

no state mechanism or reverence for the state to be captured or used by political power-seekers. Collectively, the legitimate defense agencies sustain the reign of laissez-faire. There are no coercive barriers to competition—even competition among those who provide protection from coercion.

In contrast to legitimate defense agencies, States are conceived as inherently committed to robbery and violence—to the “political means” rather than the “economic means” of the free market. The State is a device for plunder, and its existence calls forth two classes: the net tax-payers and the net tax-consumers. State activity is not simply a poor means of resource allocation and a necessary violation of moral rights, but also a struggle to obtain and exploit positions within the tax-consuming class and to cement the existence of this class-generating system. Rothbard argues that State activity in, e.g., education, welfare, economic regulation, and foreign affairs, repeatedly commits the tripartite sin of violating moral rights, misallocating resources, and contributing to a system of oppression and exploitation. Indeed, legitimate defense agencies are so relatively pacific and socially nonintrusive that Rothbard’s incidental claim that a large area (e.g., North America) could survive as a free market anarchy even while nation-states like the Soviet Union continued to exist, forces Rothbard to embrace a surprisingly sanguine view of the dispositions of the leaders of *these* States. Lockean rights, of course, are not limited to economic or property rights. Rothbard inveighs against the attempt to separate “property rights” from “human rights.” Property rights are human rights, and private property is a necessary condition for the exercise, as an individual right, of any traditionally acknowledged human right, e.g., the right to assembly. All defense agencies must refrain from, and may defend against, any violation of rights, e.g., those involved in conscription, compulsory psychiatric commitment, censorship, pollution, and all victimless crime laws.

Although *For a New Liberty* is written more as a manifesto than as a treatise in political theory, this does not wholly excuse its theoretical shortcomings. While it is clear what rights Rothbard claims for men, the arguments which he provides for men’s having these rights are not compelling. Among these arguments, however, the argument for natural self-ownership is the most interesting and deserves further development. Both utilitarianism and subjectivism are rejected. And this rejection is alleged to leave three essential candidates for our fundamental political principle: by nature some persons, but only some persons, own

others; by nature everyone has part ownership in everyone; by nature each person is the owner of his own person. The first is dismissed since it presupposes natural moral inequality. The second is dismissed since if it were true no human action could ever be morally permissible. For any action, to be permissible, would have to have universal prior consent. Thus, Rothbard affirms the natural self-ownership alternative. Rothbard’s invocation of the “Libertarian Code” as the complete moral guide for defense agencies is too bold. His unfounded assumptions are that Lockean state-of-nature theory can provide, and needs to provide, a complete specification of the moral permissibility of any particular action. Still, this book’s considerable strength is to be sought and found in its powerful unification of Lockean, anarchist, laissez-faire, and anti-Statist theories and in its employment of this unified view. The current revival of natural rights and state-of-nature theorizing may furnish the detailed philosophical underpinnings which are not provided here.

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**Nonviolent Power: Active and Passive Resistance in America.** By Judith Stiehm. (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co., 1972. Pp. 132. \$2.95, paper.)

Professor Stiehm believes that nonviolent resistance is a promising method of social change but that its promise is unlikely to be realized until its use is better understood. Hence she seeks to clarify the nature of nonviolent resistance so that those who use it can do so more skillfully and more successfully—and also so that those who do not use it can respond intelligently to its use by others. This essay on nonviolent power is thus addressed to all of us, as citizens. It is not, however, a “how to” manual but an analytical study which falls squarely within the domain of political theory and provides an instructive introduction to the theory and practice of nonviolent resistance in America.

Stiehm distinguishes two quite different forms of nonviolent resistance, an individual form and a group form. The first assumes the individual value and basic unity of all persons and asserts that nonviolent resistance, as part of a total individual way of life, is the appropriate and indeed the only way to disclose mankind’s unity and eliminate conflict. The second assumes the inevitability of social conflict and asserts that nonviolent resistance is a practical and economical way of managing conflict to secure social peace and social justice. The first

# Nonviolent Power Active And Passive Resistance In America

**David Kirk**



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