Previously republished in LEFT AND RIGHT, Box 895, Cathedral Station, New York 10025; Autumn 1965 edition, 85¢.)

CONSCRIPTION—CORNERSTONE OF SOCIALISM

Although many sincere and patriotic Americans now believe conscription is essential to the preservation of our freedom, it was considered an unAmerican idea in the United States until 1917. Our ancestors came to this country fleeing the old European tyrannies, whose most onerous features included forced military service.

The first attempt at a draft in the United States was a bill brought before Congress in 1814, near the close of the war of 1812. It was intended to raise an army for the purpose of invading Canada. This bill was scathingly attacked by Daniel Webster as too great an extension of government power over individuals. He predicted: "If administration has found that it cannot form an army without conscription, it will find, if it venture on these experiments, that it cannot enforce conscription without an army."

Not until March, 1863, did a draft act become law. When the first call-up was made the following July the resulting draft riots in Boston, New York and elsewhere forced the calling of regiments from the battle fields of Gettysburg. Pitched battles raged in the streets of New York City for several days. Hundreds of people were shot or hanged. Aside from the loss of life and the enormous property damage, some historians claim that one of the reasons General Meade did not follow up his advantage over the retreating army of General Lee after Gettysburg was because so many of his soldiers were engaged in suppressing the draft riots. Still other regiments were held in readiness, in case they were needed. (1)

It was only with our entry into World War I that tax-supported propaganda developed the popular support necessary to establish the draft as an accepted institution. (2)

Setting aside for a moment the moral implications of conscription, is it really practical? Although many conscripted men have fought heroically for their country, a conscript is bound to cost more and do less than a committed professional. Conscription does not suit modern warfare. This is an age of specialized technical equipment and fluid situations. Success increasingly depends upon individual initiative. According to military historian H. Lydell Hart, during World War I, "It was the least free states which collapsed first under the strain of war—and they collapsed in the order of their degree of unfreedom. By contrast, the Australian Corps was, by general recognition, the best fighting force in the fourth year of the war. It was this force which had no conscription and in which there was the least insistence on unthinking obedience."

Since World War I, collectivism has steadily gained favor in the United States. It seems to me to be no accident that the first of the great "liberal" presidents, Woodrow Wilson, successfully led this country to accept the draft. During the Wilson administration, dissident opinion was crushed without regard to due process of law in a manner never seen in this country until then. Censorship and managed news became the rule.

Familiar as we all are with the writing and speaking restrictions placed upon military personnel today, can we not imagine that conscription will develop in the future into a government weapon for the suppression of dissident opinion? Could not conscription be further extended?

In Iran, young men are drafted into the "Knowledge Corps," a sort of domestic peace corps teaching in isolated, peasant villages. Could not people in this country be drafted into the Peace Corps, the Vista Corps, the Job Corps?

It is absurd to think we can save ourselves from totalitarianism by going totalitarian. Private property should begin with the ownership of our own bodies. When Joseph Stalin was criticized for drafting property, he replied that he didn't see how his critics could condemn him for drafting lifeless property, when all of the "capitalist" countries drafted human life itself.

If the state may command a citizen to serve it for whatever term it sets, in whatever capacity it chooses, wherever it chooses, then the citizen's life is the state's to dispose of as it will. Its needs come before his needs. Its judgment supercedes his judgment.

Socialism is the idea that an individual must live, not for his own good, but for the "public" good, or the good of the state. Conscription is the cornerstone of socialism.

MEIGHEN VAN NIEUWSTADT

(Mrs. van Nieuwstadt, the mother of two children, attended Harvard University for three years, and is the administrative assistant, Henry George School of Social Science in San Francisco.)

(1) Richard Morris, "Encyclopedia of American History"

(2) Dean Russell, "The Conscription Idea," Ideas on Liberty, Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, New York.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF PROGRESS

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." — Thirteenth Amendment, Constitution of the United States Ratified, Dec. 18, 1865

"All we do is count 'em, sort 'em, and send 'em."

— Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, Director of the Selective Service System, — Boston Herald, Nov. 20, 1965-

ON THE MARKET

GIVING COMFORT TO THE ENEMY: Joseph Heller's brilliant satiric novel, *CATCH-22*, spoofs every aspect of the welfare-warfare society. It portrays a farmer who gets rich by not growing barley and a mixed-economy merchant of death who passes himself off as simply a shrewd capitalist. Among the most devastating of its insights is that contained in the following dialogue between egoist hero, Yossarian, and his patriotic Air-Corps buddy, Clevinger:

"Open your eyes, Clevinger. It doesn't make a damned bit of difference WHO wins the war to someone who's dead."

Clevinger sat for a moment as though he'd been slapped. "Congratulations!" he exclaimed bitterly, the thinnest milk-white line enclosing his lips tightly in a bloodless, squeezing ring. "I can't think of an attitude that could be depended upon to give greater comfort to the enemy."

"The enemy," retorted Yossarian with weighted precision, "is anybody who's going to get you killed, no matter WHICH side he's on.... And don't forget that, because the longer you remember it, the longer you might live."

CATCH-22 by Joseph Heller is now in its sixteenth paperback printing. It is available for 85¢ from Dell Books, Box 2291; Grand Central Post Office, New York, 17, N.Y.. KERRY THORNLEY

GI VIEW OF THE GI BILL

(SOMEWHERE IN VIET NAM — March, 1966.) Under the new "GI BILL" veterans may receive government fund for such things as low-interest housing loans and educational grants. These benefits are supposed to help vets readjust to civilian life by easing their financial burdens. Libertarians should carefully consider whether this program will benefit their long-range interests before accepting government funds.

First, consider the factor our government is most anxious to ignore—who will pay for these "benefits"? You, the recipient, will pay for them. You, and all the other people from whom the government extorts taxes, or whose earnings are depreciated by the inflation resulting from deficit financing.

That housing loan which seems so attractive will cost you only 3% per annum to repay—the FIRST time around. You will continue to pay in higher taxes, increased prices for everything you buy, and the loss of value of your savings.

Second, consider whether or not you have earned these benefits. If you volunteered for the service, this GI Bill was not written into your contract so should not be expected to be yours by right. You volunteered to secure certain philosophical values and to earn your rightful salary. Were these benefits a gratuity from a thankful nation, it might be a different story; in fact, their substance is loot extorted from the populace. Did you volunteer to accept loot, or to serve the cause of freedom?

If you were forced into the service, you had to be forced because the government did not offer you adequate payment for your services; as such you are a slave, and no amount of loot can alter that fact. You should consider very seriously the third point:

Third, consider what it means to accept a government subsidy. By accepting the product, you accept and endorse the entire system of legalized extortion by the government, and become one more hand in the taxpayers' wallet. Can you accept extorted funds and denounce extortion? From the moment you accept loot, you are another looter's tool on the looters' payroll.

Before you accept government money, consider who will pay for it, whether or not you have earned it, and whether or not you care to be a party to the extortion of legally disarmed victims. Let your own rational self-interest be your guide and be prepared to take the consequences of your action. "JAMES" (Name withheld on request.)

PREPARING FOR SURVIVAL: FIREARMS

Have you ever had the feeling that you'd like to get away from it all? You haven't? Well, some day you may have no choice, and if that happens, what steps should you have taken in advance to insure your survival?

One of your first considerations should be firearms. I'm referring here not to hunting rifles or shotguns, but to small arms for self-defense.

In an *INNOVATOR* article on firearms by Rojo Cacadore ("The Way to a Bureaucrat's Heart," October), Mr. Cacadore stated that before purchasing a firearm you should: (1) determine its potential use; (2) evaluate the cost and availability of ammunition; (3) consider the cost and availability of the gun.

To these I'll add: (4) ascertain which gun requires the least maintenance.

I contacted several of the larger firearms dealers in the Los Angeles area and asked about maintenance. They all agreed that a revolver is much easier to maintain than an automatic since it doesn't have to be disassembled for cleaning. As for ammunition, they said that there is more .38 caliber manufactured and available in this country than any other (in the non-military field).

I explained that I was looking for a weapon for self-defense, but one that could easily be concealed so that it wouldn't attract attention. All but one dealer recommended the small 2-inch detective-type revolvers which both Colt and Smith & Wesson make. They come in a variety of metals, weights and prices, but one is as good as the next.

Concealment

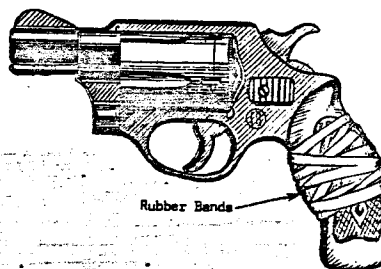
Credit for the unique rubber-band holster shown in the illustration belongs to Jack Pierce, an ex-policeman who is an occasional contributor to *INNOVATOR*. I checked my findings with him and he agreed with everything I had learned. But he said that he thinks the cliché about not being able to hit the broad side of a barn was probably coined by someone who owned a 2-inch .38 revolver.

"The 2-inch wasn't designed for accuracy," Jack explained. "Its short barrel makes for concealment, but not for high scores at the pistol range. But it's noisy if that means anything. It explodes like a cannon, and your ears will ring for a couple of hours after you've fired a few rounds. You may not hit anybody," he added, "but you'll sure scare hell out of him!"

This was when we got on the subject of holsters. Jack said that when he first became a policeman he went through a "holster metamorphosis."

"All the men on the department were required to be armed when off duty, and the problem was how to carry your pistol without letting everybody know it. First I bought an inside shoulder holster. Then I got a cross draw. After that it was a clever little spring holster that slipped over my belt, and then one that snapped onto the belt and fit inside my pants. But the trouble was, anybody could see the pistol if I didn't wear a coat or have my shirt hanging out."

Finally someone told him about rubber bands, and that was what he



THE RUBBER-BAND HOLSTER

used for over seven years.

"The trick is to wrap the rubber bands tightly around the pistol's grip. Use thick ones that will last and won't break. Place the pistol under your shirt at your left hip—if you're right-handed—preferably between your hip and your shorts, with the rubber-band-wrapped grip just above the belt line, and the barrel pointing down below the belt. The tightened belt will press against the chamber, and the rubber bands will keep the pistol from slipping down and dropping."

In short, you tuck your gun under your belt and you wear your shirt tucked in over the gun so it can't be seen. "This isn't good for fast draws, of course," Jack said, "but it's perfect for concealment."

One word of caution. In many states it is against the law to carry a concealed weapon. The purpose of these Survival articles is to acquaint you with survival techniques and equipment, NOT to encourage you to break the law. Remember—in New York City recently it was demonstrated that even an act of self-defense can be illegal and result in a fine or imprisonment. IAN BEALE

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