OPERATION ATLANTIS

A case-study in libertarian island micronationality

[Received September 9th 2016; accepted September 27th 2016 – DOI: 10.21463/shima.10.2.05]

Isabelle Simpson

McGill University, Montreal, Canada <isabellesimpson@gmail.com>

ABSTRACT: This article discusses Operation Atlantis, a project by a millionaire pharmaceutical entrepreneur, Werner K. Stiefel, to build a libertarian micronation off the coast of the United States in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It reviews the history and motivations behind Operation Atlantis and discusses how it relates to contemporary libertarian new-nation ventures. Operation Atlantis developed in parallel to 'back-to-the-land' communities, which used small-scale technology to return to a 'natural' state through simplicity and self-sufficiency. But the main influence on Stiefel's project was Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged* (1957), a novel inscribed with her Objectivist philosophy that tells the story of a group of millionaire industrialists who find refuge in a hidden community, Galt's Gulch, also referred to as Atlantis. Interestingly, in recent years, a number of new offshore micronational projects sharing common influences and purposes and, in their own way, reviving the legacy of Operation Atlantis, have been launched in the United States. The Seasteading Institute is a non-profit working to build floating island nations. Designed as a 'post-political' manufactured space, Stiefel's Operation Atlantis and seasteading borrow aspects of the cruise ship. To better understand the motivations behind Operation Atlantis and similar projects and to situate them within Island Studies, it is helpful to adopt Hayward's concept of aquapelagos and uncover the disconnection between libertarian offshore micronations and the aquatic environment they intend to occupy.

KEYWORDS: Operation Atlantis, micronations, seasteading, libertarianism

Introduction

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Werner K. Stiefel (1921-2006), an American pharmaceutical entrepreneur, sought to establish an independent libertarian micronation in the vicinity of the United States, but outside its jurisdictional limits.[1] Operation Atlantis was divided into three stages. The initial stage of Operation Atlantis consisted of assembling a community of like-minded individuals to live in a voluntary society based on market-rule, the protection of private property and individual rights: "a wholly proprietary, non-political public authority" (MacCallum, 2006: online). This community would live in 'Atlantis I', in a motel in Saugerties, New York state, where Atlantisians were invited to live and work on the next stage - building Atlantis II, a ferrocement ship to host

[1] See Hayward (2014) for an overview of island micronations.

the "independent shipboard nation" of Atlantis.[2] From the ferrocement ship, the members of the community would then build an "independent nation with fixed, permanent geographic location or locations" as close as possible to the American shores (Halliday, 2002: online; MacCallum, 2006: online; Stevens, 1968: 21). In Stiefel's own words, "[t]he logic is that we are here in Atlantis because we have concluded that it is hopeless to think in terms of meaningful fundamental reforms in the U.S. To dream of repealing laws like Social Security, federal income tax, and Medicare is just simply not facing up to reality" (Stevens, 1968: 26). Stiefel's decision to build an offshore country was motivated by his own life experience. He had lived through the Great Depression and his family were impoverished when his grandfather's successful soap and candle-making company was taken from them during the Nazis' rise to power in Germany. His goal with Operation Atlantis was to create a safe place where people could escape from tyranny (MacCallum, pc, 21st September 2016). Operation Atlantis was also as much as business plan as it was a plan for a new country. It was "a plan of action, not a philosophical treatise" (Stevens, 1968: 1). To inspire others to build their own "free" countries, "each of these stages was designed to make a profit for the initial investors and to ultimately be self-supporting" (Halliday, 2002: online).

This article offers a case study of Operation Atlantis. It examines the chronological narrative, the relationship with the alternative culture of the time, and the relationship with the mythical city of Atlantis. It then adopts a comparative lens and investigates the ways in which Operation Atlantis is a precursor to The Seasteading Institute (TSI), an organisation founded in 2008 to build floating communities known as 'seasteads'. Comparing Operation Atlantis and the recent efforts of The Seasteading Institute to build a new country shows that current micronations face much the same challenges as Operation Atlantis. Instead of discouraging startup countries entrepreneurs, however, Operation Atlantis, while still little known, is becoming an historical example of seasteading for those pursuing ocean colonisation as a means to 'exit' the political system on islands of their own. It concludes by situating Operation Atlantis and seasteading within Hayward's work on aquapelagos to reveal the disconnection between libertarian offshore micronations and the aquatic environment they intend to colonise.

Werner K. Stiefel was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1921. His family had emigrated to the United States from Germany, where his great-grand-father, John (Johann) David Stiefel, owned the J.D. Stiefel Company, a soap and candle-making company, founded in 1847 in Offenbach am Main (Ingram, 2008). Werner, who holds eight US patents for skincare products, was described by Spencer Heath MacCallum, the grandson of the American social thinker Spencer Heath and a friend of Stiefel, as "a unique freedom fighter, scientist, inventor, and entrepreneur" (2006: online). After graduating from Yale University in 1942 with a B.S. degree in chemical engineering, Werner founded the Stiefel Medicinal Soap Company (which later became Stiefel Laboratories, Inc.) and remained president until his retirement in 2001. At the time of his death in 2006, Stiefel Laboratories Inc. was the largest privately-owned dermatological company in the world. In 2009, GlaxoSmithKline acquired the company and its assets for a cash consideration of $2.9 billion in a deal valued at up to $3.6 billion (Unattributed, 2009).

[2] Ferrocement, also known as reinforced mortar, is a construction material made of wire mesh and cement mortar.

Stiefel's decision to launch Operation Atlantis was influenced by Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged* (1957), a novel telling the story of female protagonist Dagny Taggart, vice-president of operations of Taggart Transcontinental, and a group of leading American entrepreneurs and businessmen who, along with a few like-minded intellectuals and artists, find refuge in Galt's Gulch, also referred to as Atlantis, a small, private community hidden in a valley of the Colorado mountains, while society collapses under a socialist dictatorship. Stiefel himself, in *The Story of Operation Atlantis* published under the pseudonym Warren K. Stevens, acknowledges "the very large debt that Operation Atlantis owes to Miss Rand and the Objectivist philosophy she created" at the beginning of the introduction and makes numerous references to her throughout the booklet (Stevens, 1968: 1). In fact, it is likely that the name Operation Atlantis comes from a chapter title in *Atlas Shrugged* in which Taggart reaches Galt's Gulch for the first time. In the very first chapter of *Atlas* Rand offers her own, Objectivist version of Greek myths[3]:

> *The Isles of the Blessed. That is what the Greeks called it, thousands of years ago. They said Atlantis was a place where hero-spirits lived in a happiness unknown to the rest of the earth. A place which only the spirits of heroes could enter, and they reached it without dying, because they carried the secret of life within them.* (Rand, 1957: 153-154)

The novel's scenario hypothesises that if the "real movers" of the world went "on strike," their disappearance would literally "stop the motor of the world" (1957: 437, 609). In *Atlas*, Rand promotes Objectivism (a word that does not appear in the novel), or "the concept of man as a heroic being, with his own happiness as the moral purpose of his life, with productive achievement as his noblest activity, and reason as his only absolute" (1957: 1074), through the character of John Galt, who is described in one passage as a man who found Atlantis:

> *John Galt was a millionaire, a man of inestimable wealth. He was sailing his yacht one night, in mid-Atlantic, fighting the worst storm ever wreaked upon the world, when he found it. He saw it in the depth, where it had sunk to escape the reach of men. He saw the towers of Atlantis shining on the bottom of the ocean.* (1957: 153)

Elsewhere, Dagny Taggart, the novel's main protagonist, looks at a dark and decaying New York City:

> *This was how they had gone – she thought – Atlantis, the city that sank into the ocean, and all the other kingdoms that vanished, leaving the same legend in all the languages of men, and the same longing.* (1957: 633)

The novel received mixed reviews, but it allowed Rand to reach a very large public.[4] Brian Doherty, editor of the libertarian magazine *Reason* and author of *Radicals for capitalism: A (freewheeling) history of the modern American libertarian movement* (2007), writes that the novel "has changed tens of thousands of lives and become a cornerstone of the modern libertarian movement" (Doherty, 2013: 232). Stiefel, however, did not approach Rand's

[3] Myths in the plural as the Isles of the Blessed and Atlantis were different mythological locations and Rand's characterisation of the Isles as Atlantis is a conflation.

[4] The scholarship on Ayn Rand and her influence on 20th Century economic and political thought is enormous. A good general overview is provided by Salmieri (2016: 3-21).

philosophy uncritically. He "saw an inconsistency in [Rand's] tolerance for the state" and advocacy for its proprietary authority over persons and property not its own. Stiefel designed Operation Atlantis as his own, improved version of Galt's Gulch (MacCallum, 2006: online).

In *The Story of Operation Atlantis,* Stiefel refers to the "Atlantis concept" and an "ideally free Utopia" (Stevens, 1968: 4, 10). While Operation Atlantis's name was certainly inspired by Plato's mythical city and Rand's use of it, the decision to build an island nation offshore was made because "no unclaimed territory is left" (Stevens, 1968: 8). Stiefel was even concerned about the future autonomy of an offshore nation seeing how "the statists are discussing ways in which the seashore nations can divide up the high seas among themselves" with the extension of territorial limits from three miles to twelve miles, and the attribution of mineral rights over continent shelves (Stevens, 1968: 10). Preston Martin, co-founder of the International Coalition for Human Action, "a free market foundation dedicated towards the promotion and creation of free enclaves," suggested in direct communication that the reasoning behind the name Atlantis is that "1) the name 'Atlantis:' is almost universally recognisable for marketing purposes and 2) being somewhat of a dreamer, the idea of a Neo Atlantis for libertarians really appealed to Stiefel's imagination" (pc 18th September 2016). The fact that Operation Atlantis would be located at sea was convenient. The offshore geographical location of Atlantis reinforced the idea of a small, free and independent community. Stiefel wrote that "[t]he construction of artificial islands in international waters present[s] no difficult technical problems" and that the feasibility of Stage 2, an independent shipboard nation, had already been demonstrated by the large cruise ships, which he described as "in reality floating cities" (Stevens, 1968: 22), a comparison I will return to later.

According to Halliday, Stiefel was also influenced by Tom Marshall's Preform Movement "which, he thought [of] as remarkably similar to Operation Atlantis" in its quest for freedom (2012: 26). Another admirer of Ayn Rand, Marshall was "one of the earliest libertarians to theorise about and plan for the creation of new libertarian countries, including, he hoped, ones on a platform floating in the ocean" (Doherty, 2013: 236). The Preform Movement advocated living 'underground' within the boundaries of existing countries, for example, by moving into the woods or living a nomadic life in a van, outside the jurisdiction of existing government. Marshall's Preform Movement was at the origin of the Association of Free Islands, "a number of essentially independent mini-countries, loosely confederated under an umbrella organization" in Southern California in the early 1960s (Strauss, 1999: 93). In 1964, in line with the frontier spirit that animated the back-to-the-land movement at the time, Marshall started a magazine, the *Innovator* (initially called the *Liberal Innovator*), that focused on:

> *long-range strategies for acquiring greater freedom; techniques of government having future applicability; reports on experimental community development; news of private companies that provide what have traditionally been governmental services; innovations in personal relationships and child development; and analyses of international aspects of freedom.* (Doherty, 2013: 327)

The Preform Movement subsided when Marshall came to embrace a more radical and individualistic mindset and disappeared from historical record after moving into the woods of Oregon (Doherty, 2013: 331). To avoid the pitfalls that led to the dissolution of the Preform Movement (besides its founder's permanent hermitage), namely

disagreements between participants about the nature and size of government and the overestimation of the number of libertarians who would be willing to participate and fund the project, Stiefel strategically opted for a small-scale approach that require neither advanced skills nor a large number of people (Halliday, 2012: online). The first step was to assemble a small community willing to work on building a new country.

Atlantis I - The Motel (1968-1971)

One of Stiefel's first recruits, Roy Halliday, writes about his experience as "the second immigrant to Operation Atlantis" on his personal website. According to Halliday, Stiefel's first recruit was a follower of Ayn Rand named Phil Coates, whom Stiefel had recently hired to work for his pharmaceutical company. Halliday, at the time a young Rothbardian libertarian,[5] first came across a notice about Operation Atlantis in 1968 in libertarian literature. Curious, he arranged to meet with Stiefel and visit the Sawyerkill Motel where Stiefel offered free lodging to Atlantisians who worked on the project part-time (Strauss, 1999: 68; Halliday, 2012: online).[6] To create a revenue stream, unoccupied rooms were to be rented out as in a regular motel. Halliday, who held a full-time job as a technical writer for IBM, agreed to rent a room for $90 per month. He lived at Atlantis I until January 1971 (Halliday, 2012: online). The first issue of *The Atlantis News* was published on 6th September 1968, the same year that Halliday joined the project (Halliday, 2012: online). It announced the launching of Atlantis I and the creation of the Atlantis Development Corporation, the legal proprietor of Sawyerkill Motel, and the Atlantis Publishing Company, distributors of *The Story of Operation Atlantis* (actually written by Stiefel, but published under the pseudonym Warren K. Stevens) (Halliday, 2012: online). In November 1968, *The Atlantis News* announced that Atlantis Development Corporation was about to expand Atlantis I. With the upcoming purchase of a two-bedroom, brick house on an acre of land adjacent to the motel there would be more space for families with children (Halliday, 2012: online). Writing in *The Story of Operation Atlantis* (1968) about families moving across the United States to find employment or better conditions, Stiefel estimated that "50 or 100 [libertarians] will want to relocate within the U.S. to become members of Atlantis I" (Stevens, 1968: 27). Although it is unclear exactly how many people "immigrated" to Operation Atlantis, Erwin S. Strauss, who visited the motel on at least two occasions, writes:

> *The principle accomplishment of Operation Atlantis, compared with most new-country ventures, was that a sizeable number of people were actually assembled, and actually did a considerable amount of work toward advancing the project.* (1999: 68-9)

[5] Murray Rothbard (1926-1995) was an American economist of the Austrian school. He his best known for his theory of anarcho-capitalism and of the homesteading principle, which he defines in *Confiscation and the homesteading principle* (1969: 97) as the "way that unowned property gets into private ownership is by the principle that this property justly belongs to the person who finds, occupies, and transforms it by his labor".

[6] Located at RD 5, Box 22A, Saugerties, NY 12477. Stiefel eventually renamed it the Atlantis-Sawyerkill Motel.

In correspondence with the author, Barry Reed, who joined Operation Atlantis in December 1971 as project manager, recounted that, over thirty years, there were about a dozen core members of the organisation (pc 5th September 2016).

Atlantis I, the motel, was meant as an experimental community to make the second stage of setting out on the water possible. Stiefel noted that the motel had the advantage of "closely simulat[ing] a land-locked ship" (Stevens, 1968: 24). Atlantisians were to live at the motel as they would "in the same [economic and political] relationships as will prevail when we are an independent nation on Stage II. This will involve, as we say in industry, a certain amount of role playing and the mental adjustments and habituation that accompany it" (Stevens, 1968: 23). Participants were free to hold a job outside the motel and leave the community at any time. Another advantage of this initial phase of community building in New York was that were the project to fail, "it should be possible to terminate the project with little or no financial loss or personal stigma" (Stevens, 1968: 23). Stiefel envisioned that as Atlantis grew and attracted more industries, it would eventually become an "integrated community with a balanced economy," and all Atlantisians would have internal jobs (Stevens, 1968: 24). Atlantis I also served as a venue for active and lively discussions on libertarianism and working models of micronations. "Freedom Forums" were held every Sunday in the lobby of the hotel as part of the recruitment program and provided a space of discussion for residents, guest speakers and drop-in visitors to contribute their ideas to the project (Halliday, 2012: online). The meetings, while informal, were led by a volunteer discussion leader who choose the session's topic. Subjects at the Freedom Forums ranged from the economics of Operation Atlantis and "the possibility of launching a precursor of the Bank of Atlantis without running afoul of the New York Banking law" to "interviewing a prospective motel manager and his wife" and "explaining the program to two libertarians who dropped in" (Stevens, 1968: 28). Stiefel also intended the Freedom Forums to take on the task of drafting the Atlantis constitution, but it was Spencer Heath MacCallum who would take on writing this important document (Stevens, 1968: 12). In exchange, Stiefel offered him two percent shares in Operation Atlantis (MacCallum, 2006: online).

The rules of Atlantis III were to be listed in a "master-lease," to which each Atlantean would voluntarily consent. The master-lease would be Atlantis's "open social software" and from it would be derived leases, sub-leases, and so on (MacCallum, 2006: 24; 2007: 201). To avoid attracting undue government attention, whom they feared might use the innovative ideas of the master-lease to their own advantage or else block them, the document did not make a single reference to Operation Atlantis and was presented as a case-study for a hypothetical cluster of settlements in outer space called Orbis (Halliday, 2012: online). MacCallum describes the master-lease as enshrining that the "ultimate protection for residents was that the community would be operated as a business, and hence more rationally than it might otherwise" (MacCallum, 2006: 7). Others, like Michael Van Notten, have found inspiration in the document and adapted it to their own projects (Van Notten, 2005). MacCallum writes, "Werner's master-lease form not only survived his Atlantis project, it took on a life of its own" for it was printed and shared (as the case-study for Orbis) with others so it could be improved (MacCallum, 2006: 28). MacCallum gives an example of this collaborative aspect of the document the contribution of Michael Van Notten, a lawyer who married into the Samaron Clan of Somalia and launched a Somali freeport project, a multi-tenant income property called "Newland" on land leased from the clan. Van Notten added a set of natural-law principles and supporting procedural rules to Atlantis's master-lease (MacCallum 2006: 29).

Other smaller-scale micronation projects of the era were generally led and dominated by a charismatic male figure. Leicester Hemingway of New Atlantis (1964-1965) and Roy Bates of Sealand (1967 - ongoing) were sole rulers of their newly created nation. In contrast, Operation Atlantis sought to bring together a community essential to its success. Unlike other micronation projects conceived with a rather humorous approach (MacKinnon, 2014), MacCallum has described how Operation Atlantis was a serious plan to build a place for people to flee to when the United States, like Germany in the 1930s, became a police state (pc September 2016). MacCallum describes how Stiefel made a thorough study of every kind of government and found none that was not prone to follow the same old, tired round of tyranny. He became despondent but then, lunching together with MacCallum and Alvin Lowi in San Pedro, California, found a solution. Why have a government at all? MacCallum, a social anthropologist, had studied stateless societies and saw human social organisation evolving away from status, either kin-based or political, to contract (MacCallum 1997). He describes telling Stiefel that his Sawyerkill Motel was in all respects a community, but one in which all of the needed public services were provided not politically, but contractually and for a profit. All he needed to do was to keep that form of organisation and move it to sea.

MacCallum credits his grandfather, Spencer Heath, as being the first person to theorise about proprietary (non-political) communities. The key to success in such communities is not to subdivide the land, but to keep the title intact by *leasing* the individual sites, thus creating an on-going, concentrated entrepreneurial interest in the attractiveness of the development - which now becomes a long-term, multiple-tenant income property managed for return on investment rather than a one-time speculation (MacCallum, 2006: 20). As in a well-managed hotel, the incentive is to serve rather than to rule, enhancing land value by making occupancies more valuable to the land users. In this manner land rent finances the public services and return a profit to the investors. Multiple-tenant income properties of all kinds have rapidly evolved and spread over the last century and a half, among them shopping centers and malls, large hotels, marinas, professional parks, office complexes etc., This trend, according to MacCallum, is generating a shift away from traditional governance toward an "apolitical" system of "competitive governance" (ibid).[7] Stiefel's projected offshore micronation would be managed by the board of directors of the Corporation, and equity participation would come with the purchase of shares (Halliday, 2012: online). Public community administration would be "a business in and of itself, creating value in the competitive market and subsisting on the market revenues those values induced" (MacCallum, 2012: 17). Stiefel believed with MacCallum that this system would "becom[e] the future norm for human settlements, each competing in the market for its clientele" (ibid: 20). It is notable that Operation Atlantis was not to be exclusive to libertarians, but was aimed to attract "effective, entrepreneurial people in business and the professions without regard for their political persuasion or lifestyle" (ibid: 16).

At Atlantis I, Atlantisians were intended to "concurrently evolve and live under Atlantis law (to the extent that it does not conflict with American law)" and thereby to be able to test the "Atlantis concept". Stiefel thought it necessary to keep a low profile and did not want to draw the attention of the governmental authorities with which Operation Atlantis would eventually directly compete (Stevens, 1968: 26). Other entrepreneurs were also trying, unsuccessfully, to build their own micronations off the coast of the United States, and their failures would influence Operation Atlantis. On 4th January 1969, *The New York Times* published a story about a court ruling in Florida that prohibited Louis M. Ray, Acme

[7] See Friedman and Taylor (2012) for a description of competitive governance.

General Contractors and the Atlantis Development Corporation (not Stiefel's company of the same name) from building a new country on top of the Grand and Triumph reefs, east of and parallel to the Florida Keys (Unattributed, 1969: 16). In 1965, Ray, president of Acme General Contractors, filed an application for a permit to dredge a bulkhead in the Triumph Reef waters where he intended to build "an island nation, the Grand Capri Republic" (Menefee, 1994: 90). William T. Anderson had also apparently "discovered" the reef three years prior, and he gave public notice through newspaper advertisements in both England and the United States in 1962 and 1963. Anderson's "rights" were subsequently acquired by the Atlantis Development Corporation, another consortium also with plans to build a micronation, named Atlantis: Isle of Gold. There was also talk of constructing a casino (Menefee, 1994: 90-1). The reefs, however, were seabed and not islands, so the court ruled that the ownership claims of both Acme General Contractors and the Atlantis Development Corporation were inconsistent with the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act as well as the Convention on the Continental Shelf (ibid: 13). In this case, the media coverage that Stiefel was careful to avoid was an inspiration to his plans. In order "to accommodate the court ruling without giving up on the objective of obtaining an offshore location close enough to reach the U.S. mainland via a short hydrofoil ride," he added a step between the first two steps of Operation Atlantis's development plan: Step IA, the purchase of a remote island or sandbar (Halliday, 2012: online).

Atlantis IA - Prickly Pear Cays (1969 – 1970)

In the summer of 1969, *The Atlantis News* announced that Stiefel had found a possible site for Atlantis IA in Prickly Pear Cays, six miles northwest of Anguilla in the British West Indies (Halliday, 2012: online). According to Halliday, the Cays "were owned jointly by about thirty-six individuals divided into five family lines represented by elders," and Stiefel had convinced them to sell them to the Atlantis Development Corporation for $100 000 (ibid: 39). Bureaucracy delayed the sale, and Stiefel investigated starting a shoal landfill or building a floating platform as an alternative (ibid: 40). Strauss (1979) offers a different account of the Prickly Pear Cays episode. In 1967, Great Britain gave full internal autonomy to the island of Saint Kitts and Nevis, and Anguilla was incorporated into the unified dependency of Saint Christopher-Nevis-Anguilla (Westlake, 1973). According to Strauss, the Anguillans, unhappy with this situation, tried to "provoke the British" in the hopes of inciting a return to their colonial state, and one strategy "was to put out appeals for investors in their new nation" (Strauss, 1999: 72). Stiefel visited the Prickly Pear Cays and made a formal offer to buy 157 acres. In Strauss' version, too, bureaucracy slowed the process, and Stiefel gave up on the Prickly Pear Cays. Operation Atlantis was not setback for long, however, for in May 1970, if we follow Halliday's version, Stiefel and six other men formed a new company to work on a shoal-landfill project to create an artificial island in the Caribbean (Halliday, 2012: online).

Atlantis II - The Ferrocement Ship (1969-1971)

Meanwhile, the community of Atlantis I continued work on Atlantis II, a ferrocement ship, at the Saugerties motel. The ship was expected to anchor off the coast of the United States and serve as a temporary habitation while the Atlantisians built their future island nation, Atlantis III. Afterwards, the ship would be used to supply the island. The August 1970 issue of *Atlantis News* (published in November 1970) reported that the Atlantis Development Corporation obtained a license from Buckminster Fuller for the construction of a geodesic

dome 50 feet in diameter and 23 feet high on the motel grounds. The dome was designed to house the construction of a 38-foot cement boat (Halliday, 2012: online). Operation Atlantis was briefly mentioned in the September 1970 issue of *Esquire Magazine* in an article aiming to "locate some of the places from which the Alternative Culture may well spring." Of Operation Atlantis, it said: "They're not just interested in a floating community, but an honest-to-God independent *country*... How are they doing to do it? They're going to build an island, baby, in the middle of the ocean" (Gardner, 1970: 110).

Their differing media presences notwithstanding, both Operation Atlantis and current micronations embrace modern technology as an instrument of individual and social change. In response to rapid technological developments and social upheaval that defined the period of the 1960s and 1970s in the United States, a back-to-the-land movement grew in popularity, what Fred Turner has described as the 'New Communalists.' Turner differentiates between the New Left, who maintained 'traditional' political activism and "wrote statements, formed parties, chose leaders, and marched" and generally "turned outward, toward political action" and the New Communalists, who "saw the transformation of consciousness as the basis for the reformation of American social structure." Turner characterised that for New Communalists, "political activism was at best beside the point and at worst part of the problem [because] the key to social change was not politics, but the mind". (Turner, 2006: 564, 570)

Stiefel and his Atlantisians shared in this commitment to change minds about political systems. Both groups also turned to technology to create this change. New Communalists adopted small-scale technology and tools, "ranging from axes and hoes to amplifiers, strobe lights, slide projectors, and LSD," which they saw as having the potential to "transform the individual consciousness, and with it, the nature of community" (Turner, 2006: 118-119, 1109-1110). With these tools, New Communalists hoped to "rediscover what they imagined to be pre-industrial forms of intimacy and egalitarian rule" (ibid: 580-2). They sought to build "what they imagined could become a new nation, a land of small, egalitarian communities linked to one another by a network of shared beliefs" (ibid: 523-4). Operation Atlantis is consistent with the New Communalists' aims. For Stiefel, "the battle for liberty will ultimately be decided in men's mind" and "new concepts must be conceived in the mind before they can be born into practice" (Stevens, 1968; 10). The goal of Operation Atlantis was to encourage a paradigm shift which Stiefel knew was a long-term project, noting that it was "extremely doubtful that, in one generation, a society could make the transition from the world as it exists today to the ideally free Utopia. Too many attitudes of mind and too many habit patterns would have to be changed over night" (ibid). Operation Atlantis also made use of small-scale technology to create change, not only to challenge the traditional system of governance but also to empower individuals. Stiefel chose ferrocement as the building material for Atlantis II because it was both inexpensive and required little skill to use and the ship was built inside a geodesic dome (of the type popular at that time) and was designed to apply modern technological know-how to shelter construction. Atlantisians used a simple soap press to mint money.[8] The currency of Atlantis, the Deca (named thus because it contained a decagram of silver) was to be issued by the Atlantis Treasury (Stevens, 1968: 14). The community attempted to use relatively small and accessible technologies to reclaim their independence from the state and to build their own freedom from scratch. They wanted to enjoy the blessings of liberty

[8] Many micronations (Operation Atlantis, Sealand, New Atlantis, the Republic of Minerva) minted money and/or printed stamps to generate a small revenue. It also gives the micronations a semblance of legitimacy.

and embrace the virtue of modern technologies (Stevens, 1968: 8). An off-shore island offered "a place to which lovers of freedom could repair but still remain part of the world scene," where they could "test the hypothesis that a free, capitalist society can exist and flourish in today's world" (Stevens, 1968: 8). If Atlantisians could demonstrate that it was possible to build a floating community with minimal engineering skills and modest funding, a model startup community that could easily be reproduced and customised, others would follow suit and create a maritime network of private settlements and entrepreneurial, non-political communities on the open seas.

The exact launch date of Atlantis II is one of the main issues about which sources disagree. Strauss claims early December 1969, Halliday, December 1971 (Strauss, 1999: 71; Halliday, 2012: online).[9] Although the basic idea behind Operation Atlantis was to create an initial community of entrepreneurial pioneers which would inspire other communities, Stiefel remained the main investor and leader of the project. Strauss criticises Stiefel for approaching the enterprise "as a Sunday afternoon diversion" and "refus[ing] to commit any of his firm's money to the project (not even to the extent of opening a Stiefel Laboratories plant there), citing his responsibility to minority stockholders" (Strauss, 1999: 69). According to Halliday, Operation Atlantis was "basically a one-man show made to look like a movement," and Stiefel "supplied all the funding and most of the energy that went into Operation Atlantis… I believed he preferred to do most of the work himself so that he could maintain control and make sure things got done" (2012: 6-7). But MacCallum writes that Stiefel was "extremely dedicated to the project," determined to "make the dream a reality, using his private resources and not any of those of the company," and even planned to use Atlantis for his own manufactures (2006: 8). This disagreement about Stiefel's role shows that, although the project was essentially about assembling a community to build and live on an island micronation, the role of the founder takes on a particular importance. Indeed, the success of the enterprise seems to entirely depend on him.

Atlantis II was finally launched at high tide in 1971, but when the tide went out, the ship was left lying on its side in the mud.[10] A kerosene lantern left in the wheelhouse broke and started a fire. There was little fire damage because concrete is not flammable, and the team was able to complete repairs (Strauss, 1999: 71). But the last-minute addition of a concrete deckhouse to the vessel made it extremely top-heavy and caused the ship to almost capsize from superstructure icing while crossing the New York harbour. It then broke a propeller shaft off South Carolina but the crew still managed to sail down near the Bahamas. The boat was on its way to Tortuga Island, Haiti, and anchored in shallow waters near Acklins Island, when a storm destroyed the hull (Reed, pc 5th September 2016; Doherty, 2013: 401; MacCallum, 2006: 10; Strauss, 1999: 72).

[9] Strauss visited Atlantis on 19 January 1969, but that might have been for the Freedom Forums.

[10] Halliday (2012) recalls missing Erwin S. Strauss's visit to Atlantis I in January 1969 and writes that the September 1970 issue of *The Atlantis News* (published in December 1970) announced that the ship was being built inside a geodesic dome (12, 62). According to Halliday, Strauss must have meant December 1971 (2012: online). Barry Reed, who was a project manager for Operation Atlantis, joined in December 1971 when "they had just launched the Atlantis II" (Reed, 2015).

Atlantis III – An Island of One's Own (1970-1971)

After Atlantis II sunk, Stiefel bought a new ship and turned his attention to Silver Shoals, an area located outside national government jurisdiction where the water depth was four feet at low tide. Shipwrecked Spanish galleons were reputed in the area that claimed by both Haiti and the Bahamas (MacCallum, 2006: 11; Strauss, 1999: 75). Stiefel had sea walls constructed around the ship and was about to begin dredging sand to create a small artificial island when his group was approached by gunboats[11] and was ordered to leave (MacCallum, 2006: 11; Doherty, 2007: 401). Stiefel, who Halliday describes as "appalled by the idea of violence," had to abandon the site (Halliday, 2012: online). Undeterred, he signed a long-term lease and set up a base on Tortuga Island, off the north coast of Haiti, where the Haitian government was promoting a freeport development (Strauss, 1999: 74). But when a copy of *The Atlantis News* fell into the hands of Haitian government officials and they learned of Operation Atlantis's plans, they cancelled the lease (MacCallum, 2006: 12). From this moment on, Operation Atlantis would keep a very low profile.

Stiefel then tried to create land on the Misteriosa Banks, between Cuba and Honduras. Before even the equipment and buildings were erected, a hurricane destroyed the site while it was in preparation (MacCallum, 2006: 13). MacCallum reports that Stiefel then purchased property on Grand Cayman and built a new complex to serve both as a center of operations and a staff retreat for Stiefel Laboratories' employees. The complex became the office of the Atlantis Trading and Commodity Purchasing Service (ATCOPS), forerunner of the Bank of Atlantis, which minted the Deca. Stiefel also reportedly purchased an island off the coast of Belize and applied for freeport status before tiring of the bureaucracy and putting the island up for sale (MacCallum, 2006: 15). It is often said that the project was abandoned then, but Barry Reed recalls that after having purchased a six-acre island named Hatchet Caye and located about 20 miles east of Placencia, Belize, the group started developing the island and lived on it until 2005, when Werner Stiefel was diagnosed with cancer (pc 5th September 2016).

Many of the exact details surrounding Operation Atlantis remain difficult for researchers to discern. Stiefel's painstaking efforts to keep the project out of the media has created a lacuna difficult to fill. One hopes that more oral histories will be gathered from participants like Barry Reed and Spencer Heath MacCallum in upcoming years. Nevertheless, Operation Atlantis is an interesting case-study in mid-20th Century island micronations. Placing the chronological outline established above in direct comparison with a modern counterpart will demonstrate the continued cultural purchase of Ayn Randian libertarianism in American capitalist culture as well as the continued perception of technology as a tool necessary not only to challenge 'traditional' politics, but also to go beyond it. Very few people know about Operation Atlantis. Yet, taking up where Stiefel had left off, similar initiatives have recently been launched to create floating island nations.

Founded in 2008, The Seasteading Institute (TSI) is a California-based, non-profit organisation working "to enable *seasteading communities* — floating cities — which will

[11] MacCallum and Strauss both report that the gunboats were part of dictator's Francois Papa Doc Duvalier's government, but Barry Reed, who claims he was present during this episode, said they were from the Dominican Republic (Reed, 2016).

allow the next generation of pioneers to peacefully test new ideas for how to live together" (seasteading.org). TSI is the brainchild of Patri Friedman, a Google engineer and the grandson of Nobel-prize-winning economist Milton Friedman. The organisation receives most of its funding from Peter Thiel, a now iconic (and eccentric) Silicon Valley libertarian venture capitalist. Thiel is most famous for encouraging young entrepreneurs to forego higher education through his Thiel Fellowship, having invested substantial sums into research on life extension, being on the very select list of Bilderberg conference invitees,[12] and co-founding Palantir Technologies, the CIA-backed big-data analysis company (Meyer, 2015). The Thiel Foundation has donated over a million dollars to The Seasteading Institute to date. Thiel's support and endorsement, as well as the association with the Friedmans, have been essential components of the Institute's success and, through the internet and social media, media appearances and word of mouth, TSI has attracted a significant number of supporters.[13] It has assembled a community of seasteading enthusiasts who gather once a year on a temporary seasteading community known as Ephemerisle - a week-long volunteer-organised festival of houseboats in "a floating celebration of community, learning, art and seasteading" on the San Joaquin River, near Stockton, California (Ephemerisle, 2014). Over a hundred participants attend each year.

In the same spirit as Stiefel's Operation Atlantis, The Seasteading Institute works to build floating city-states, or seasteads, on platforms inspired by cruise ships, aircraft carriers and oil platforms. Drawing on his father, David D. Friedman ([1973] 2014), and grand-father, Milton Friedman, TSI founder Patri Friedman argues that the "dynamic geography" of the ocean would encourage "competitive governance," which in turn would create incentives for governments to be innovative and provide better rules to attract citizens. Seasteads' modularity would allow people to "vote with their feet" an idea put forward by economist Charles Mills Tiebout (1957) and reformatted in its maritime version by Friedman. The industry has even developed a new jargon term, the "aquapreneur," to distinguish those ocean pioneers wanting to experiment with new systems of governance (Friedman, 2009; Friedman and Taylor, 2012). By colonising the oceans, TSI aims to "maximize entrepreneurial freedom to create blue jobs to welcome anyone to the Next New World" (seasteading.org). Industries that could be developed on seasteads range from aquaculture farms to floating healthcare, medical research islands, hotels and sustainable energy powerhouses. To evaluate the feasibility of the enterprise, TSI has hired DeltaSync, a design, research and consultancy firm specialising in floating urbanisation, to produce the Floating City Project Report (2014). It describes plans to build 50-meter sided square and pentagon platforms with three-story buildings for approximately $500/square foot of usable space. A square platform could house 20 to 30 residents and would cost roughly 15 million USD (Floating City Project Report, 2014: 7).

The Seasteading Institute hopes that seasteads will allow the next generation of ocean pioneers and seavangelists to "peacefully test new ideas for governance" so that "the most successful can then inspire change in governments around the world" (seasteading.org). To this effect, its website also lists "Eight Great Moral Imperatives" identified as elements speaking to aspiring seasteaders and which seasteading could help fulfill

[12] The Bilderberg Club, founded in 1954, is an annual private conference of 120-150 people, largely drawn from European and North American political, industrial, academic and media industries.

[13] As of 8 September 2016, TSI has 13,103 "likes" on Facebook and 4,183 followers on Twitter.

(seasteading.org).[14] The problems that plagued the two later stages of Operation Atlantis, however, continue to pose a problem for 21st Century micronations. Because "the high cost of open ocean engineering serves as a large barrier to entry, and hinders entrepreneurship in international waters," TSI has resolved "to look for cost-reducing solutions within the territorial waters of a host nation, while still remaining dedicated to the goal of obtaining political autonomy for governmental experiments" (seasteading.org). Since 2014, the institute has focused on the development of "coasteads" combining "principles of both seasteading and startup cities, by seeking to locate a floating city within the territorial waters of an existing nation":[15]

> *Our plan entails negotiating with a host nation for maximum autonomy for a seastead in exchange for the economic and social benefits it could provide. This will allow for a proof-of-concept, and will hopefully spawn many more experiments with floating cities around the world, including those further offshore, and under different legal arrangements.* (seasteading.org)

After failed negotiations with the government of Honduras for the development of Zones for Economic Development and Employment (ZEDE) in 2015, The Seasteading Institute is now exploring other opportunities. In September 2016, the institute published a press release stating that they would be meeting with French Polynesia's President Édouard Fritch "to discuss the development of sustainable floating islands" (Hencken, 2016).

To briefly list but a few other current libertarian micronation projects, the Free State Project is trying to get 20,000 libertarians to move to New Hampshire for "Liberty in Our Lifetime," a popular libertarian slogan, and Liberland, a self-proclaimed micronation on a

[14] "When we listen to the sea, we know what our moral imperatives are. Enrich the poor. Cure the Sick. Feed the Hungry. Clean the atmosphere. Restore the oceans. Live in balance with nature. Power the world sustainably. Stop fighting." (http://www.seasteading.org/videos/the-eight-great-moral-imperatives/)

[15] On 31 July 2011, Patri Friedman stepped down from his position as Executive Director of The Seasteading Institute (although he remains on the Board), and when in August 2011, Honduras amended their constitution to create a charter city program then known as *Regiones Especiales de Desarollo* (RED) (Wessel, 2011), Friedman founded Future Cities Development, Inc. (FCD) and served as CEO and managing partner. FCD's mission was "to benefit humanity by creating free societies", envisioning "a world where cities with innovative legal systems eradicate poverty, elevate human rights, and create unprecedented prosperity for the human race" (Friedman, 'LinkedIn Profile', nd). However, on 18th October 2012, four of five Honduran Supreme Court justices declared charter cities unconstitutional and overturned the legislation. Future Cities Development, Inc. issued a closing statement the following day. Paul Romer (2009), an economist teaching at New York University Stern School of Business, director of the Urbanization Project, and now chief economist at the World Bank, is a leading advocate of charter cities as an engine of economic growth in developing countries. He was an initiator of the Honduran charter city initiative in 2011, but he resigned in 2012 when MKG Group, a coalition of mostly American libertarian businessmen led by Michael Strong, a former board member of The Seasteading Institute, signed a deal with Honduras to start building infrastructure without Romer's or the RED Transparency Committee's knowledge. In this case, as in Operation Atlantis and the Republic of Minerva, American micronation entrepreneurs have tried to acquire land and political autonomy in Latin America because it has the advantages of being relatively close to the U.S. and open to foreign investments.

7km² (previously) a no man's land between the borders of Serbia and Croatia, has received hundreds of thousands of applications for citizenship (liberland.org). Like The Seasteading Institute, these land-based initiatives take advantage of telecommunications technology not available during the time of Operation Atlantis. The phenomenon continues to receive considerable media coverage, including a number of successful documentaries.[16] Ayn Rand's thought also continues to play a fundamental role in these endeavors. John Aglialoro, a conservative businessman, recently financed the production of a three-part *Atlas Shrugged* movie (2011, 2012, 2014). At least two Randian-inspired communities are being developed by foreign investors in Chile: Galt's Gulch Chile and Fort Galt.[17] Preston Martin, the coalition's founder, has called Operation Atlantis "the first libertarian seastead" (2015). He voices optimism for the future of micronations and startup cities and emphasises the role of Operation Atlantis in the cultural movement:

> *Such pursuits will never be simple, but in an age where private entities are disrupting previously government-dominated industries, they are becoming more and more feasible. As new organizations should arise to grasp for the fruits of that liberty, they will be following in the footsteps of Werner Stiefel and Operation Atlantis.* (Martin, 2016)

Conclusion

In retrospect, Operation Atlantis seems to provide libertarian offshore micronations with an history of their own. But, in fact, the failed project remains little known. Whereas Werner K. Stiefel chose to name his project Operation Atlantis because of Ayn Rand's description of the mythical city, the Seasteading Institute does not refer to Atlantis. Instead of looking at cities past, it is researching how to build the futuristic floating cities of the future. Yet, despite their desire for an island of their own, Atlantisians and seasteaders have paid little attention to island culture and to the many communities in the Philippines, Vietnam, Cambodia and Myanmar who have traditionally lived in a symbiotic relationship with the ocean. Friedman and Taylor do mention these communities as "perhaps the greatest proto-seasteaders" and pay special interest to the social organisation of sea nomads, "since mobility seems to have led to a number of political advantages" (2012: 226-7). But libertarian projects like Operation Atlantis and seasteading share more with such mega-projects as the Palm Jumeirah in Dubai in their perception of the ocean as a blank canvas, an empty space open to colonisation. Initiatives like Operation Atlantis and seasteading propose to create new geographical and social spaces, to develop progressive frontier communities where humans can be free from the coercion and violence of the state. But these experimental spaces are only envisioned in the ocean because they would not be legally possible otherwise. The oceanic space beyond the 12-miles jurisdiction offers a legal gray zone to would-be country developers and an "empty canvas" to new-country dreamers and the technology to occupy the oceanic space both geographically and politically is being developed and there is capital to invest it in.

[16] Shapiro (2010) and Poet (2012).

[17] Gabriel Scheare, the founder of Fort Galt, was a speaker at the 2016 Startup Societies Summit, an event organised by a non-profit organisation, the Startup Societies Foundation (SSF). The SSF is dedicated to facilitating startup communities that test radical ideas and it was the event was hosted by the International Coalition for Human Action.

To situate Operation Atlantis and seasteading within the discussion of Island Studies, it is helpful to look at the concept of aquapelagic society proposed by Hayward (2012) and how such micronational island projects confirm the concept in their resistance to it. Hayward defines the aquapelagic society or state as:

> *A social unit existing in a location in which the aquatic spaces between and around a group of islands are utilized and navigate in a manner that is fundamentally interconnected with and essential to the social group's habitation of land and their senses of identify and belonging*. (2012: 5)

The aquapelagic society is fundamentally premised on its marine space, in contrast to the archipelagic society which is comprised by its islands. The goal of Operation Atlantis was to create a safe haven, and Stiefel thought it probable that "Atlantis will comprise several locations, perhaps even widely separated ones" (Stevens, 1968: 22). In the case of Operation Atlantis, the aquatic spaces were *not* fundamentally interconnected with the groups' sense of identity and belonging. The sense of belonging is more that of an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983), in this case characterised by its isolation and independence. For projects like Operation Atlantis and seasteading, the "land-oceanic continuum" (Hayward, 2012: 4) is only a medium for the market economy to circulate through. Operating like floating hotels, the projected new countries would be closer to cruise ships than island nations. They would be, like cruise ships, "manufactured spaces" (Cashman, 2013: 9). As Cashman argues, "unlike aquatic assemblage, cruise ships do not co-exist with the ocean environment but subvert and dominate it while mediating contact with cruise ship guests" (Cashman, 2013:.9). Mirroring this, libertarian islands micronations are meant as spaces of escapism, self-contained social ecosystems on artificial platforms. They do not attempt to co-exist with the environment, but to appropriate it.

Brian Doherty writes that "'Nature, to be commanded, must be obeyed'" is a popular Objectivist epigram (2012: 241). It was certainly true for Operation Atlantis:

> *The underlying philosophy of Atlantis is that man must know nature in order to master her in the interest of his own survival; that reason is his only valid tool in acquiring this knowledge; and that man's code of ethical behavior should be evolved rationally rather than accepted mystically.* (Stevens, 1968: 12)

If current libertarian offshore micronation projects are to follow in Operation Atlantis's footsteps, they will have to figure out a way to colonise the seas with man-made islands and obey Nature at the same time. Until then, these floating model cities will always, like Plato's Atlantis, be at risk of disappearing into the depths of the sea. Their ideas, however, might float on, as did Operation Atlantis's concept of the master-lease and its own inspiring story. As the trend of building offshore micronations is seemingly growing in popularity, more research is needed to better understand the potential impact of private libertarians and conservative investors in the shaping of aquatic spaces.

The author would like to express her sincere thanks to Spencer MacCallum, Barry Reed, Mark Frazier and Preston Martin, without whose correspondence and reading suggestions, this paper would have been impossible. Thanks, too, to Philip Hayward and Heather Stein for their help with revisions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson B (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso Books

Cashman D (2013) 'Skimming the Surface: Dislocated Cruise Liners and Aquatic Spaces', *Shima: The International Journal of Research into Island Cultures* v7 n2: 1-12

Doherty, B (2013) 'A Normal Person Attends Libertarian Water Festival Ephemerisle', *Reason*, online: http://reason.com/blog/2013/06/11/a-normal-person-attends-libertarian-wate - accessed September 2016

Friedman, P (2009) 'The Seasteading Vision', The Seasteading Institute 2009 Annual Conference proceedings, online: http://www.vimeo.com/8684423 - accessed September 2016

Friedman, P and Taylor, B (2012) 'Seasteading: Competitive Governments on the Ocean', *Kyklos* v65 n2: 218-235

Gardner, H (1970) 'Your Global Alternative: Communes, Experiments, Jails and Hidey-Holes', *Esquire Magazine* n74: 106-109

Ephermerisle (2015) 'History of Ephemerisle', online: http://ephemerisle.org/index.php/History_of_Ephemerisle - accessed September 2016

Halliday, R (2012) 'Operation Atlantis and the Radical Libertarian Alliance: Observations of a fly on the wall', *Roy Halliday's Book Enforceable Rights*, online: http://royhalliday.home.mindspring.com/ - accessed September 2016

Hayward, P (2012) 'Aquapelagos and Aquapelagic Assemblages', *Shima: The International Journal of Research into Island Cultures* v6 n1: 1-11

Hencken, R (2016) 'French Polynesia Open to Seasteading Collaboration', *The Seasteading Institute* 19th September: http://www.seasteading.org/2016/09/french-polynesia-open-seasteading-collaboration/ - accessed September 2016

Ingram, F (2008) 'Stiefel Laboratories, Inc.' *International Directory of Company Histories*: http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-2690600093.html - accessed September 2016

MacCallum, S (2006) 'Werner K. Stiefel's Pursuit of a Praticuum of Freedom', *Lee Rockwell*: https://www.lewrockwell.com/2006/06/spencer-heath-maccallum/werner-k-stiefels-pursuit-of-a-practicumoffreedom/ - accessed September 2016

----- (2007), 'The Businessman and Ayn Rand: Galt's Gulch in Real Time', in Youkins, E.W (ed) *Ayn Rand's Atlas Shrugged: A Philosophical and Literary Companion,* London and New York: Routledge: 197-206

MacKinnon L (2014) 'Give Me Fish, Not Federalism', *Shima: The International Journal of Research into Island Cultures* v8 n2: 105-119

Martin, P (2015) 'In Pursuit of Liberty: Operation Atlantis', *Startup Societies*, 20th December: http://www.startupsocieties.com/archives/468 - accessed September 2016

Menefee, S. P (1994) 'Republics of the Reefs: Nation-Building on the Continental Shelf and in the World's Oceans', *California Western International Law Journal* n25: 81

Meyer, R (2015) 'Peter Thiel: Trump's Silicon Valley Surrogate', *The Atlantic* 21st July: http://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2016/07/who-is-peter-thiel-rnc-2016-trump/492380/ - accessed September 2016

Nash, J (2016) 'Introduction: The Space of the Archipelago', *Shima*, online: http://shimajournal.org/issues/anthologies/Aquapelago-Anthology-Intro.pdf - accessed September 2016

Nihm, S (2000) 'Utopian Ruler, and Spoofs, Stake Out Territory Online', *New York Times*. 25th May: http://www.nytimes.com/2000/05/25/technology/utopian-rulers-and-spoofs-stake-out-territory-online.html - accessed September 2016

Poet, P (2012) *Der Staat bin ich!* Austria: Navigator Films

Preston, M (2016) 'Operation Atlantis: The First Recorded Libertarian Seastead', *Startup Societies,* online: https://steemit.com/agorism/@startupsocieties/operation-atlantis-the-first-recorded-libertarian-seastead - accessed September 2016

Rand, A (1992) *Atlas Shrugged*, New York: Penguin

Rothbard, M (1969) 'Confiscation and the Homestead Principle' in Rothbard, M (ed) *The Complete Libertarian Forum,* Auburn: Ludwig Von Mises Institute: 96-101

Salmieri, G (2016) 'An Introduction to the Study of Ayn Rand', in Gotthelf, A and Samlieri, G (eds) *A Companion to Ayn Rand*, London: Blackwell Publishing: 3-21

The Seasteading Institute website: http://www.seasteading.org - accessed September 2016

Shapiro, J (2010) *How to Start Your Own Country*, Canada: Documentary Channel

Stevens W.K (1968) *The Story of Operation Atlantis*, Sengerties: Atlantis Publishing Co

Strauss, E.S (1999) *How to Start Your Own Country*, Boulder: Paladin Press

The Seasteading Institute (2014) 'Floating City Project Report, online': http://seasteading.wpengine.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Floating-City-Project-Report-4_25_2014.pdf - accessed September 2016

Turner, F (2006) 'How Digital Technology Found Utopian Ideology': online: http://web.stanford.edu/~fturner/Turner%20Hackers%20Conference%20Chapter.pdf- accessed September 2016

----- (2010) *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Kindle Edition

Unattributed (1969) 'Judge Bars Building of Nation on Reefs Off Coast of Florida', *New York Times* 4th January, online: 16

Unattributed (2009) 'Glaxo to Acquire Stiefel for $2.9 Billion', *The New York Times*, 20th April, online: http://dealbook.nytimes.com/2009/04/20/glaxosmithkline-is-said-to-be-close-to-buying-stiefel/ - accessed September 2016

Van Notten, M (2005) *The Law of the Somalis*, Trenton: Red Sea Press

Westlake, D (1973) *Under an English Heaven: True Story of Anguilla*, London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd