

Williamson Evers, libertarian scholar, uses the Nolan Chart to give modern-day Americans a clearer picture of our American heritage. In a 1983 speech, Evers showed how Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, Patrick Henry, and the other founders all had enough dedication to liberty to fit them into the libertarian quadrant. Evers even says that what we Americans love about America is "not the amber waves of grain or even the purple mountains' majesty." He says plenty of other lands have amber waves, and some have purple mountains, but what we love about America is our heritage of self-government and individual choice. Indeed, our tradition of "libertarianism."

Jim Lewis, 1984 Libertarian Party candidate for U.S. Vice President, reminds us of the old dictum, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and then gives this bold accusation: "The last three or four generations haven't been very vigilant." He echos the concern of communist-turned-libertarian Rose Wilder Lane that we've turned our backs on the American Revolution and have been returning to the Old World concept that the ruler is responsible for all aspects of his subjects' care.

William Safire, columnist, *New York Times*, December, 1984, tells how we've lost these liberties. He says the left takes our property in the form of taxes and the right takes our individual right to make personal moral decisions. He recognizes that libertarians are consistent advocates of both liberties, then complains that neither left nor right sees each other as allies, and by remaining divided they're "losing to the side that holds that government knows best."

Philip Mitchell, psychologist, describes the erosion of our legacy of liberty in a March, 1984, article in *Time for Liberty*. He tells us that liberals have been more successful in increasing government controls over economic affairs than in expanding civil liberties. "Equally tragic," he says, is how the conservatives have been more influential in restricting civil liberties than in promoting economic freedom of choice.

Baby-Boomers

Nolan, in his 1971 article, used the chart to predict a major shift in the dominant axis of American politics.

He begins by noting that his prediction would be incomprehensible in terms of the left-right spectrum because all possibilities have to be conceived of in terms of shifts along the line. His prediction is that "the primary political development of the next few decades is going to be a shift in the position of the 'mainstream line' itself."

In Figure 4, the dotted area shows the left-right spectrum superimposed on the Nolan Chart. It represents the range of mainstream political viewpoints in the U.S. in 1971.

Nolan then predicts that "probably in the 1980's," the different political attitudes of the

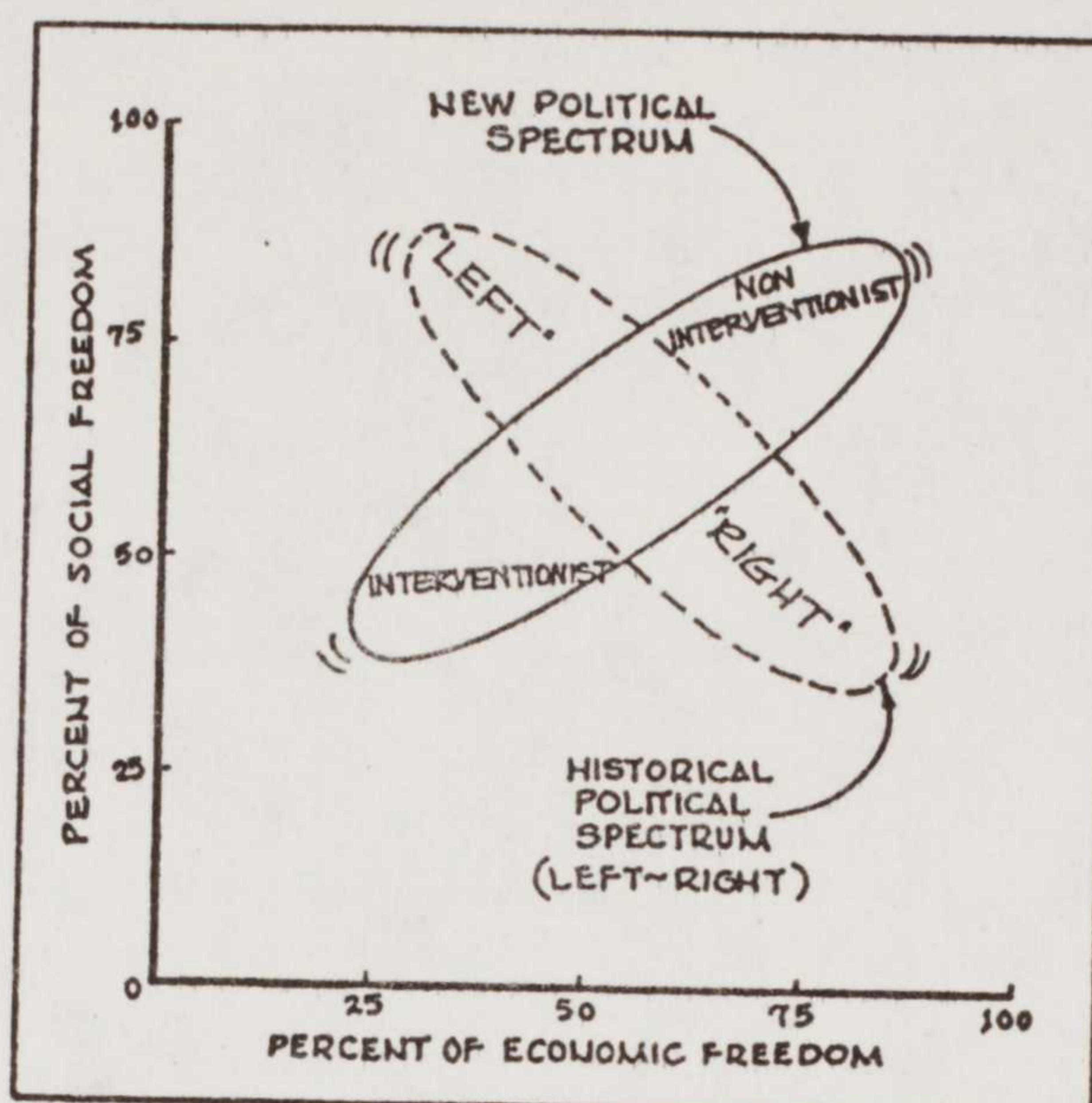


Figure 4

Baby-boomers may shift the mainstream from "left vs. right" to "non-interventionist vs. interventionist."

baby-boomers will cause a shift in the new mainstream polarization to an interventionist vs. non-interventionist polarization. Nolan then warns that the new polarization is less stable than the old, and that America will have to go one way or the other—"either toward a free society, or toward a statist one."

Howard Fineman confirms the prediction 15 years later. In the above mentioned *Newsweek* article, Fineman says the political issues are better understood by dividing the political world into two camps: those who "look to action by a central authority" and those who "believe government cures are worse than the disease."

He also sees increased interest in understanding the substance of issues, and quotes Republican political guru Lee Atwater that the American people want the issues "handled in a thoughtful, analytical manner."



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Thomas Moore has good news in his *Fortune* (August 5, 1985) article "The New Libertarians Make Waves." He says "baby-boom business leaders" are taking a fresh look at politics, that they're neither consistent liberals nor conservatives, and that they oppose government intervention in "both the economy and personal lives." He quotes Harvard Business School professor D. Quinn Mills, who estimates in his book *The New Competitors* that 60 percent of the young managerial group can be considered libertarian, 35 percent conservative, and 5 percent liberal.

This estimate of 60 percent highlights the biggest frustration in the libertarian movement—our awareness that millions of people already agree with us, but they've never seen libertarian ideas presented in such a way as to be convincing. Now let's look at why this is so, and what you can do about it.

Distribution of Ideological Types in the 1970s, by Percent

Ideological Category	1972	1976	1980
Liberal	17	16	24
Populist	30	24	26
Conservative	18	18	17
Libertarian	9	13	18
Inattentive/Divided	25	29	15

Source: William S. Maddox and Stuart A. Lilie, *Beyond Liberal and Conservative* (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1984), table 3.