

impurities and dangerous additives in street drugs. When drug users are injured or killed, a products liability lawsuit is hardly an option.

Libertarians have opposed the drug war because of the futility and perverse effects attending drug prohibition. But they also have offered a complementary, rights-based critique of drug laws. This critique proceeds from the principle of self-ownership. If a person owns his own body, the decision about what substances to ingest is ultimately his alone. Drug use is a quintessentially self-regarding act that violates no one's rights and harms no one except, perhaps, the user. Prosecution of drug users and sellers is aggression, rhetoric about public health and the moral fiber of society notwithstanding.

Disrespect for individual rights in this area has led to the erosion of civil liberties in prohibitionist regimes. In the United States, the metaphorical “war” on drugs has increasingly taken on the aspects of a real war. Starting in the 1980s, the U.S. government passed a series of statutes encouraging the transfer of military equipment to domestic police departments and even the use of U.S. military forces on America's borders. Increased militarization has repeatedly led to the death of innocents in door-smashing “no-knock” raids gone awry. Protections against unreasonable searches and seizures have weakened to the point that one Supreme Court Justice in 1989 could speak ruefully of an emerging “drug exception” to the Constitution. By 2001, thanks in large part to its vigorous prosecution of drug offenders, the U.S. prison population had reached a record 2 million inmates—equaling Russia's rate of incarceration.

Despite—or perhaps because of—the drug war's effect on civil liberties, there has been significant evolution in public attitudes toward drug legalization since the peak of prohibitionist sentiment in the 1980s and early 1990s. During that period, the American drug czar, William Bennett, could talk casually about the possibility of beheading drug dealers. In 1990, legislation that would have allowed the military to shoot down American planes suspected of carrying drugs was almost passed into law. By 2003, several American states had passed initiatives allowing the consumption of marijuana for medical purposes, such as glaucoma or as an anti-nauseant for HIV sufferers and chemotherapy patients. Notwithstanding these laws, the federal government continued to prosecute marijuana users, including some who were desperately ill.

The trend toward liberalization in Western Europe began earlier and has gone further than in the United States. Today, in most of Western Europe, possession of small amounts of narcotics for personal use is not a crime, although drug trafficking remains a serious offense. Whether liberalization will continue to spread remains to be seen, although at the turn of the 21st century, there are reasons for cautious optimism.

See also Bill of Rights, U.S.; Black Markets; Illicit Drugs; Prohibition of Alcohol

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## DUNOYER, CHARLES (1786–1862)

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Barthélemy-Charles-Pierre-Joseph Dunoyer—journalist, academic, and noted economist—was born in Carennac in Lot and died in Paris at age 76. Dunoyer, a professor of political economy, authored numerous works on politics, political economy, and history, and he was a founding member of the Society of Political Economy in 1842. He occupies a crucial role in the history of the French classical liberal movement of the first half of the 19th century, along with Jean-Baptiste Say, Benjamin Constant, Charles Comte, Augustin Thierry, and Alexis de Tocqueville.

Dunoyer studied law in Paris, where he met Charles Comte, with whom he was to edit the liberal periodical *Le Censeur* (1814–1815), and its successor, *Le Censeur européen* (1817–1819). He became politically active during the last years of Napoleon's Empire and the early years of the Bourbon Restoration, when he strenuously opposed authoritarian rule, whether Napoleonic or monarchical. He was especially active in his opposition to censorship, militarism, the slave trade, and the extensive restrictions placed on trade and industry.

Dunoyer and Comte discovered the liberal political economy of Jean-Baptiste Say in 1815 after their journal had been closed down by the censors. This event was seminal in Dunoyer's intellectual development because it proved the catalyst for his fusion of three different strands of thought into a new and powerful theory of individual liberty. Dunoyer and Comte combined the political liberalism of Constant, whose main pillars were constitutional limits on the power of the state and representative government, the economic liberalism of Say (i.e., laissez-faire and free trade),

and the sociological approach to history of Thierry, Constant, and Say, which was grounded in class analysis and a theory of the historical evolution of society through stages, culminating in the laissez-faire market society of industry.

Those views were further developed in numerous articles in *Le Censeur européen* and in two books that Dunoyer published during the 1820s. These monographs were based on his lectures at the Athénée Saint-Germain in Paris: *L'Industrie et la morale considérées dans leurs rapports avec la liberté* (1825) and *Nouveau traité d'économie sociale* (1830). He continued to expand and refine his ideas on the evolution of a free society in his three-volume magnum opus, *De la Liberté du travail* (1845).

After the Revolution of 1830 brought a more liberal-minded constitutional monarchy to power, Dunoyer was appointed a member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences and worked as a government official—he served as Prefect of L'Allier and La Somme. Dunoyer became a member of the Council of State in 1838; however, he resigned his government posts in protest against the coup d'état of Louis Napoléon in 1851. He died while writing a critique of the authoritarian Second Empire. The work was completed and published by his son, Anatole, in 1864.

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See also Comte, Charles; Constant, Benjamin; Liberalism, Classical; Say, Jean-Baptiste

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Although today we can easily find much to criticize about the Dutch Republic, it remains a crucial early experiment in toleration, limited government, and commercial capitalism.

The results were stunning: Even contemporaries noted the Dutch Republic's astonishing wealth and military power. "The United Provinces are the envy of some, the fear of others, and the wonder of all their neighbors," wrote Englishman Sir William Temple in 1673. The tiny state was then engaged in an all-out defensive war against both France and Britain, a war that the Dutch won, thus maintaining their territorial integrity. Despite its small size, the Dutch Republic was renowned for its military discipline and prowess. The skill of its navy was second to none, and the Dutch Republic repeatedly defended its home territory against several of the great powers of Europe.

Off the battlefield, the Dutch saw even greater accomplishments: The nation's cosmopolitanism, local autonomy, and sharply limited central state helped to create a commercial and cultural superpower. The enormous wealth that Dutch traders brought back with them proved to be more enduring than the prosperity produced by the precious metals of Spanish and Portuguese colonial ventures. Fabrics, spices, timber, and other consumer goods not only enriched individual traders, but also supplied raw materials for Dutch industry.

Dutch shipping, banking, commerce, and credit raised living standards for the rich and the poor alike and for the first time created that characteristically modern social phenomenon, a middle class. This middle class enjoyed unprecedented access to commercial goods, including spices, silk, porcelain, and other imported items formerly the reserve of the upper nobility. All in all, Dutch townsmen enjoyed the highest collective standard of living of any similarly situated group in Europe.

With these favorable conditions came cultural and scientific achievements. In only a few decades, this tiny country produced Baruch Spinoza, Hugo Grotius, Rembrandt van Rijn, Jan Vermeer, Christiaan Huygens, and Anton van Leeuwenhoek. The first modern bank, the first stock market, and the first multinational corporation were among the notable achievements of what has since been called the Golden Age of the Netherlands. Contemporaries were astonished at the paved streets, the clocks in ordinary homes, and the now-iconic windmills, which drove the country's manufacturing sector and also powered the elaborate network of drainage channels that kept much of the country above water.

The Dutch Republic was noted for its intellectual tolerance. It welcomed exiled thinkers René Descartes and Pierre Bayle, as well as Jews who fled religious persecution in Spain, Huguenots fleeing France, and dissenters leaving England. Dutch presses were famous throughout Europe for printing material that fell afoul of censorship laws elsewhere; indeed, in contemporary France, the "Dutch" book trade was virtually synonymous with subversive and

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## DUTCH REPUBLIC

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From the late 16th to the late 18th century, the United Provinces of the Netherlands, measured by libertarian standards, had perhaps the best government in Europe.