

Libertarian Review



January-February 1977 - Vol. VI, No. 1

\$1.50

The Yankee and Cowboy War: THE POWER ELITES Conspiracies from Dallas to Watergate

By Carl Oglesby

Power Shift: The Rise of the Southern Rim and Its Challenge to the Eastern Establishment

By Kirkpatrick Sale

Reviewed by Alan Fairgate / *Power Shift* / Random House, 1975 / \$12.95 / *Yankee and Cowboy War* / Sheed and Ward, 1976 / \$4, pb; \$12, hc

For many years now, the "Yankee-Cowboy" model of conflict within the national political-economic elite has been widely discussed within American radical circles. Originally developed in the late 1960s by Carl Oglesby, a former president of Students for a Democratic Society, the model provided an extremely useful theoretical framework for analyzing the broader meaning of such prominent and traumatic political events as the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion, the John F. Kennedy assassination, Lyndon Johnson's sudden and unexpected resignation and the Watergate crisis that precipitated the downfall of Richard Nixon. Oglesby argued forcefully that the significance of these events could not be grasped by considering them in isolation. Instead, he contended that they were manifestations of a far more fundamental tension that, in one form or another, has divided the political-economic elite governing America since the earliest days of our Republic, a tension that, in recent years, has contributed to growing political instability at the national level.

Oglesby's early, fragmentary formulations of the Yankee-Cowboy model were presented in a series of articles appearing in such periodicals as the *Guardian*, *Ramparts*, and the *Boston Phoenix*. As a result, they did not receive wide attention among the general public, but they did capture the imagination of many radicals and libertarians who perceived the analytical insights of the model. Murray Rothbard was one of the first libertarians to recognize the importance of Oglesby's model in his "Only One Heartbeat Away,"

which appeared in the September 1974 *Libertarian Forum*.

The Yankee-Cowboy model identifies within the national political-economic elite two groups, or "poles," whose members hold fundamentally different world-views." The Yankees are those individuals concentrated in the old, established families of the



Northeast whose power is derived from their control of Wall Street financial firms and vast, multinational corporations. These are the people who direct the affairs of the network of interlocking institutions that comprise the "Eastern Establishment." Strongly Anglophile, the Yankees perceive the North Atlantic industrial community as the focus of their economic,

political, and cultural interests. The Rockefellers, Morgans, Harrimans, and Dillons are some examples of Yankee families.

The Cowboys represent a second group within the national political-economic elite, and this group has its geographical foundations in the "Southern Rim" extending from Miami through New Orleans, Dallas, Houston, Phoenix, and Las Vegas to Los Angeles. Deriving their economic strength from such diverse "growth" sectors as petroleum, agribusiness, high-technology research and development, and defense contracting, the Cowboys have emerged as a major new power center contending for control of the national apparatus. The Cowboy members of the political-economic elite share a common cultural heritage that is largely derived from the frontier heritage of the West and that sharply distinguishes them from their Yankee associates. Unlike the Yankees, the Cowboys perceive the Pacific Basin as the focus for their essential interests and tend to be far more doctrinairely anti-Communist.

To drastically simplify a highly detailed analysis, Oglesby argues that the Kennedy assassination in 1963 represented a virtual coup d'etat within the political-economic elite, transferring leadership from the Yankee elements to the Cowboy elements represented by Johnson and Nixon. However, following growing disillusionment within the Yankee camp over the direction of the Vietnam War, the Yankee elements attempted to reassert their control within the national political-economic elite through a carefully orchestrated campaign to remove Nixon without revealing the full extent of covert activities by government agencies—in effect, a second coup d'etat.

In the past year, two books have been published that explore various aspects of the Yankee-Cowboy model in considerably greater detail than is possible here: Carl Oglesby's *The Yankee and Cowboy War* and Kirkpatrick Sale's *Power Shift*. The publication of these two books in such close succession ensures that the Yankee-Cowboy model will receive widespread public attention and should provoke a re-examination of many of the most prominent events of the past 15 years from this new perspective. For example, while Woodward and Bernstein provided us with extensive coverage of the events surrounding the Watergate crisis, in a very real sense they merely told us *what* happened; Oglesby has gone beyond this and very persuasively argued *why* it happened. Similarly, many authors have compiled evidence challenging the assumption that Lee Harvey Oswald was the

(Continued on page 4)

In Libertarian Review This Month

- *The Yankee and Cowboy War* by Carl Oglesby / *Power Shift* by Kirkpatrick Sale, reviewed by Alan Fairgate 1
- *The Power of Congress (As Congress Sees It)* by Robert LeFevre (edited by R. S. Radford), reviewed by Steve Eddy 3
- *My Years with Ludwig von Mises* by Margit von Mises, reviewed by Murray N. Rothbard 4
- *A Civil Tongue* by Edwin Newman, reviewed by Stephen J. Chapman 5
- "Prohibiting Rattlesnakes and Strychnine" by Gary A. Hughes 6
- *Identity and Intimacy* by William Kilpatrick, reviewed by Harries-Clichy Peterson, Jr. 7
- *Cut Local Taxes* by Robert Poole, Jr., reviewed by Tom G. Palmer 8

- "Thomas Paine: A Soldier for All Seasons" by Carl Shapiro 9
- *The Last Days of the Club* by Chris Welles, reviewed by Alan Fairgate 10
- *The Making of the Modern Family* by Edward Shorter, reviewed by Barbara Luce-Turner 10
- "The Literature of Freethought" by George H. Smith 12
- "Jazz: The Golden Age" (Part VI: Exit Artie Shaw, and the Golden Age) by Neil McCaffrey 16
- *The Camp of the Saints* by Jean Raspail, reviewed by Lynn Holdom 16
- *Sentience* by Wallace I. Matson, reviewed by Tibor Machan 18
- *Healer* by F. Paul Wilson, reviewed by Richard E. Geis 19

Departments

- An Afterword from Readers, Authors, Reviewers 20
- A Word to Our Readers 2
- Briefly in Review 17
- Classified Advertisements 22
- Contributors in This Issue 2
- The Decline 6
- Essay Review 12
- Libertarian Cross-Currents 20
- Music in Review 16
- Personalities 9
- Washington Watch 14

A Word to Our Readers

•New cassette selections from Audio-Forum include recordings of most events at the 1976 Libertarian Party convention. The following cassettes may be ordered directly from Audio-Forum, 901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314. Order prepaid, or charge to your American Express, BankAmericard, or Master Charge account by providing your account number, card expiration date, and signature:

Roger MacBride, *Banquet Address*, Tape 731 (51 min), \$9.95.

Nathaniel Branden, *How to Communicate Political Ideas*, Tape 732 (55 min), \$9.95.

Ed Crane and Roger MacBride, *Welcome Address to the Convention*, Tape 733 (25 min), \$8.95.

Ralph Raico, *A History of the Modern Libertarian Movement*, Tape 734 (42 min), \$9.95.

Morton Halperin, *The CIA-FBI Threat to Privacy*, Tape 736 (53 min), \$9.95.

Earl C. Ravenal, *A Non-Interventionist Foreign Policy*, Tape 737 (65 min), \$10.50.

Eric Mack, *A Libertarian Looks at Natural Rights*, Tape 738 (44 min), \$9.95.

David Friedman, *Some Reflections on the Logic of International Diplomacy*, Tape 739 (40 min), \$9.95.

Leonard Liggio, Steve Halbrook, and John Hagel, *Middle East Panel*, Tape 740 (71 min), \$10.50.

Sharon Presley, Kay Augustin, Jenny Graf, Cindy Cislser, and Nancy Borman, *Feminist Panel*, Tape 741 (58 min), \$9.95.

Tibor Machan, *Libertarianism and Social Philosophy*, Tape 742 (37 min), \$9.95.

John Hospers, *Libertarian Morality*, Tape 743 (64 min), \$10.50.

Bob Brauer, Scootch Pankonin, and Alan Bock, *Lobbying Panel*, Tape 744 (32 min), \$9.95.

Walter Block, *Defending the Undefensible*, Tape 745 (51 min), \$9.95.

Murray Rothbard, Walter Grinder, and John Egger, *Austrian Economics Panel*, Tape 746 (68 min), \$10.50.

Peter Breggin, *The Need to Integrate Psychology and Politics*, Tape 747 (63 min), \$10.50.

William Marina, *A Libertarian Perspective on the American Revolution*, Tape 748 (48 min), \$9.95.

Murray Rothbard, *Benediction to the Libertarian Party Convention*, Tape 749 (33 min) \$9.95.

•Ralph Myles Publisher, Inc. (PO Box 1533, Colorado Springs, CO 80901), specializes in keeping available classic works of revisionist history, anarcho-libertarian political philosophy, and egoist philosophy. The Ralph Myles list includes such titles as *The Will to Bondage; The Literature of Isolationism: Non-Interventionist Scholarship, 1930-1972; Men Against the State: The Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in America, 1827-1908; The Philosophy of Egoism; and Revisionist Viewpoints: Essays in a Dissident Historical Tradition*. Write for a catalog.

•George H. Smith, director of the Forum for Philosophical Studies (6725 Sunset Blvd., Suite 500, Los Angeles, CA 90028), is presenting "A History of Atheism and Religious Dissent," a ten-lecture series on theories and proponents of atheism, agnosticism, deism, and freethought from the seventeenth century to the present. The series begins on Tuesday, 11 January, 7-9 P.M. It will continue at the same time each Tuesday for ten consecutive weeks at the Forum's Sunset Blvd. office. Tuition for the course is \$60, payable in three installments. For more information, call George Smith or Wendy Grosscup at 213-467-1051.

•James Dale Davidson, executive director of the National Taxpayers Union and an LR contributor, has been voted *Playboy's* Annual Writing Award for the best new nonfiction contribution of 1976. The award was made for his "Punch Out the IRS!" which appeared in the April *Playboy*. Congratulations, Jim!

•Liberty Bookstore (811 Castro St., Mountain View, CA 94041; phone: 415-965-1776) has an interesting catalog available in return for your address and a \$.13 cent stamp (\$.24 for first class). To quote from the front cover of the catalog, "You will probably never see another catalog like this one. In it, you can learn how to protect yourself from: inflation, economic collapse, food shortages, famine, gas shortages, taxes & the IRS, government controls, contaminated water, contaminated food, heart disease,

from the *Register* with his permission. Alan Fairgate is a graduate student in business administration and law at a leading American university. Richard E. Geis is editor/publisher of the award-winning *Science Fiction Review* (PO Box 11408, Portland, OR 97221; one year, 4 issues, \$4.50). Lynne Holdom has been a history teacher and a computer programmer. She "writes in her spare time and hopes to become a famous science fiction writer someday." Her review of *Camp of the Saints* is reprinted with permission from *Science Fiction Review*. Gary A. Hughes is a legislative assistant in the New York legislature and a third-year law student at Albany Law School. Barbara Luce-Turner is completing her studies at Southern Illinois University. Tibor R. Machan teaches philosophy at SUNY, Fredonia, New York, and is an LR associate editor. His latest book is *Introduction to Philosophical Inquiries* (Allyn and Bacon). Neil McCaffrey, jazz buff extraordinaire, is president of Arlington House Publishers. Tom G. Palmer is on the national staff of the Libertarian Party and the national director of the Young Libertarian Alliance. Harries-Clichy Peterson, Jr., a "sometime libertarian activist," is a lieutenant of Marines at Coronado, California. He is a graduate of Stanford University. Murray N. Rothbard is Professor of Economics at the Polytechnic Institute of New York, editor of *Libertarian Forum*, and an associate editor of *Libertarian Review*. His review of *My Years with Ludwig von Mises* first appeared in *Human Events*. E. Scott Royce works for the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation and is editor/publisher of *Southern Libertarian Review*. Carl Shapiro has been a student of the life and works of Thomas Paine for more than a decade. He is a songwriter, freelance writer, and lecturer. ■

Contributors IN THIS ISSUE

Stephen J. Chapman is on the staff of the National Taxpayers Union. He is a graduate of Harvard University, where he wrote for the *Crimson*. Steve Eddy is a staff writer for the *Santa Ana Register* (California). Mr. Eddy's reprinted *The Power of Congress* is reprinted

Subscription Service Form	
My Name _____	
Address _____	
City _____ State _____ Zip _____	
350	
<input type="checkbox"/> ENTER MY NEW SUBSCRIPTION—one year, 6 issues, \$8. MY PAYMENT IS ENCLOSED.	<input type="checkbox"/> EXTEND MY PRESENT SUBSCRIPTION—one year, 6 issues, \$8. MY PAYMENT IS ENCLOSED.
<input type="checkbox"/> SEND ADDITIONAL COPIES OF THE _____ ISSUE OF LR AT \$1.50 each; 5 for \$6; 10 for \$10; 50 for \$37.50; 100 for \$60. MY PAYMENT IS ENCLOSED.	<input type="checkbox"/> PLEASE ENTER GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR THOSE LISTED BELOW. (1 SUBSCRIPTION, \$8 FOR ONE YEAR, 6 ISSUES, 2-25 SUBSCRIPTIONS, \$7. FOR ONE YEAR, 6 ISSUES, OVER 25 SUBSCRIPTIONS, \$6 FOR ONE YEAR, 6 ISSUES.)
SEND GIFT SUBSCRIPTION TO: Name _____ Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____ Sign Gift Card " _____ "	SEND GIFT SUBSCRIPTION TO: Name _____ Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____ Sign Gift Card " _____ "
SEND GIFT SUBSCRIPTION TO: Name _____ Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____ Sign Gift Card " _____ "	SEND GIFT SUBSCRIPTION TO: Name _____ Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____ Sign Gift Card " _____ "



Editor
Karl T. Pflock

Associate Editors
Walter E. Grinder
John Hospers
Tibor R. Machan
Ralph Raico
Murray N. Rothbard

Advertising Manager
Karen Brown

Publisher
Robert D. Kephart

Assistant to the Publisher
Janet Fouse

Production
Rhonda Solt

Circulation Director
Randall Rothmen

Libertarian Review is published bimonthly by Libertarian Review, Inc., editorial offices at 901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314. © 1977, Libertarian Review, Inc. All rights reserved.

LR will not be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts. Opinions expressed in bylined articles do not necessarily reflect the views of the editors and publishers of LR.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: 6 issues \$8. ADDRESS CHANGE: Write new address, city, state and zip code on plain sheet of paper. Attach mailing label from recent issue of LR, and send to Circulation Dept., *Libertarian Review*, 6737 Annapolis Rd., P.O. Box 2599, Landover Hills, Md. 20784.

Second class postage paid at Alexandria, Virginia, and other mailing offices.

The Power of Congress (As Congress Sees It)

By Robert LeFevre (edited by R. S. Radford)

Reviewed by Steve Eddy / Pine Tree Press, 1976 / \$2.95

The belief that Congressional representatives don't know what they're doing is probably held by most American taxpayers.

But Robert LeFevre, author of several major works on the philosophy of libertarianism, has set out in a newly published work to prove the notion to be literally true: that they *really don't know what they're doing*. Or what they should be doing. Or what gives them the legal or moral right to do anything in the first place.

LeFevre's 1972 correspondence with 46 members of the Senate and House has become *The Power of Congress (as Congress Sees It)*, edited by R.S. Radford.

His premise is this:

A man holding public office can only be considered an agent of others. But the generally recognized concept of agency is a responsible one, requiring that the agent know and be able to identify his principals, and then act in their best interests. But a congressman can show neither legal proof nor moral evidence that anyone either appointed him as his agent or sought to get him to act in his best interests.

This is because these people are elected to Congress by a secret ballot and are thus unable to point to their principals and act "for" them in any honest way.

How, LeFevre asks, can a man claim to be honest while supposedly being able to represent both those who voted for him, as well as those who would do anything in their power to prevent him from being an agent for them?

Therefore, someone who claims to be an agent and acting for others, but who can show no legal or moral proof as to who those persons are for whom he acts, can only act on his own behalf.

In the letters to congressmen, LeFevre details this untenable moral position and asks them to resign and be content with the rights and privileges "enjoyed by everybody else."

Many readers, if not particularly interested in libertarianism (yet), will enjoy the book on the level of curiosity. They will find the "deep" philosophical and political rationales of some of their legislators fascinating and occasionally hilarious, if not downright stupid.

In his lectures, LeFevre advocates no government whatsoever, but rather the bringing about of a system of responsible individualism based on property rights and the nature of human beings to seek profit.

He hastens to point out that the nation's lawmakers, and others in various strata of government, are not all "bad guys." Many of them, he declares, are bright people who could most likely perform honest, productive tasks in a free market.

Some, by the same token, would obviously have to become pickpockets or die of hunger within a few days.

Those of both characteristics corresponded with LeFevre. The words of some of the big names are here: Edmund Muskie, Gerald Ford, Hubert Humphrey (whom, we are told, represents all of the people of Minnesota) Mike Gravel, and Edward Brooke.

But the lesser-knowns provide the real meat of the book, and the best of its subtle humor.

Richard Hanna, then a representative from California's Orange County (where LeFevre lives), responded to LeFevre's lengthy, scholarly, logical and impassioned treatise by saying he had referred it to another congressman "who represents the district in which you reside," adding, "A long-standing tradition in Congress requires that each member have the privilege of representing his own constituents."

A New York representative, John Dow, appears to have seriously considered heeding LeFevre's request. Citing the works of Freud, Rousseau, and Sartre, Dow admits to the "moral ambiguity" of serving in Congress, but concludes it would also be immoral to step aside while letting someone worse than him assume the position.

And at one point, we get a first hand look at a gut level difference between conservatism and libertarianism.

Sen. James Buckley, widely regarded as a leader among so-called conservatives, says a senator cannot simply be viewed as an agent of others, but is elected to *deliberate* majorities—"to determine what is a reasonable majority and act, therefore, not in his own behalf or necessarily in behalf of an unreasonable majority but in behalf of some common good over

and above the conflicting interests. . . ."

Buckley bolsters his position with the words of Thomas Jefferson: "The will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, but that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable."

To this, LeFevre responds that the will of a majority might well be wrongful, but that Buckley and others have grabbed for the power to use their own personal scale of values to determine that which is "the common good."

Such an authoritarian approach as the one outlined by Buckley is one reason libertarian ranks include so many ex-conservatives.

The crux of LeFevre's idea is that there is nothing wrong with representation per se; that is, if it is based on mutual trust, consent, and responsibility.

But, he maintains, we have instead a secretly appointed elite conclave made up of men who believe they can be "right" while doing whatever they please with the lives, liberties, and properties of others.

And they say they justifiably derive this monarchical authority from a "Constitution" drafted in the name of "We the People," but which was in fact never signed, approved, or even seen by anyone, save a few men who saw it as a mechanism through which to gain power.

One cannot fail to be awed by LeFevre's lightning logic and uncanny ability to remain calm and manly in the face of kingly put-downs.

For the dedicated student of liberty, LeFevre's congressional correspondence—like the pioneering work of Lysander Spooner a century ago—can only serve to recharge and uplift. ■

3 FOR 99¢

VALUES TO \$68.90

EXTRA FREE GIFT

when you join the Conservative Book Club and agree to buy 4 books at low Club prices over the next 18 months



THE BREAKDOWN OF THE OLD POLITICS

by Gen. Thomas A. Lane

Why both major parties are failing us. "An almost classic statement of the conservative position in America at this time."—*Publishers Weekly*. \$8.95

- 478 LENIN IN ZURICH—Alexander Solzhenitsyn. "Masterly fusion of history, biography and the novelist's art."—*Publishers Weekly*. "A fine literary achievement."—*Wall St. Journal*. \$8.95
- 337 THE LAST KENNEDY—Robert Sherrill. Teddy, Chappaquiddick and the big cover-up. "Devastating."—*Library Journal*. "A small, satiric masterpiece."—*N.Y. Times*. \$8.95
- 472 THE COMING BREAKPOINT—Barry Goldwater. "I do think the nation has less than ten years. . . ."—then Barry shows why. \$8.95
- 488 JESUS CHRIST BEFORE HE BECAME A SUPERSTAR—J. K. Fitzpatrick. Brilliant young writer refutes the updaters—with the words of Jesus Himself. \$7.95
- 448 TOTAL INVESTING—Thomas J. Holt. This method—not a gimmick—gained 18.5% per year in 8 years of good and bad markets. Can be used by any investor. \$8.95
- 490 THANK GOD I HAVE CANCER!—Rev. Clifford Oden. Brave minister tells how God helped him survive this killer. \$7.95
- 454 IF MEN WERE ANGELS—Sen. James L. Buckley. "This book adds a note of class to the right."—*New Republic*. \$8.95
- 484 THE ACLU ON TRIAL—W. H. McIlhenny II. Detailed indictment of its leftist record. \$8.95
- 496 IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF JESUS—W. E. Pax (Institute of Bible Research, Jerusalem). Beautiful word-and-picture journey. 122 gorgeous photographs—68 in breathtaking full color. Oversized 8½ x 10. Printed throughout on rich coated stock. Informative text throws new light on the Gospel narratives. \$19.95
- 452 LIBERAL PARENTS, RADICAL CHILDREN—Midge Decker. "Right on target. . . splendid stimulus to a critically needed self-examination on the part of parents and children alike."—*Wall St. Journal*. \$7.95
- 456 BLOOD OVER TEXAS—S. H. Montaigne. Historian proves Uncle Sam was not the villain in the Mexican War. \$8.95
- 462 THE COMING DEFLATION: ITS DANGERS—AND OPPORTUNITIES—C. V. Myers. The famed financial maverick delivers a sobering message. \$8.95
- 327 PLAIN TALK—ed. by Isaac Don Levine. 464-page anthology from the leading anti-Communist magazine of the 40s. Features star writers like Clare Boothe Luce, Ayn Rand, Margaret Mitchell. \$12.95
- 464 LIVING WITH TERRORISM—Richard Clutterbuck. How to protect yourself and society without sacrificing freedom. \$7.95
- 316 THE HUNGRY SHEEP—J. D. Sheridan. New kind of apologetics shows how Catholic faith can hurl back modern attacks. \$7.95
- 438 FROM UNDER THE RUBBLE—Alexander Solzhenitsyn. The greatest writer of our time joins six other dissidents to score Red tyranny—and Western liberalism. \$8.95
- 308 GIBBON FOR MODERNS. Masterful abridgment by Peter P. Witonski of the 6-volume classic, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*—with lessons for America today. \$8.95
- 289 KISSINGER ON THE COUCH—Phyllis Schlafly & Chester Ward. 846 pages of deadly indictment. \$12.95
- 446 CONSERVATIVE VOTES, LIBERAL VICTORIES—Patrick J. Buchanan. How conservatives can translate votes into public policy. \$7.95
- 384 A NEWMAN TREASURY. Best anthology of John Henry Newman. Over 400 pages. \$8.95
- 372 VITAMIN B17: FORBIDDEN WEAPON AGAINST CANCER—Michael L. Culbert. If this is the cure, why won't the bureaucrats let us try it? \$8.95
- 418 HOW TO SURVIVE IN YOUR LIBERAL SCHOOL—James K. Fitzpatrick. Eloquent teacher shows students (and their parents) how. \$7.95
- 444 THE GODS OF ANTENNA—Bruce Herschensohn. Insider's look at how the media got Nixon. \$7.95
- 382 GETTING RICH IN COMMODITIES, CURRENCIES OR COINS—BEFORE OR DURING THE NEXT DEPRESSION—Robert Vichas. Only for the sophisticated. \$14.95
- 422 THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE—C. Gregg Singer. Outspoken history of the National Council of Churches. \$11.95
- 36 JFK: THE MAN & THE MYTH—Victor Lasky. Classic political biography, and still the best on Kennedy and the Clan. \$9.95
- 428 A GANG OF PECKSNIFFS—H. L. Mencken. Sparkling collection of his writings on the press. \$8.95
- 408 THE VICTIMS—Frank Carrington. Tough attorney shows what we must do to overcome the crime scourge. \$9.95
- 392 THE CHURCH IN TODAY'S CATASTROPHES. Scores of persecuted Christians and Jews, including Solzhenitsyn, cry out from behind the Iron Curtain. \$8.95
- 432 HOW THE EXPERTS BUY AND SELL GOLD BULLION, GOLD STOCKS & GOLD COINS—James E. Sinclair & Harry D. Schultz. How to profit in up and down markets. \$8.95
- 398 MEDIACRACY: American Parties and Politics in the Communications Age—Kevin P. Phillips. Penetrating. \$8.95
- 332 WAKING UP THE GIANT—Stefan T. Possony. Detailed, fresh approaches to anti-Communist strategy. \$14.95
- 296 THE FAILURE OF THE "NEW ECONOMICS"—Henry Hazlitt. Definitive refutation of Keynes. \$11.95
- 188 THE GODS OF ATHEISM—Vincent P. Miceli, S.J. Searching indictments of Sartre, Cox, Comte, Marx, Heidegger, Robinson, Tillich, etc. \$12.50

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

165 Huguenot Street, New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801

Please send me FREE *The Breakdown of the Old Politics* plus the 3 books whose numbers I have entered below:

Bill me for only 99¢ for all 4, plus shipping, and enter my membership in the Conservative Book Club—the only book club expressly for political conservatives. I agree to buy 4 more books in the next 18 months from among more than 150 to be offered—books on politics, investing, religion, social issues, Communism, economics, conservative ideas, history, etc. Membership entitles me to a free subscription to the Club Bulletin, which brims with book bargains and offers me opportunities to get in touch with my fellow members. I am eligible to buy Club books at discounts that range from 20% to 94% plus shipping. If I want a Selection, I do nothing; it will come automatically about a month later. If I don't want a Selection, or if I prefer one of the several Alternates, I simply inform you on the handy form always provided. I'll be offered a new Selection every 24 days—15 times a year. LR-106

Name

Address

City/State Zip

My Years with Ludwig von Mises

By Margit von Mises

BIOGRAPHY

Reviewed by Murray N. Rothbard / Arlington House, 1976 / \$9.95 (illustrated)

For those who are passionately concerned with ideas, and especially those engaged in a lifelong struggle for freedom, the opportunity is all too rare to step back for a moment and consider the persons who are our mentors and guides. This is particularly true of Ludwig von Mises, one of the great minds of this century and the outstanding champion of human freedom of our age.

In this charming and poignant memoir of their life together, his devoted widow, Margit, points out that when Mises died in October 1973, none of the articles and memorials about him dealt with Mises the person. In her preface, she explains why, and why she wrote this book:

My husband was a very reserved person. While he was kind and friendly to all, he was extremely self-restrained and uncommunicative about his own life and affairs. He never talked about himself or his family. His work, his writings belonged to the world. His feelings belonged to me. I have reason to believe that I am the only person who really knew him.

That is why I have written this book. The desire to bring him closer to his admirers and to the many students who loved him and stood in awe of his genius eventually grew so strong within me that it became almost an obsession. By telling the story of our life together, I shall try to reveal Ludwig von Mises as he really was: a great thinker, a great scholar, a great teacher—but still a lonely man with a great need for love and affection.

The awe and the love I can testify to. For those of us who were honored and privileged to be students and friends of Ludwig von Mises, the idea of any sort of emotional intimacy with this man whom we loved and revered was simply not thinkable.

Mises was a man of great charm, sweetness, and benevolence—far different from the doughty fighter one might expect from his writings—but he also possessed the grace, courtliness and inner reserve which was a product of an older and nobler age. But this was not a disappointment to us; quite the contrary. In our bumptious world of Instant Intimacy it was an honor to know a man for whom privacy and emotional restraint were an essential part of his being.

In this enthralling and moving memoir, Margit von Mises has gracefully succeeded in the delicate task of revealing to us Mises the man without presuming to strip away his cherished sense of privacy. (Would that other memoirs would do the same!)

As the details of their life together accumulate, the reader becomes gripped and moved by the book. Who would have thought that a volume like this is one that “one cannot put down”? And yet, Margit has accomplished this feat.

Above all, this book is a lovely valentine, a love story of Ludwig and Margit's life together. It is a touching and tender love story, a romance in the best sense of the term. No longer need we think sadly of Ludwig von Mises' life as merely a lonely and supremely courageous struggle on the part of a great man whose ideas and contributions were neglected and demeaned by a hostile and uncomprehending world, who was deprived of the high honors which academia and the world of scholarship have heaped upon him.

For now we know that Mises' life was enriched and made happy by his great and abiding love. All of us who love and admire Ludwig von Mises are in Margit's debt—both for her existence and for this book which tells us the Mises story. It is a book for all of us to read and cherish.

And yet . . . I am reluctant to bring up any unpleasant considerations in a discussion of a book of such grace and tenderness. But his book has brought alive even more than before the shabbiness, the malice, with which Mises was treated by an intellectual world which should have given him all the honor and

prestige of which it is capable.

In what I found a particularly moving passage of the book, Margit writes of the time, early in his life in America, when Mises visited a friend of his (Winfield W. Riefler), who had a position with the prestigious Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, where scholars can devote themselves to full-time scholarship and high intellectual companionship. She writes:

I remember Lu [Mises] once told me that Riefler's job was the only position that really would have made him happy. . . . It was unusual for Lu to express a longing for something out of his reach. It was more revealing to me than any other remark he might have made. . . . When I told Fritz Machlup [one of Mises' students in Vienna]—much, much later—about Lu's wish, he replied, “And he would have been the right man at the right place.” Why did no one ever think of it?

Why, indeed? In her sweet way, Margit expresses gratitude to New York University for giving Mises the opportunity to teach. But I must confess that



when I consider that NYU paid Mises the munificent sum of \$2000 a year as a part-time instructor, that they only allowed Mises to teach full-time as a visiting professor for many years because his entire salary was paid by the William Volker Fund and other business admirers, that the administration of NYU tried to discourage students from attending Mises' classes, many emotions fill my heart, but gratitude is not one of them.

To think that at a time when every fifth-rate socialist refugee received well-paying and prestigious posts in academia that a man like Mises could only spend his years at a third-rate business school in a subsidized post! This is a blot on American academia that can never be forgiven or forgotten.

I am grateful and happy that Ludwig and Margit were able to live their lives in America without bitterness, that Mises could spend his most productive and fruitful years happily even under such contemptible treatment. But I cannot succeed in looking at that treatment with the same grace and equanimity.

It is sad that Ludwig von Mises could not have lived to see the present resurgence of his “Austrian economics” teachings, to see a world where a glittering array of younger economists have become “Misesians,” where scholarly institutes, foundations, conferences and seminars are expounding his teachings, where Misesian books are beginning to pour forth from the presses.

But we can console ourselves a little at the thought that the immortal Ludwig von Mises lives on, in the hearts of those who loved him, and in his teachings that are finding an ever-expanding influence. And now Margit von Mises' memoir will play a vital part in the immortalizing of her noble husband.

Oglesby/Sale—(Continued from page 1)

lone assassin of John F. Kennedy, but Oglesby has situated this evidence within an analytical framework that highlights the significance of the Kennedy assassination during a period of increasing tension within the political-economic elite. Earlier researchers concentrated on establishing that a conspiracy *did* exist; Oglesby provides a compelling explanation of the forces that gave rise to the conspiracy.

Sale's *Power Shift* offers a somewhat different perspective on the Yankee-Cowboy model, and its most valuable contribution is a detailed discussion of the “six basic pillars of the cowboy economy: agribusiness, defense, advanced technology, oil and natural gas production, real estate and construction and tourism and leisure.” However, Sale's analysis is seriously flawed by the tendency to present the reader with a false dualism involving and either-or choice between two undifferentiated regions: the Northeast v. the Southern Rim. Moreover, Sale displays a pronounced bias in favor of the Northeast, leaving the reader with little doubt as to which protagonist he favors in the epic encounter between these two regions.

By persistently focusing on the role of political-economic elites, Oglesby manages to avoid much of Sale's regionalist bias, and he calls upon the reader “to turn against Yankee and Cowboy elites equally.” Oglesby, far more than Sale, appreciates that the Yankee-Cowboy model represents an attempt to analyze tensions *within* the national political-economic elite and that the vast majority of the American people in both regions of the country are essentially victims of a power struggle which few of them fully understand. This is an extremely important distinction from the viewpoint of political strategy, since if Sale's regionalist perspective is adopted, one would be tempted to write off the population of an entire region as morally bankrupt. On the other hand, Oglesby carefully distinguishes between the activities of the political-economic elites and the rest of the population, thereby appealing to constituencies in all regions to unite in rejecting the parasitic expansion of power favored by both Yankees and Cowboys.

As I have already indicated, a major portion of Oglesby's *Yankee and Cowboy War* is devoted to a detailed analysis of two political events: the assassination of John F. Kennedy and the Watergate crisis. Oglesby regards the Kennedy assassination as particularly significant, and he contends that, by politicizing this issue and demanding a reopening of the investigation into the assassination, a popular movement could be mobilized that may succeed in exposing at least one dimension of the rivalry between the Yankees and Cowboys.

It is unfortunate that Oglesby has only written one book, since he could have written at least two very valuable books on the Yankee-Cowboy model. The one that he did write clearly demonstrates the value of the model in interpreting the confusing and occasionally even chaotic events that have dominated the political scene over the past 15 years. By skillfully weaving historical detail and theoretical analysis into a coherent and compelling interpretation of two of the most dramatic events of this period, Oglesby establishes a persuasive case for the validity of his model.

The book that Oglesby did not write would have provided the reader with a more detailed and systematic elaboration of the Yankee-Cowboy model itself, tracing the origins of both elite groups, examining their early evolution and analyzing the full scope of the conflict that continues to separate them. Such a book might be characterized as an essay in historical sociology, studying the institutional framework within which members of both groups are socialized into their roles, accumulate wealth and exercise power.

Unfortunately, despite a number of important insights into the foundations of the Yankee-Cowboy conflict, Sale's *Power Shift* does not satisfy this need for a second book. By presenting a regionalist variant of the Yankee-Cowboy model, Sale instead has departed significantly from Oglesby's original insights in a direction that threatens to weaken the radical content of the model. As a result, that second book remains to be written, hopefully by Oglesby himself, or, if not, at least by someone who will build upon the foundations that Oglesby has laid. ■

Libertarian Review

A Civil Tongue

GOBBLEDYSPEAK

By Edwin Newman

Reviewed by Stephen J. Chapman / Bobbs-Merrill, 1976 / \$8.95

Edwin Newman is a highly serious man when he is on television as a reporter—he has one of the dearest pans in the business—but in print he is usually very funny. There are several passages in *A Civil Tongue* that will provoke most readers to laugh out loud, something rare in contemporary American writing, particularly journalism. Newman has a whimsical, original wit and an almost unerring eye for the absurd, especially in language. *A Civil Tongue* should be a very entertaining book. It isn't.

It is nonetheless an educational book, aimed at exposing the bad state of the English language, principally as spoken by Americans. To those who care, it is clear that English suffers from writing and speaking that are stilted, wordy, pompous, vague, and filled with jargon, but Newman shows that the abuse is much worse than anyone suspected. The book is essentially a collection of atrocities strung together by Newman's wisecracks.

Orwell wrote thirty years ago, in his "Politics and English Language," that as a rule, "political writing

“ . . . bad language,
like polluted air,
is everywhere and is
quickly becoming
inescapable . . . ”

is bad writing.” That remains true, but political speaking is even worse. One hopes it was momentary confusion or nervousness or fatigue that caused Nelson Rockefeller to say, when asked if he might be nominated for vice president at the 1976 Republican convention, “I cannot conceive of any scenario in which that might eventuate.” Likewise for Jerry Brown, who explained his celebrated “asceticism” by saying, “I cannot relate to that material possessory consciousness.” Surely they never would have sat down and written that kind of pretentious nonsense. There is no such excuse for the people who wrote a Winston-Salem, North Carolina, budget proposal, requesting money for “effective confinement and extinguishment of unwanted and destructive fires.” Here Newman inserts a typical comments: “Firemen unable to achieve distinguishment between unwanted and destructive fires and the wanted and constructive kind are destined to suffer languishment in the lower grades.”

One expects such talk from people in government, who often as not have good reason to obscure what they are doing by kicking up a lot of verbal dirt and debris. What is one to think, though, of a college dean who speaks of “conceptualizing new thrusts in programming” (“Beware the conceptualized thrust,” says Newman. “I saw one that had gone berserk and it took six strong men to hold it down”)? Or the university president who, when faced with a \$56,000 deficit, promised, “We will divert the force of this fiscal stress into leverage energy to pry improved budgetary prediction and control out of our fiscal and administrative procedures.” Or the sociologist at the University of Southern California who blithely described murder and assault as “escalated interpersonal altercations”? If our best educated people speak gibberish, whom can we turn to for salvation?

To journalists, perhaps, to those people whose livelihood is their skill with words? Not a chance. The *Washington Post* described a particular race horse as “uniquely one of a kind.” The *New York Times* has mentioned bills in Congress that “successfully withstand attacks” (“in spite of earlier impressions,” says Newman, “that they would unsuccessfully with-

stand them”). Once in a while, sanity intrudes: when the Associated Press began a story, “A Senate Appropriations Committee has acted to ensure that former President Richard Nixon is not provided household servants at government expense,” UPI covered the same incident with the lead sentence, “The chairman of a Senate subcommittee says the government shouldn't pay for shining Richard Nixon's shoes.” Such examples are rare.

Newman's point is that bad language, like polluted air, is everywhere and is quickly becoming inescapable, a point he illustrates painstakingly and often quite amusingly. What he fails to do is put it all in a coherent framework that explains why English is so widely degraded, or what can be done about it, or

even why it is bad that people speak and write so unclearly. *A Civil Tongue* ends up as little more than a handbook of ways to misuse the English language, with no logical organization or clear purpose. One could read the book's chapters in reverse order and hardly know the difference; in fact one can get nearly as much out of any one chapter as out of the entire book. Newman is funny in short sittings but tedious and repetitive in long ones.

Newman's book is valuable, if only for steering one clear of countless common errors. But he leaves the reader longing for Orwell's lucid insights, such as his observation that “one ought to recognize that the present political chaos is connected with the decay of language, and that one can probably bring about some improvement by starting at the verbal end. If you simplify your English, you are freed from the worst follies of orthodoxy. You cannot speak any of the necessary dialects, and when you make a stupid remark, its stupidity will be obvious, even to yourself.” Language is too important for one to be content with simply making fun of those who use it badly. And no one should know that better than Edwin Newman. ■

SELF ESTEEM AND THE ART OF BEING®



An Invitation to attend a workshop conducted by Dr. Nathaniel Branden—author of “The Psychology of Self Esteem,” “Breaking Free” and “The Disowned Self.”

There is no judgment a person can pass more significant than the one he passes on himself, no single factor more responsible for the shape his life takes. For over 20 years the central theme of my work has been the importance of self-esteem and the process of its attainment. Now I invite you to share with me the distillation of that work, in a 40-hour high intensity workshop, whose purpose is to enhance the level of the participant's self-esteem, and to assist the individual to a wider vision of life's possibilities, through a new awareness of his own positive personality potentials. Not a lecture series, nor psychotherapy, the workshop is a unique learning experience designed to facilitate self-awareness, self-acceptance, self-responsibility, and self-assertion. I regard this workshop in self-esteem enhancement as the most exciting and valuable program I have ever offered. I hope you will wish to join me.

For Washington, D.C.
Workshop—February 3-6
Contact:
Ms. Kathryn Dise
Kephart Communications, Inc.
901 N. Washington Street, #200
Alexandria, Virginia 22314
(703) 836-3313

For Los Angeles, California
Workshop—March 17-20
Contact:
The Biocentric Institute
9255 Sunset Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90069
(213) 274-1134

For Detroit, Michigan
Workshop—April 14-17
Contact:
Lee or Joyce Shulman
c/o Lee M. Shulman & Associates
751 Hendrie Boulevard
Royal Oak, Michigan 48067
(313) 541-2660





The Decline

Prohibiting Rattlesnakes and Strychnine

By Gary A. Hughes

The courts, when dealing with cases involving religious freedom issues, almost always cite approvingly the adage that the First Amendment erects a wall of separation between church and state.* This is legal shorthand for saying the state has one domain, religion another, and never the twain shall meet.

But this wall has not proven to be one of solid stone; from time to time breaches have appeared. One such can be called the "restriction-on-action" breach. This found expression in the opinion of the United States Supreme Court in *Reynolds v. United States*, a case involving a Mormon who was being prosecuted for violation of the federal law proscribing bigamy. His defense was the First Amendment's guarantee of religious freedom; it was, he claimed, a dictate of his religion to take more than one wife whenever possible. As the court noted in its opinion, the Mormon church taught its male members "that the failing or refusing to practice polygamy by [the] male members of [the] Church, when circumstances would admit, would be punished, and that the penalty for such failure and refusal would be damnation in the life to come." But much to Reynolds' surprise, the wall was found not to be as impenetrable as he had assumed. The court decided that while the First Amendment guarantees one an absolute right to believe, it allows the state to restrict translation of those beliefs into practices. Actions which offend against societal welfare, safety, or morals cannot be permitted, said the Court, even if they spring from valid religious belief. In this case, polygamy not only offended against societal morals, it was criminally proscribed. Thus, the wall is solid when mere belief is involved, but when action is at issue, the wall is much like Swiss cheese: solid with occasional holes, which allow the state to intervene in some instances.

One would assume that if any aspect of religion is protected from state interference, it is the content of the ceremonial practices of a sect, unconventional as they may be. Ceremony is a major expression of a religion's tenets; a finding that the state possesses the power to interfere in this area would pose a grave threat to religious freedom. In a recent case, the Supreme Court of Tennessee made such a finding: invoking the *Reynolds* restriction-on-action doctrine, the court allowed the state of Tennessee to prohibit a sect from using certain unconventional practices in its worship service. The case, *State ex rel Swann v. Pack*, concerns two practices of the Holiness Church of God in Jesus' Name—the handling of live rattlesnakes by some members and the drinking of strychnine by others during the worship service. Both practices were engaged in, according to one of the defendant members of the sect, to "confirm the Word of God," not as a test of the member's faith. The snakes were

handled only by those who believed the "Spirit" was with them at the time, and, as stipulated at the trial level, in such a way that no nonconsenting person was endangered.

The local district attorney discovered these practices and brought suit to have them declared a public nuisance and halted. The trial court shared somewhat the district attorney's concern, granting an injunction against further snake-handling within the county. However, the court allowed "any person who wishes to swallow strychnine or other poison [to] do so if he does not make it available to any other persons." On appeal, the Tennessee Court of Appeals manifested less sympathy for the district attorney's position. The judges there found the lower court's injunction to be overbroad and modified it to forbid snake-handling only if done "in such a manner as will endanger the life or health of persons who do not consent to exposure to such danger." The lower court's allowance of strychnine drinking was continued.

In the Tennessee Supreme Court, the district attorney found judges as horrified as he by the practices at issue. The court, citing *Reynolds*, applied the restriction-on-action doctrine, and cited other cases illustrating the number of holes that have rent the wall of church-state separation over the years since *Reynolds*. The state "has the right to guard against the unnecessary creation of widows and orphans" thundered the court, and it proceeded to order a halt to both practices.

While the practices enjoined here may not be appealing, the question posed by the court's action is of the gravest import. The state here is found to have the power to dictate what is or is not acceptable in a worship service. Even if one agrees with the result in this particular case, the paramount question is: To what extent could the ruling be expanded in the future? It may be only a small step from state prohibition of certain activities to state prohibition of certain prayers or songs or perhaps even meetings themselves. For instance, suppose the government turned more openly repressive and churches requested their congregations to fast until we were delivered from the tyrants. In such an event, could the church meetings themselves be banned as *per se* a public nuisance? Judges often write of the necessity of keeping the metaphorical door that separates individual liberties from governmental interference tightly closed against government entry, for once that door is left the slightest bit ajar, government intrusion into personal liberties inevitably results. This metaphor has been used innumerable times in cases dealing with First Amendment freedoms. No one knows what future governments may be like (indeed, who foresaw the character of the Nixon Administration?) or what future conditions may seem to require. Therefore, it is best at all times to keep sight of the underlying principle involved, and allow the occasional offensive act if to arrest it would damage that principle. Cases dealing with freedom of

the press often recite that sometimes the "bad" must be allowed to insure the "good" is not suppressed. Such a philosophy should also be applied in cases involving freedom of religion.

To show proper respect for the wall of separation, the Tennessee Supreme Court should have told the district attorney to leave the sect alone. The state cannot tell a religious sect what it can or cannot do during its worship service and still comply with the mandate of the First Amendment's religion clauses.

The best and constitutionally correct decision would have been for the court to say: This is an area in which the state has no power to intervene. Everyone attends the worship service voluntarily; no one attends or remains under compulsion. The practices at issue are apparently (for the record does not appear to be clear on this) conducted in such a way that those persons not participating are placed in no danger. In a system of government whose original theoretic justification was the necessity of protecting the individual from the depredations of others, there is here no need for the state to interfere, for in this situation no one is threatened by another.

To appreciate the correctness of this position, one must recall John Locke's explanation of the origin of government. Locke's theory, of course, as set forth in his *Two Treatises of Government*, provided the philosophical foundation of the American system of government, and thus provides an explanation of the nature of

“The state has now been found to possess the power to completely prohibit the use of certain practices in religious worship services . . .”

the powers of that government.

According to Locke, people in the state of nature collectively own the tangible commodities we commonly call property. By the use of his or her labor, a person severs a portion of that property from the commonly owned stock, thus making it his or her own. Since such alienation is the result of individual effort, those capable of greater effort (due to physical strength, size of family, or other factors) amass a greater amount of property than others. As a response to such inequality, those who have less attack those who have more.

Thus, wrote Locke, the "great and chief end . . . of Mens [*sic*] uniting into Commonwealths, and putting themselves under Government, is the preservation of their Property." Each person agreeing to the formation of the government cedes to it his or her natural right to retaliate against an attacker. The government is thus created to protect the individual against the aggressions of others. And as the government has only those powers it receives from its people, as Peter Laslett has ob-

served, "its [Locke's government's] power is given for attaining an end and is thus limited to it." Its power to intervene is thus limited to those situations where an individual is threatened or injured by another individual. Where there is no threat to an individual from another, the government has no power to intervene.

But reality often does not mirror theory. In the present case, reality dictated that the state think it should intervene. This illusion stems from the state's longstanding assertion—having no legitimate theoretical foundation—that it can intervene to protect people not only from others, but from themselves. This philosophy is reflected in numerous laws, most notably those penalizing alcoholic intoxication, consensual "deviant" sex practices, and drug possession. As noted earlier, the state founded on Lockean philosophy cannot legitimately make such a claim—but it has, time and time again. And the courts, equally mistaken, have accepted the claim with depressing regularity.

Recognizing that reality rather than theory controls, what would be the best resolution of the issues presented in this case? When dealing with fundamental rights such as freedom of religion, the courts frequently invoke the "least-onerous-alternative" doctrine. This is legalese for saying that if the state believes it must infringe upon a fundamental right, it must restrict the extent of the infringement to that absolutely necessary to accomplish its purpose. In cases such as this, it means the state must breach the wall only to the extent absolutely necessary to accomplish its task, and no further, for small holes do less damage to the integrity of the wall than large ones.

In this context, the Court of Appeals opinion is preferable to that of Tennessee's highest court. The latter court employs a bludgeon approach. Believing nonparticipants might be or were endangered, the court issued a blanket prohibition against the activities at issue. This insured the cessation of any danger. But it also, as the court itself noted, deprived the church of its theological heart. The former court utilizes a more surgical approach, tailoring its directive to protect the nonparticipants, but leaving the religious freedom of the sect substantially intact. Of the two approaches, this clearly embodies the "least onerous alternative." As the "spectators" were apparently already protected in practice, the Court of Appeals opinion in reality gives approval to the church's activities. Only a tiny burden is placed on the sect: members are prohibited from taking their snakes among the nonparticipants and cannot make strychnine available to others. But given the nature of reality, as mentioned earlier, such a burden represents the least that could have been fashioned. The decision represents a breach in the wall, but only a very small one.

As a consequence of the decision of the Tennessee Supreme Court, another gaping hole has rent the church-state wall of the First Amendment. The state has now been found to possess the power to completely prohibit the use of certain practices in religious worship services, even though they pose no realistic threat to anyone other than those who freely engage in them. We must all be vigilant to see that the state shows restraint in the use of this power so that the integrity of is weakened no further, for the passions of the future, like the natural elements, are capable of eroding even the strongest safeguards, especially when they have been already weakened by a breach of large proportions. The Supreme Court of Tennessee may well have opened Pandora's box. ■

*Throughout this essay the terms "state," "the state," and "government" will be used interchangeably to mean the political institutions of a polity generally.

Identity and Intimacy

By William Kilpatrick

Reviewed by Harries-Clichy Peterson, Jr. / Dell, 1975 / \$3.25 pb

"The present era has been variously described as the age of liberation, the age of transformation, even the age of a new consciousness. At some future date, however, we may look back and discover that it was, in reality, the age during which we lost our identity, and with it our ability to love."

So begins William Kilpatrick, professor of psychology at Boston College, in what will no doubt be received as a throwback Victorian plea for values currently considered obsolete and primordial: love, fidelity, commitment. Kilpatrick, in his *Identity and Intimacy*, writes about the psychology of love as involvement and commitment, and holds this up as a positive value, distinct and more productive to the self than the glorified fluidity of Alvin Toffler, the meaningless antiphilosophical waverings of the human potential movement and the rampant anti-individualism of McLuhan and Norman O. Brown.

Kilpatrick's book is a careful and penetrating study of what love is, and what it is not. His analysis is reminiscent of the insight found in Ortega y Gasset's *On Love* (without the dry pedantry) and in C.S. Lewis's *Four Loves* (without the Christian perspective). But offering us more than a compassionate analysis of what love is, Kilpatrick goes on to point

“...a careful and penetrating study of what love is, and what it is not.”

out, that love is also of crucial importance in the development of our identity.

For the rational man or woman who believes that identity (our very depth of being, our total self) is built on choices and commitments, and that the self develops through dedication to causes, to passions, to others, this book is a very warm experience. Murray Rothbard wrote that a lifelong dedication to liberty can only be grounded on a passion for justice and the passionate embrace of ethical principles of what justice and injustice are; as William Lloyd Garrison wrote: "I have need to be on fire, for I have mountains of ice about me to melt." And so Kilpatrick states his case for embracing love and commitment.

His case is profound but uncomplicated. He writes, as did Ortega, that love is essentially a matter of choice. This is enriched and broadened by adding, from Kierkegaard, that love is not a feeling but an act of will, a chosen duty to which we freely commit ourselves.

This idea of love as a chosen duty (even if freely chosen) is incompatible with the fluid self that makes no rational decisions but slides through life, uncontrolled, guided by emotions grounded in nothing but whim. One reason this view of love as choice and duty is rejected is that in being choice, love not only requires some actions, but proscribes other actions, and thus limits our range of involvement—and this is not desired by the Easy Riders of our age. Kilpatrick notes, however, that a full development of identity can only come through the intensity of involvement. We must make choices to define our self, to create identity. Yet choice is worthwhile only if we are willing to involve ourselves intimately in that choice; intimacy involves, paradoxically, a relaxation of identity to assert itself. The proposition, strength through relaxation, is a risky one, for there is a potential for loss. Yet, as in economics, this must hold true in our psychology of self-esteem; it is only by taking risks that profits are made.

Kilpatrick has given us a powerful statement that

should motivate us, through his persuasions, to attempt to define ourselves through a concurrent strengthening of identity through intimacy in its most grand form: accepting love as a serious, freely willed dedication to commitment. His statement is extremely well written, even graceful. His rich insight, all of it free of any jargon, is purposefully and well illustrated with myriad of examples from psychology, from popular culture, from literature. His book's result: the strong motivation to commit oneself to something.

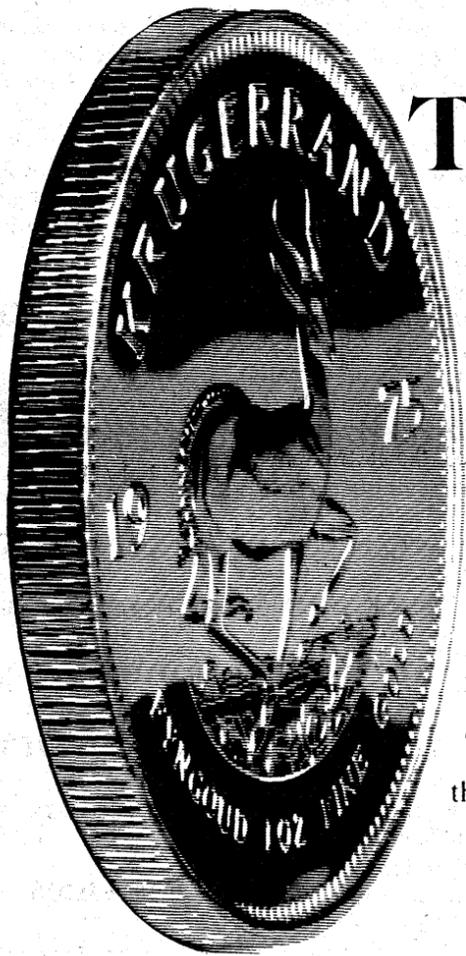
What Kilpatrick does not do is give us any understanding of *why* we chose any given cause, passion,

or person over any other. It is here that Nathaniel Branden's chapters on romantic love from his *Psychology of Self-Esteem* come to mind.

Couple Branden's criteria for choice and Kilpatrick's rationale for making choice more permanent than temporary. In that marriage we have a very powerful, cohesive, and inspiring foundation for building a rational and sound psychology of love. The foundation is a coherent statement that liberates the self from the delusions of uncommitted fluidity in a transient age of future shock and group grope. And even more rewarding, it is an insight that helps us discover the power and intense reward (happiness) found in a freely willed, rationally chosen, committed true love.

The value of the two books is not just intellectual; if the writings are taken to heart as well as mind, the resulting value is one of intense personal gratification.

And considering that love has been a source of just as much pain as pleasure in the world, anything that opens our eyes to understand, perceive, and capture love as a healthy and wonderful aspect of life is certainly more than worthwhile. ■



The Krugerrand.

It's worth its weight in gold.

The Krugerrand is the only coin that contains precisely one troy ounce of pure gold, instead of a fractional amount.

This makes it easy to buy, easy to sell and easy to price.

For all these reasons, the Krugerrand is the world's best way to own gold. And it's become the best selling gold coin in existence.

The Krugerrand. Ounce for ounce, it's the best gold buy you can make.

We are coin brokers and we have the low premium bullion gold coins. Please call us for current prices on: Krugerrands . . . Austrian and Hungarian 100 Coronas. . . Mexican 50-Pesos; British Sovereigns; Colombian 5-Pesos. "Junk" Silver coins. . . U.S. dimes, quarters, half-dollars and silver dollars before 1965 (with 90% silver content), in quantities of \$1000, \$500, and \$250 face value. We guarantee quoted prices, safe delivery and authenticity of every coin.

Call us at our Toll Free Number.

Write today for your complimentary copy of the AGORA, our informative monthly newsletter.



BRAMBLE COINS

OAKLEY R. BRAMBLE — BUD REED
1604 MICHIGAN NATIONAL TOWER
LANSING, MICHIGAN 48933
1-800-248-5952 New Toll Free number.
Michigan residents please call 1-517-484-3198

Cut Local Taxes

—Without Reducing Essential Services

By Robert Poole, Jr.

Reviewed by Tom G. Palmer / Reason Press, 1976 / \$2

Probably one of the worst sets of ideas to emanate from a libertarian movement spokesman in recent years is Robert Poole's *Cut Local Taxes*. I am sorry to report that I found not a single redeeming point in all 46 pages.

What I had hoped to find was a manual on how to organize in opposition to local taxes: supporting bona fide antitax candidates, running referendum campaigns to defeat bond issues and tax increases, and the like, utilizing the libertarian argument that

services that have been usurped by government could best be provided on the free market. Instead, what I found was a handbook for bureaucrats detailing how state functions can be run more efficiently by utilizing "businesslike" methods. Rather than call for privatization of municipal services, Poole simply offers a number of cost-saving gimmicks to aid politicians in running state enterprises. All of this is advocated, of course, in the mistaken belief that if one can convince a bureaucrat or politician to cut costs, he will automatically cut taxes proportionally.

This claim is simply not borne out by the facts. Government expenditure rises to meet tax revenues.

STREAMLINING THE STATE

And the level of taxation is determined by how much the government can get away with. As an example, I take up the case of Orange County, California. Huntington Beach and other Orange County cities are constantly trotted out by Poole to demonstrate cost-cutting methods which have "saved the taxpayers millions of dollars." Yet local taxes have skyrocketed recently, such that families have been forced to move from the area, being unable to afford the rising tax burden. These "savings" were not "passed on" to the taxpayer. What such areas need, rather than more of Mr. Poole's cost cutting, is a vocal and organized antitax movement. (This is a void that could be filled by the local Libertarian Party.)

“Probably one of the worst sets of ideas to emanate from a libertarian movement spokesman in recent years”

Your opportunity to Study economics under Murray Rothbard.

"Basic Principles of Free Market Economics" is now available on cassette tapes.

Today, you cannot afford to be without a basic knowledge of economics. Unfortunately, however, most existing texts and courses are Keynesian in orientation and unintelligible in presentation.

Now, Murray Rothbard's comprehensive lecture series "Basic Principles of Free Market Economics" is available on tape. Answering a long-felt need, Dr. Rothbard has created an introductory course in economics from a libertarian, Austrian School viewpoint.

HOW AN UNDERSTANDING OF ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES WILL BENEFIT YOU.

As its title indicates, this is a course that focuses on basic economic principles. An understanding of such fundamentals is of vital concern to your life.

There are, of course, any number of books, newsletters, and seminars on investment and financial survival. Such sources often supply helpful information, but they cannot take the place of knowledge.

What Dr. Rothbard's course provides is not narrow advice of temporary value, but a comprehensive body of economic knowledge. Knowledge you'll carry with you for a lifetime. Knowledge that will serve as a secure foundation for future economic decision making.

Hearing these lectures, you'll begin to understand how your life, your work, and your investments are affected by market forces and government controls. After completing the course, you'll be prepared to make economic judgments intelligently, to comprehend the real meaning behind news events, and to answer the arguments of those who oppose the free market.

It has been said that "knowledge is power." While the myths of Keynesianism continue to dominate the economic thinking of most people, the individual with a firm grounding in free market principles has an incalculable advantage. He knows what's really happening—and why.

CASSETTES: A TEACHER IN YOUR HOME.

This is an on-the-spot recording of Dr. Rothbard's acclaimed New York City lecture course, faithfully preserving the spontaneity, immediacy and intellectual excitement of that event. The instructor's enthusiasm, wit and penetrating insights come across to the listener in a manner that the printed page cannot begin to duplicate.

Auditing these tapes, then, is like sitting in Dr. Rothbard's own classroom. Even better . . . since you're not required to show up at a Manhattan lecture hall at an appointed time each week. Instead, you're free to schedule the 20 hours of lectures to suit your own convenience. You set the pace, and you listen when and where you choose.

Banishing forever the popular notion of economics as a "dismal science," Dr. Rothbard's brilliant, lucid and entertaining presentation brings vividly to life terms like "liquidity," "elasticity," and "marginal utility." Inflation, depression, unemployment, and other phenomena are explained clearly and authoritatively.

Drawing upon a lifetime of experience as an economist, historian, teacher, and writer, Dr. Rothbard conveys his knowledge to the listener through a combination of theory, analysis, and personal anecdotes. Abstract principles and historical data are not presented as tedious details, but are carefully related to the concrete events of today, and to the listener's own life and concerns.

CONTENTS OF THE COURSE.

The 16 lectures constituting "Basic Principles" cover every important topic in economics. Here's a sampling:

- CHOICE, UTILITY AND DEMAND: resources; scarcity; technology and production; consumer and capital goods; time preference; specialization and the division of labor.
- SUPPLY AND DEMAND: the economic function of speculation; relationships between prices; substitutes and complements; joint demand and joint supply; benefits of an exchange system; the concept of elasticity.
- ADVERTISING: the myth of "pure and perfect competition"; product differentiation; the determinist fallacy; government v. the market; ethics of the market.
- PRICE CONTROLS: farm price supports; foreign aid; rationing; the energy crisis; rent control; zoning laws.
- THE PROFIT MOTIVE: the "owners v. managers" theory; conglomerates; non-profit corporations; government.
- COSTS OF THE FIRM: revenue, cost, and profit; "cost-plus"; the science of welfare economics.
- PRICING OF THE FACTORS OF PRODUCTION: taxes; production costs; the classical theory of distribution; the Law of Diminishing Returns; marginal productivity theory.
- LABOR: unions; discrimination; child labor laws; immigration quotas; the history of American unionism; business-union collusion; "right-to-work" laws; the minimum wage; population.
- CAPITAL, INTEREST AND PROFIT: long-run and short-run profit; the structure of production; the economic function of interest; time preference; capitalization; the stock market; the economics of slavery.
- CONSERVATION AND PROPERTY RIGHTS: "natural" resources; broadcast frequencies; air and water pollution.
- MONOPOLY AND COMPETITION: cartels; the airlines; fair trade laws; antitrust.
- MONEY AND BANKING: the evolution of money; gold and silver; depreciation of the currency; fixed and floating exchange rates; purchasing power; prices and price levels; the money supply; the foreign exchange market; the balance of payments; Gresham's Law; bank credit expansion; fractional reserve banking; central banks; the Federal Reserve System; the business cycle.

YOUR INSTRUCTOR: A LEADING AUTHORITY.



Dr. Murray N. Rothbard is one of the most distinguished economic thinkers of our time. An exponent of the Austrian branch of economics, he worked closely for many years with that school's foremost twentieth century theorist, the late Ludwig von Mises. Among Dr. Rothbard's published works are *Man, Economy and State*, *Power and Market*, *America's Great Depression*, *What Has Government Done to*

Our Money?, and *For a New Liberty*. His work has appeared in numerous publications, including *National Review*, *Human Events*, *Reason*, *Ramparts*, and *The New York Times*. He is presently professor of economics at the Polytechnic Institute of New York.

"One of the outstanding teachers of our day"—that's how Murray Rothbard is described by Ida Walters, staff reporter for the *Wall Street Journal*. "Only Dr. Rothbard could remove so much mystery, mistaken thinking, and outright insanity that currently surrounds contemporary economics." His course, adds Ms. Walters, is "the most comprehensive treatment of basic economics ever available by recording."

NO-RISK GUARANTEE

"Basic Principles of Free Market Economics" comes with this unconditional guarantee: If for any reason you're not fully satisfied with the course, simply return it and we'll send you a full refund—no questions asked.

The entire 16-cassette set of lectures is only \$160—a fraction of the cost of an equivalent university education in free market economics—if you could even find one. If you prefer, you may pay for the course through American Express, Master Charge or BankAmericard. Your tapes come shipped in two handsome leatherette library binders for easy access and storage. They are accompanied by all printed graphs and charts referred to in the lectures.

We said earlier that knowledge is power. When it comes to economics, too much power is exercised by those with too little knowledge. You can be one step ahead of the game with a thorough understanding of economic principles. Don't delay. Mail the coupon today.

Yes, send me Dr. Rothbard's "Basic Principles of Free Market Economics." I understand that I may return the course for a full and immediate refund if I'm not completely satisfied within three weeks after receiving it.

AF043

I enclose full payment of \$160.

Charge my credit card

BankAmericard American Express

Master Charge

Expire Date _____

Card # _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

901 N. Washington St.

Alexandria, Va. 22314

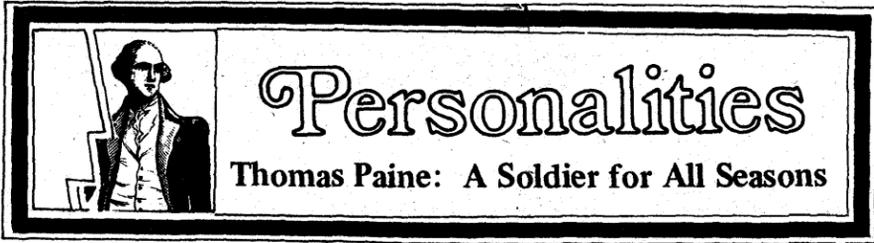
AUDIO-FORUM!

Cut Local Taxes is divided into seven parts. The first six deal with ways to cut costs in fire departments, police departments, public schools, garbage collection, parks and utilities, and administration. None of these chapters calls for privatization of services. Instead, state grants of monopoly to "private" firms are supposed to be the answer. In fact, in the section on trash collection Poole openly endorses grants of monopoly over free market competition! (If you find this hard to believe from the editor of *Reason* magazine, join the crowd.) The bulk of the chapters is spent on technical details concerning the proper diameter of fire hoses, optimal classroom size, and the like. No mention is made of allowing free competition to decide these issues. The last section, "Fight City Hall—And Win," was where I had hoped, after plowing through the first six sections, to find a few gems of strategy tucked away. Yet, Poole only urges tax organizers to spend their energies pushing his technical "improvements" in service and not organizing for defeat or repeal of taxes. The bulk of this chapter is filled with common-sense, yet monotonous, discussion of how to set up an organization. I ask, for what?

Finally, it seems the whole issues boils down to Poole's lack of understanding of the nature of the State. He seems to agree with Jerry Brown and the "New Democrats" that government is bumbling and inefficient, a benevolent idiot, that is, nevertheless, us. "We" are the government. "They" really represent "our" interests.

I would propose as a more realistic view that propounded by H. L. Mencken and Albert Jay Nock. Government, to Mencken, was "the common enemy of all well-disposed, industrious and decent men." Or, as Nock pointed out, "taking the State wherever found, striking into its history at any point, one sees no way to differentiate the activities of its founders, administrators, and beneficiaries from those of a professional criminal class."

What is needed to fight such an enemy is not to provide it with efficiency studies and tips on consolidating control, but to wrest from it those areas of human action that it has claimed for its own. ■



By Carl Shapiro

Without a doubt one of the most extraordinary and controversial figures of the late eighteenth century was Thomas Paine. Patriot, statesman, humanitarian, freethought philosopher, and libertarian scribe in both the American and French revolutions, Paine's services to liberty and democracy, however inestimable, were either undermined or largely ignored for almost a century after his death in 1809.

There were, nevertheless, several scattered and good-natured attempts to extricate Paine. Late in the nineteenth century the illustrious lawyer, agnostic, and libertarian orator, Robert G. Ingersoll, said, among many other uplifting accolades, "Thomas Paine, an Infidel, did more for this country than any other man who ever lived in it."

To illuminate Paine's importance to the establishment of free government, we have only to briefly survey three of his most important and effective works. For example, early in 1776, Paine wrote *Common Sense*, the dynamic pamphlet that convinced America once and for all of the necessity of independence, and which directly influenced the drafting of the Declaration of Independence. It was one thing to present rational arguments in favor of separation, but it was yet another to enrich them with vigor, clarity, and penetrating energy that the average citizen could understand. *Common Sense* was not the product of a formally educated political writer, but the blunt logic of an ingenious, self-motivated enthusiast. An English-born commoner—in America less than two years—fired the imaginations of thousands with, as Washington put it, "sound and unanswerable" arguments. It is of little wonder that independence was demanded when the colonists read: "The cause of America is in great measure the cause of all mankind. . . . This is not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; posterity are virtually involved in the contest. . . . It is the true interest of America to steer clear of European contentions, which she never can do, while, by her dependence on Britain, she is made the make-weight in the scale of British politics." Appealing to the hearts and emotions of the worker, the farmer, and the craftsman who clung to the notion that the king sympathized with the lowly laborer, Paine showed that a monarch, by unnatural rule, had no right "to set up his own family in perpetual preference

to all others forever." To Paine, "the exalting of one man so greatly above the rest, cannot be justified on the equal rights of nature. . . for monarchy in every instance is the popery of government." *Common Sense* was the catalyst, the clarion call to independence. Within three months about 120,000 copies deluged the colonies.

After the war of independence began, Paine, with undiminished zeal, volunteered for soldier duty and subsequently marched with Washington's demoralized army on its humiliating retreat through New Jersey. It was during that harrowing episode that Paine began the first in a series of 15 pamphlets known as *The American Crisis*, beginning with the oft-heralded "These are the times that try men's souls." Inspiring words to be sure, written for a particular occasion, but, indeed, prophetic for all seasons. These vital and stirring exhortations are invaluable, not only for their passionate appeals to patriotism, but for their insight, both journalistically and historically, into the changing situations from 1776 to 1783.

Aside from the high emotional pitch of his pen, which served dramatically the immediate needs of his countrymen, the deeper meaning of Paine's writings was the underlying theme of all of his works: the natural rights of men. The concept was not new—but it was broadened and

systematized by Paine in his monumental *Rights of Man*. Written in England in 1791 as a smashing refutation of Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, this two-part work was the culmination of all of Paine's republican principles, and it very nearly caused the entire European continent to revolt against monarchy. Burke had degraded the right of a people to overthrow a tyrannical government, and Paine responded with what became the handbook of modern democracy. In essence, Paine based all his arguments upon the one premise that the order of mankind is not the product of government, but the effect of its natural habits. Therefore, men, regardless of distinctions of trade or nationality, are bound by "the mutual dependence and reciprocal interest which man has upon man, and all parts of civilized community upon each other. . . . Formal government makes but a small part of civilised life; and when even the best that human wisdom can devise is established, it is a thing more in name and idea than in fact." Never unmindful of the injustices perpetrated upon the young, the aged, and the poor, Paine summed it up in one universal challenge: "When it shall be said in any country in the world, 'My poor are happy; neither ignorance nor distress is to be found among them; my jails are empty of prisoners, my streets of beggars; the aged are not in want, the taxes are not oppressive. . . . when these things can be said, then may that country boast of its constitution and its government.'"

As a result of *Rights*, Paine was forced to flee England, but not without a privately uttered "compliment" from Prime Minister William Pitt: "Tom Paine is quite right. What am I to do? As things

are, if I were to encourage his opinions we should have a bloody revolution." Yet, thousands of copies were circulated, while publishers and booksellers were prosecuted—living proof of its stupendous influence and importance.

In France, to which he fled and was welcomed as a hero amid shouts of "Long live Thomas Paine, long live the rights of man," Paine was elected to the National Assembly. He helped draft a constitution and penned other republican works. But his humane efforts to save the life of Louis XVI made Paine a marked man. He was arrested and imprisoned in 1793. It was in his cell that Paine wrote his deistical masterpiece, *The Age of Reason*.

[After ten months] of grueling imprisonment, Paine was released through the kind efforts of James Monroe, the new American minister to France. He eventually returned to his "much-loved America," where all that awaited him (for the most part) were epithets and abuse for writing the mind-libertating *Age of Reason*. But Paine did what a genius must do—and regretted none of it.

Indeed, as Ingersoll said with eulogistic reverence: "Paine lived a long, laborious and useful life. The world is better for his having lived. For the sake of truth he accepted hatred and reproach for his portion. His friends were untrue to him because he was true to himself, and true to them. He lost the respect of what is called society, but kept his own. His life is what the world calls failure and what history calls success. . . . A few more years—a few more brave men—a few more rays of light, and mankind will venerate the memory of him who said, 'The world is my country, and to do good my religion.'" ■

Weekly Libertarian News.

The First Year.

NEW LIBERTARIAN WEEKLY
 Volume 1, Number 22
 May 9, 1976

PRESS, TV PLAY UP COUNTERCAMPAIGN '76
 by Neil Nathan

Political Follies of '76 Campaign
 by Robert Lafferty

Gold Bugs Have Two Cows Now!
 by Charles Curley

Nathan Pursues Votes in Ore.
 by Neil Nathan



NEW LIBERTARIAN WEEKLY
 Number 26
 October 31, 1976

MILTON FRIEDMAN IS A NOBEL LAUREATE!
 by Neil Nathan

NOBODY JARS ESTABLISHMENT
 by Neil Nathan

STILL MORE ADS!
 by Neil Nathan



NEW LIBERTARIAN WEEKLY
 Number 30
 November 28, 1976

CANADA STATE CRACKS
 Secessionism back in N. America!
 by Neil Nathan

4 x CAIN SMITH
 by Neil Nathan

BYES & BUYS
 by Neil Nathan

U.S. AIR FORCE
 by L. MATLOVICH

The Next Year.

Name _____ Street _____
 City _____ State _____ Zip _____

- Yes! Mail me First Class the next year of **New Libertarian Weekly** (50 issues). I enclose \$15.
- Worth a try. Send me a Special Half-Year Introductory Subscription (25 issues). I enclose \$7.50.
- I'm a history buff. Send me the first 50 issues of **NLW**. I enclose \$15.

Make all checks or money orders payable to New Libertarian Enterprises, P.O. Box 1748, Long Beach, CA 90801.

The Last Days of the Club

By Chris Welles

Reviewed by Alan Fairgate / Dutton, 1975 / \$15

Chris Welles has written an extremely important book tracing the background to the institutional crisis that presently envelops the New York Stock Exchange, and he provides insight into a significant power shift that is occurring within U.S. capital markets. While his study presents a detailed account of these developments, Welles writes well and clearly. Even the layman can read *The Last Days of the Club* without becoming lost in a morass of intricate detail. Welles also provides an extensive and very useful bibliography for those who wish to read further in more specialized sources.

The Last Days of the Club focuses on the gradual disintegration of the New York Stock Exchange, which the author describes as "among the most enduring and successful cartels of the modern commercial world." Beginning in 1792 with the Buttonwood Tree Agreement, the NYSE sought to prohibit competition and fix a uniform brokerage commission to be charged by its member firms to public investors. As Welles himself points out, the ultimate failure of these efforts by the NYSE represents a "classic economic process . . . the forces of competition have severely damaged a monopoly cartel that exposed itself to attack by resisting change and losing control of its market." While the process is not yet complete, it is clear that a fundamental transformation is presently occurring in the institutional framework of the capital market.

The weakening of the NYSE has occurred on two distinct levels. Welles provides a series of case studies to illustrate the incompetence and distortion in management priorities that emerged among member firms under the protection of the NYSE's fixed-commission rules. In addition to the deterioration in the internal management of the NYSE's member firms, Welles also examines a variety of external developments that contributed to the present crisis. While the popular press and even business magazines have tended to focus on the role of the Securities and Exchange Commission in ordering the termination of the NYSE's fixed commission pricing structure, Welles demonstrates in great detail that the fixed-commission pricing structure had already undergone considerable erosion as a result of competitive pressures originating among nonmember financial institutions. In effect, the SEC decision served merely to formalize a de facto situation of price competition that had emerged in the market.

Writers who contend that the SEC's ruling demonstrates the ability of regulatory agencies to pursue policies that conflict with the interests of the regulated industry ignore the fact that the SEC ruling at best served only to accelerate a process that had already become irreversible. Furthermore, such a superficial analysis overlooks the possibility that the SEC, in response to underlying shifts in financial power within the capital market, may have shifted its allegiance from the member firms of the NYSE to nonmember financial institutions. This policy shift by the SEC may thus be analogous to the shift that occurred in the Interstate Commerce Commission, which originally served the interests of the railroads and subsequently acted on behalf of the shippers, implementing policies detrimental to the railroads.

Another external factor that served to undermine the NYSE's dominant position within the stock market involved the development of sophisticated computer technology. This new technology considerably reduced the need to trade stocks in a single physical location, a need which had traditionally strengthened the position of the NYSE. When the NYSE proved reluctant to adopt this new technology, a variety of private entrepreneurs emerged who were more willing to experiment with new trading methods that were more compatible with computer technology. Non-member institutional firms were quick to perceive the potential of this new technology in providing them with less expensive and more efficient service, and they began to pressure the NYSE to adopt the technology and to develop links with trading networks currently employing the technology.

The increasing application of computer technology has made possible the emergence of a new central marketplace for the trading of stocks, linked by a national network of electronic communication and computerized data processing equipment. The central issue of the current struggle between the NYSE and other financial institutions involves the question: who will control this new marketplace? Welles notes that the member firms of the NYSE were alarmed by the

extent to which the Nixon administration appeared prepared to assist their competitors through various agencies of the executive branch; perhaps these episodes contributed to the growing disillusionment of leading members of the Eastern Establishment, and especially the Wall Street financial community, with the Nixon administration in the period immediately preceding Watergate.

Part III of Welles' book proves a thought-provoking, although unfortunately very brief, discussion of the emergence of a broad array of financial institutions that have led the competitive challenge against the entrenched position of the NYSE. Welles points out that a process of institutionalization has occurred in which the management of savings has been entrusted to specialized, professional organization such as mutual funds, life insurance companies, and corporate pension and retirement funds. Perhaps the most important of these professional organizations are the trust departments of the major commercial banks, which, by the end of 1973, held nearly \$150 billion in personal trust funds and estates.

Welles is highly perceptive in his analysis of the emergence and consolidation of "financial-industrial complexes" as commercial banks launch aggressive efforts through bank holding companies to expand their scope of operations. The commercial banks are now organizing a major lobbying campaign to eliminate such restrictive legislation as the Glass-Steagall Act, which hampers their expansion programs. Welles argues that commercial banks will ultimately evolve into diversified financial service complexes which, if legislative obstacles are removed, will increasingly encroach upon the traditional preserves of brokerage firms, investment banks, and other financial institutions.

Welles' book also offers some insights into the impact of the business cycle on banks that should be of interest to anyone familiar with Austrian business-cycle theory. A growing number of Austro-libertarians have become convinced of the importance of the capital markets in understanding the evolution of the existing political-economic system of state capitalism, and Welles' book represents a valuable contribution to our understanding of changes presently occurring in the institutional framework of the capital market.

Unfortunately, although Welles professes to be generally sympathetic to the desirability of a competitive market process, his recommendations for reform of the existing system include a variety of interventionist measures presumably designed to maximize the potential for competitive activity. Hopefully, libertarians will not permit this weakness to serve as an excuse for not reading this very valuable book. ■

The Making of the Modern Family

SOCIOLOGY

By Edward Shorter

Reviewed by Barbara Luce-Turner / Basic Books, 1975 / \$15

Family life is an area of interest to historians seeking to establish connections between public events and private behavior. Edward Shorter's *Making of the Modern Family* spans three centuries and concentrates on Western Europe. Although the author occasionally is too general in the application of statements, his use of sources and statistics is masterful. The conclusions he constructs from these materials are quite plausible.

One of Shorter's central themes is that the Industrial Revolution made possible romantic and maternal love. This, in turn, created a shift in family attitudes; "spouses and children came to be prized for what they were, rather than for what they represented or could do," writes Shorter. Open spontaneous communication, he believes, seldom existed for most people before the nineteenth century.

The Industrial Revolution also removed young people from the repression of their small communities, for the first time, women had the opportunity to be

paid for their work; their economic independence led to emotional freedom from parents and church. The result was the first of two sexual revolutions.

During the waning years of the eighteenth century, these working women started sleeping with partners of their own choosing. Interestingly, one of Shorter's sources for statistics on this particular topic is the administrative reports of bureaucrats of that time who tended to be "astonishingly inquisitive about people's private lives." Imagine that!

As the Industrial Revolution progressed, the middle class became more prosperous. Women were able to spend more time with their children since their lives were free of incessant demands that characterized previous generations' child-rearing years. Consequently, maternal love became more commonplace.

The second sexual revolution, which bloomed in the 1950s, has witnessed the fragmentation of the nuclear family. Shorter contends that capitalism moved the family toward individuality and affection. The regression from the free-market economy could conceivably be one of the factors in the disintegration of the modern family. ■

How to survive in today's economy

WORSE inflation ahead, and soon! Will you perish—or prosper?

PROTECT yourself by reading the *Inflation Survival Letter*—America's No. 1 "hard-money" survival publication. Its pages are packed with simple, concise, up-to-the minute information and advice that helps you save money, increase your assets, and live better.

ISL gives you a strategy to survive in today's uncertain economy. When you know what's going to happen, you have an edge over everyone else.

THE world's leading investment writers and survival experts contribute regularly to ISL. Among the subjects we cover: tax-saving techniques, gold and silver, Swiss banks, "alternative" investments, collectibles, survival retreats, and much more.

TRY ISL at a 36% savings. An eight-month trial subscription (16 issues) is just \$20. Unconditional money-back guarantee if you're not completely satisfied.

TO begin your subscription, just clip this ad and mail it with your payment and your name and address.

SUBSCRIBE today—and begin to enjoy once again the peace of mind that comes with knowing that you and your family are protected against whatever may occur.

Inflation Survival Letter

6737 Annapolis Road • P.O. Box 2599
Landover Hills, MD 20784

The Krugerrand may be the best way to own gold.

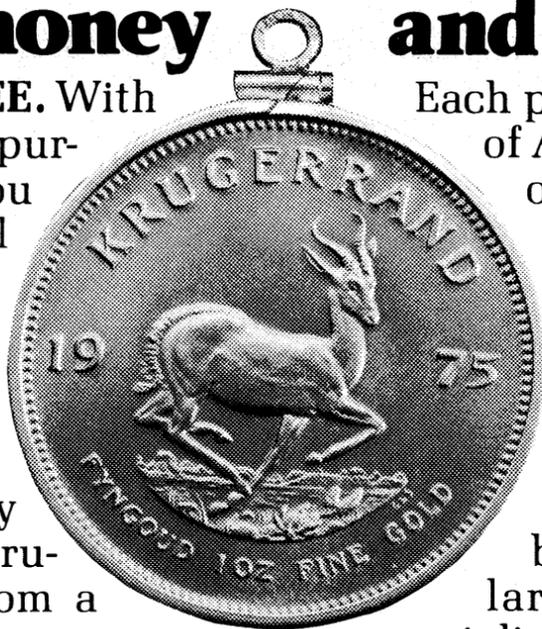


Now here's the best way to buy it:

Get 20 for the money

14K gold filled mounting — FREE. With each lot of 20 Krugerrands you purchase from Monex, we'll give you the option to buy an additional Krugerrand at volume discount instead of at the costly single-unit retail price.

Normally only purchasable from Monex in quantities of 10 or 20, you would have to pay considerably more for such a Krugerrand were you to buy it from a jeweler, bank or coin collector.



and 1 for the show...

Each purchase comes with a Certificate of Authenticity. If you purchase the optional Krugerrand, you receive a 14K gold filled bezel mounting free, suitable for wearing as jewelry, displaying in a coin case or for gift giving.

You'll also be interested to know that when you buy Krugerrands from Monex, you're doing business with one of the world's largest investor oriented houses specializing in precious metals.

To become a gold owner now, Phone Monex toll free at (800) 854-3361. In California call (800) 432-7013.

MONEX

Or complete this coupon
and mail to:

INTERNATIONAL LTD.

4910 Birch Street
Newport Beach, California 92660

Member New York Mercantile Exchange
Registered Commodity Trading Advisor, CFTC.

Gentlemen:

I am interested in the 20-1 Krugerrand Offer. Please have a Monex broker contact me immediately.

I would like to purchase _____ full lot(s) of 20 coins each.

Please print:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

HOME PHONE (_____) _____ OFFICE PHONE (_____) _____
Area Code Area Code

LR 1/77

The Literature of Freethought

By George H. Smith

"By free-thinking," wrote Anthony Collins in 1713, "I mean the use of the understanding in endeavoring to find out the meaning of any proposition whatsoever, in considering the nature of the evidence for or against it, and in judging of it according to the seeming force or weakness of the evidence." Freethought, argued Collins, is opposed to any religion that condemns doubt as sinful, or that demands the acceptance of doctrines on authority or faith.

Freethinkers thus include atheists, agnostics, deists, secularists, rationalists, and others who appeal to reason in order to challenge religious orthodoxy. The literature of freethought is enormous, running into thousands of books and countless pamphlets and periodicals. It is obviously futile, therefore, to attempt anything near a comprehensive bibliography in one essay. I have focused on eighteenth and nineteenth century freethought, primarily in England, with a final note on "Jesus revisionism." The twentieth century, unfortunately, is left nearly untouched, a victim of space limitations.

A major problem with freethought literature is that it is difficult to find, even in university libraries. Most

“... the freethinkers had a knack for making adversity work for them”

of the choice items have been out of print for many years, so only the dedicated used-book fanatic stands a chance of obtaining the better works. The "Atheist Viewpoint" reprint series (Arno, 1972) has some good items, but the overall selection is poor. Hence many freethought classics remain buried in obscurity.

I am indebted to my friend, Dr. Gordon Stein—an inveterate freethought scholar and bibliophile—for making me aware of the extent of freethought literature. Aside from the historical works I mention, my selections have been somewhat arbitrary; I have simply selected books with which I am personally familiar or which I personally like. If the reader consults the major freethought references, he will be guided through the thousands of works omitted here.

Indispensable for the history of freethought is the work of the great rationalist scholar J. M. Robertson. His *History of Freethought, Ancient and Modern, to the Period of the French Revolution* (2 vols., 4th ed., rev., Watts, 1936) remains the definitive work in its time period, as does *A History of Freethought in the Nineteenth Century* (2 vols., Watts, 1929). Also valuable is Robertson's *A Short History of Christianity* (Watts, 1962).

For those who desire a briefer overview of freethought, James Thrower's *Short History of Western Atheism* (Pemberton, 1971) is informative in some areas but strangely oblivious to the American and British freethought movements. Somewhat better in this regard is J. B. Bury's *History of Freedom of Thought* (1913; rev. by H. J. Blackman, Oxford, 1952).

There are several good reference works pertaining to freethought, including two biographical dictionaries. J. M. Wheeler's *Biographical Dictionary of Freethinkers* (Pioneer Press, 1889) is a mine of useful information, as is Joseph McCabe's *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Rationalists* (Watts, 1920). Another useful book by McCabe is *A Rationalist Encyclopedia* (Watts, 1950). The two works by McCabe, however, should be read with caution for errors of dates and details.

Many books, although not confined to freethought,

deal sympathetically with what may be termed the rationalistic spirit in the development of philosophy, religion, and science. A superb reference of this kind is Harry Elmer Barnes, *An Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World* (3 vols., 3rd ed., rev., Dover, 1952). Though first published in 1865, F. A. Lange's *The History of Materialism* (one volume trans., Humanities Press, 1950) may still be profitably consulted. A problem with Lange's treatment, prevalent among many commentators on "materialism," is an intolerably vague conception of what the term "materialism" purportedly signifies.

A. D. White's *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (2 vols., 1896; Dover, 1960) is deservedly a classic in its field. Although it has been convicted of some errors of detail—which is almost inevitable in any pathbreaking work—its major theses have withstood the test of time. A precursor to White, though less satisfactory in its overall treatment, is John Draper's *History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science* (Appleton, 1875). Rejoinders to White and Draper—which delight in pointing out that many great scientists were and are devout Christians—are remarkably adept at missing the point.

A superb study of philosophic thought from the late Middle Ages to the mid-nineteenth century is found in John H. Randall, Jr., *The Career of Philosophy* (2 vols., Columbia Univ. Press, 1962). Also outstanding is Preserved Smith, *A History of Modern Culture* (2 vols., Henry Holt, 1930, 1934). Both Randall and Smith give sympathetic accounts of the influence of freethought and secularism.

More specifically focused on religious skepticism during the same general period are, George T. Buckley, *Atheism in the English Renaissance* (1932; Russell and Russell, 1965); Don Cameron Allen, *Doubt's Boundless Sea* (John Hopkins, 1964); and Richard Popkin, *The History of Skepticism from Erasmus to Descartes* (rev., Harper and Row, 1968). Allen's book is bulging with information about the many antiatheist treatises during a period when there were few, if any, real atheists. Popkin's work is a seminal study of the revival of Pyrrhonic skepticism in the sixteenth century and its effect on theological and philosophical controversies.

One of the most significant precedents to modern freethought was the British deistic movement of the eighteenth century. Some deists sought to "reform" Christianity, while others were openly antagonistic, but they shared belief in a god of "nature," who, after creating the universe, left it to its own devices. Deists were usually hostile to revealed religion, whether in the form of alleged miracles or sacred scripture, and they became notorious for their attacks on traditional Christian doctrines.

A famous but unfairly negative account of British deism is Leslie Stephen, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (2 vols., 3rd ed., 1902; Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962). Stephen was an agnostic, but he was hard on such deists as Anthony Collins and Thomas Woolston. His excesses are counteracted by the more judicious treatment of J. M. Robertson in *The Dynamics of Religion* (1897; 2nd ed., rev., Watts, 1926).

A balanced view of deism is presented in Ernest C. Mossner's *Bishop Butler and the Age of Reason* (Macmillan, 1936), and an exhaustive summary of the deists and their works is found in John Orr's *English Deism: Its Roots and Its Fruits* (Eerdmans, 1934). S.G. Hefelbower, *The Relation of John Locke to English Deism* (Univ. of Chicago, 1918) explores this sticky issue, while Norman Torrey, *Voltaire and the English Deists* (1930; Archon, 1967) gives a reliable

summary of the French skeptic's reliance upon his English predecessors. For those who wish to sample the deists first hand, an excellent selection of deistic works is found in E. Graham Waring, *Deism and Natural Religion: A Sourcebook* (Ungar, 1967).

Important preludes to the deistic movement include *De Veritate* (1624) by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who is often referred to as the "Father of English Deism"; *Leviathan* (1651), by Thomas Hobbes, who scandalized the intellectual community with his broadside attacks on established religious doctrines; and *Theological-Political Treatise* (1670), by Spinoza, who subjected the Bible to the court of reason with consummate skill.

The writings of the British deists are too numerous to be catalogued here, but we can survey a few of the significant items.

Charles Blount, although he professed loyalty to Christianity, produced three works that laid the foundation for later deistic works. These were *Anima Mundi* (1679), *Great is Diana of the Ephesians* (1680), and *Oracles of Reason* (1693). Influenced by Hobbes and Spinoza, Blount upheld reason over revelation and launched a critical analysis of the Bible.

Another professed Christian reformer, John Toland, wrote *Christianity not Mystical* in 1696, which proved to be one of the most influential deistic books ever written. Building upon Locke's theory of knowledge, Toland sought to remove from Christianity anything that claimed to transcend reason. He received a cold reception from Locke, but this was preferable to the warmer reception of the Irish Parliament, which saw fit to burn the first edition of his work.

Another follower of Locke was Anthony Collins, author of the classic *Discourse of Freethinking* (1713), which was largely a plea for toleration. Collins also wrote *Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* (1724), a pathbreaking analysis of Old Testament prophecies allegedly fulfilled by Jesus. Showing the absurdity of taking the prophecies literally, Collins called for an allegorical interpretation—but in the appeal to allegory, common among deists at the time, it is difficult to separate sincerity from a ruse to escape legal penalties for blasphemy.

Then there was Thomas Woolston, called by one critic "poor mad Woolston, most scandalous of the deists," and charged by another with "scurrilous buffoonery and gross rallery." This learned Cambridge graduate was thought quite sane until he attacked the reported

“Spinoza subjected the Bible to the court of reason with consummate skill.”

miracles of the New Testament with uncompromising vigor in a series of six *Discourses on the Miracles of Our Savior* (1727-29). Woolston, like Collins, sought refuge in allegorical interpretation, but unlike Collins, he signed his name to his books. This led to his conviction on a charge of blasphemy in 1729, for which he was fined and sentenced to one year in prison.

In his charges that Jesus was an imposter and magician, Woolston instigated a ribald, popular form of freethought that influenced such figures as Voltaire. A more dispassionate form of deism with a more constructive emphasis appeared in Matthew Tindal's *Christianity as Old as Creation* (1730). Often called the Deistic Bible, this work marked the apex of British deism, eliciting over 150 replies. Here were compiled

L.R. Essay Review

the most cogent arguments for a "Natural Religion." The slant of this book may be gleaned from some of its chapter titles: "That the Perfection, and Happiness of all rational Beings, Supreme, as well as Subordinate, consists in living up to the Dictates of their Nature"; "That the Religion of Nature is an absolutely perfect Religion; and that external Revelation can neither add to, nor take from its Perfection . . ."

Deism was carried to the "working class" mostly

“The System of Nature is the best and most influential defense of atheism ever written.”

through the writings of Peter Annet. His *History and Character of Saint Paul* (1750) portrayed Paul as lazy, greedy, and dishonest, and *The Resurrection of Jesus Considered* (1744) appealed to the unreliable and contradictory nature of the resurrection accounts as a basis for discounting their credibility. "If it not be fit to examine into Truth," declared Annet in a passionate appeal common among freethinkers, "Truth is not fit to be known." Apparently the British government disagreed. For attempting to "diffuse and propagate irreligious and diabolical opinions in the minds of His Majesty's subjects, and to shake the foundations of the Christian religion," Annet, at the advanced age of seventy, was pilloried (with a paper on his forehead inscribed "blasphemy") and sentenced to a year of hard labor in prison.

(An interesting sidelight to Annet is his book, *Social Bliss Considered: In Marriage and Divorce; Cohabiting Unmarried, and Public Whoring*, published under the pseudonym of "Gideon Archer" in 1749. In his call for the legalization of divorce, unmarried cohabitation, and prostitution, Annet seems an eighteenth century verison of Walter Block.)

Among other important deistic works of the same period, we should mention the following: *The True Gospel of Jesus Christ Asserted* (1739) by Thomas Chubb; the posthumous *Philosophical Works* of Lord Bolingbroke (1754); *Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers, which are Supposed to have Subsisted in the Christian Church* (1749) by Conyers Middleton; and *The Religion of Nature Delineated* (1722) by William Wollaston (which, incidentally, contains a little-known but superb defense of property rights from a libertarian perspective).

Finally, there was David Hume, the philosophic genius who, although he did not enter the fray of religious controversy to the extent of other deists, contributed the most sophisticated and influential arguments against Christianity and revealed religion—the most famous being his celebrated attack on miracles in *An Inquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748). His other works pertaining to religion were *The Natural History of Religion* (1757) and *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (apparently written around 1757 but not published until 1779, after his death). For a good exposition of Hume, see Antony Flew's *Hume's Philosophy of Belief* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961).

Freethought reached its highpoint in nineteenth century Britain, where it became militantly anti-Christian and often atheistic. This period is discussed in detail in J. M. Robertson, *A History of Freethought in the Nineteenth Century* (*supra*); a readable survey of the intellectual climate, with a different emphasis than Robertson, is A. W. Benn's *The History of English Rationalism in the Nineteenth Century* (2 vols., 1906; Russell & Russell, 1962). Edward Royle's superb *Victorian Infidels* (Univ. of Manchester, 1974) concentrates on the secularist movement initiated by G. J. Holyoake. Several other works fill out the century: W. S. Smith's *The London Heretics, 1870-1914* (Dodd, Mead, 1968) is excellent, as is David Tribe's *100 Years*

of Freethought (Elek, 1967). A. H. Nethercot's *The First Five Lives of Annie Besant* (Univ. of Chicago, 1960) explores the dynamic but unstable life of this enigmatic woman during her association with Charles Bradlaugh and the freethought movement, prior to her conversion to Theosophy under the spell of Mme. Blavatsky.

Of the many significant figures in British freethought, only a few will be mentioned here. George Jacob Holyoake (1817-1906) was a disciple of Robert Owen and a major exponent of "co-operation"—a kind of voluntary socialism. (see his *History of Co-operation*, rev., T. Fisher Unwin, 1908.) Holyoake coined the term "secularism," which he believed preferable to "atheism," and as the founder and editor of about ten magazines he exerted a great deal of influence. For his suggestion that the deity be put on "half-pay," he served a six-month prison sentence—the details of which are recounted in his *History of the Last Trial by Jury for Atheism* (1851; Arno, 1972). Among Holyoake's better works are *The Trial of Theism* (rev., Trubner & Co., 1877), an excellent defense of atheism, and *English Secularism* (Open Court, 1896). Like many freethinkers of his day, Holyoake actively engaged in debates with the clergy. One of his better known was with Rev. Brewin Grant on *Christianity and Secularism* (Ward & Co., 1854), which occupied six evenings. A rambling autobiography of Holyoake is found in his *Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life* (2 vols., T. Fisher Unwin, 1900), and additional details are provided in Joseph McCabe, *Life and Letters of George Jacob Holyoake* (2 vols., Watts, 1908).

Charles Bradlaugh (1833-1891) was the most important atheist ever produced by Britain. A superb orator, writer, and organizer, Bradlaugh replaced Holyoake as the militant force in British freethought. He edited the *National Reformer*, a freethought weekly, and in 1866 he founded the National Secular Society. In 1876 he and Annie Besant were prosecuted for publishing C. Knowlton's *Fruits of Philosophy* (a pamphlet on birth control), but Bradlaugh, an excellent lawyer, succeeded in quashing the indictment. (For an account of the trial, see *The Queen v. Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant*, Freethought Publishing Co., n.d.) Although elected to Parliament in 1880, Bradlaugh's atheism prevented him from being seated until 1886.

Some of Bradlaugh's better essays—including his magnificent "Plea for Atheism"—are contained in *Humanity's Gain From Unbelief* (Watts, 1929), and articles by and about Bradlaugh are found in J. P. Gilmour, ed., *Champion of Liberty: Charles Bradlaugh* (Watts, 1933; Arno, 1972). An outstanding biography of Bradlaugh is David Tribe's *President Charles Bradlaugh, M. P.* (Archon, 1971), which contains an extensive list of his writings. Still useful is the older biography by Bradlaugh's daughter, H.B. Bonner, *Charles Bradlaugh: A Record of His Life and Work* (with J. M. Robertson, 2 vols., T. Fisher Unwin, 1898).

One of the great contributions of nineteenth century freethinkers was their dogged persistence in fighting for freedom of speech and press. Many well-known freethinkers—such as Holyoake, Robert Taylor, and G. W. Foote in Britain, and D. N. Bennett in the United States—were routinely trotted off to jail, sometime for long sentences, not to mention heavy fines. The highest price paid was by the publisher Richard Carlile, who, between 1817 and 1835, served over nine years in prison for publishing, among other items, Paine's *Age of Reason*. In addition, Carlile's wife, sister, and over twenty of his workers served time, sometimes for two years or more. But the freethinkers had a knack for making adversity work for them, and Carlile was no exception. As a result of the publicity surrounding one of his trials, sales of the *Age of Reason* skyrocketed to over 2000 within two months. Moreover, Carlile read the entire text of the *Age of Reason* during his defense, which was then allowed to circulate as part of the verbatim trial transcript. In this inexpensive form it sold over 10,000 copies. For details on Carlile, see Guy A. Aldred, *Richard Carlile, Agitator* (Pioneer Press, 1923). A sum-

mary account of blasphemy prosecutions is contained in H. B. Bonner, *Penalties Upon Opinion* (Watts, 1913).

Freethought in eighteenth century America, as in England, took the form of deistic belief in a god of nature and vigorous attacks on Christian revelation. An excellent treatment of American deism is Adolf Koch, *Republican Religion* (1933), reprinted as *Religion of the American Enlightenment* (Thomas Crowell, 1968). The first overt American attack on Christianity was Ethan Allen's *Reason the Only Oracle of Man* (1784), a rambling and poorly written collection of essays compiled by Allen since his youth. In stark contrast is Thomas Paine's classic masterpiece, *Age of Reason* (Pt. I, 1794; Pt. II, 1796). Although it appeared after the peak of the deistic movement and contains little that is original, *Age of Reason* is perhaps the finest deistic piece ever penned, thanks to Paine's literary genius.

Concerning Paine's religious views, see M. D. Conway, *The Life of Thomas Paine* (1892; G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909); and Ira M. Thompson, Jr., *The Religious Beliefs of Thomas Paine* (Vantage, 1965). Recent biographies of Paine include Audrey Williamson, *Thomas Paine* (Allen & Unwin, 1973); and David F. Hawke, *Paine* (Harper & Row, 1974).

Early nineteenth century American freethought is surveyed in A. Post, *Popular Freethought, 1820-1850* (Columbia Univ. Press, 1943). This survey is continued in Sidney Warren, *American Freethought, 1860-1914* (Columbia Univ. Press, 1943). A sprawling and rare work that contains much first-hand information about nineteenth century American freethinkers, is S. P. Putnam, *400 Years of Freethought* (Truth Seeker, 1894). Another informative account of American freethought, centering around the history of *The Truth Seeker* (a freethought paper started by D. M. Bennett in 1873), is George MacDonald's *Fifty Years of Freethought* (2 vols., Truth Seeker, 1929, 1931).

“... The Age of Reason is perhaps the finest deistic piece ever penned . . .”

The giant of American freethought was Robert G. Ingersoll (1833-1899). One of America's greatest orators, he was immensely successful in popularizing the ideas of free thought. Many different editions of his speeches were published (some of them pirated), but the authorized editions are contained in the "Dresden Edition" of *The Works of Robert G. Ingersoll* (12 vols., C.P. Farrell, 1900). A meticulous bibliography of works by and about Ingersoll is found in Gordon Stein, *Robert G. Ingersoll: A Checklist* (Kent State Univ. Press, 1969). The best biography of Ingersoll to date is Orvin Larson's *American Infidel: Robert G. Ingersoll* (Citadel Press, 1962).

Although this essay deals primarily with freethought in England and America, it would border on criminal negligence not to mention the tremendously important contributions of eighteenth century French freethinkers, commonly referred to as philosophes.

J. S. Spink's *French Free-Thought from Gassendi to Voltaire* (Univ. of London, 1960) is a reliable, scholarly treatment. The formative period of the Enlightenment, 1680-1715, is treated by Paul Hazard in *The European Mind* (1935; World, 1963). A sympathetic account of the philosophes is contained in Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation* (Vol. I, Knopf, 1967). Also recommended is George R. Havens, *The Age of Ideas* (1955; Collier, 1962). An excellent selection of Enlightenment writing is found in Peter Gay,

(Continued on page 15)



Washington Watch

By E. Scott Royce

●**The Next Two Years**—As a result of the 1976 elections, we can realistically expect bigger federal deficits, more rampant inflation, and, on balance, an expansion of the federal government for at least the first two years of Pres'dent Jimmy's four-year term. To be sure, the same could have been said had Ford won. But the outgoing president, while hardly a fiscal conservative, *did* veto some congressional attempts to hike federal spending. Had he triumphed in November, things might have proceeded at a slower pace. Carter, both by inclination and due to pressure from party and liberal interest groups, will be far less likely to attempt to hold the line. Any token cutbacks in

the bureaucracy or budget should be more than offset by expansion elsewhere.

Despite bad feelings created by inept liaison work on the part of the incoming administration, Carter should receive strong cooperation from Congress on most issues. The Democrats, after all, maintained their commanding margins in both the House and Senate, and the size of the conservative Democrat congressional bloc has steadily decreased in recent years.

The Senate, at least, should be slightly more "liberal" during 1977-78. Moderate-to-conservative Republicans in seven states lost their seats to more liberal

Democrats, and at least three of the GOPers who won seats from the followers of Mr. Peanut are generally considered to hold moderate-to-liberal views (Lugar, Ind.; Danforth, Mo.; Chafee, R.I.). Another Republican upset winner, Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming, may yet surprise his party's right wing on some issues.

●**Gun Control**—Gun control opponents are bracing themselves for a 1977 revival of legislation similar to HR11193. That bill was designed to ban manufacture and sale of so-called concealable handguns, a euphemism for most handguns, and to severely restrict the number of gun dealers by regulating the smaller ones out of business. Under HR11193 the Treasury Department would have been empowered to (1) set any regulations it saw fit regarding storage of handguns at a dealership for the purpose of theft prevention, (2) tighten up the already onerous record-keeping requirements for dealers, (3) raise license fees for dealers, manufacturers, and importers by as much as 5000 percent, (4) shut down any dealer that failed to meet federal standards.

While President-elect Carter and many of his prominent backers are avid gun control proponents, such legislation would almost certainly run into trouble in the House if not the Senate. The National Rifle Association, the lobby that serves as America's primary bulwark against infringement of the right to keep and bear arms guaranteed under the Second Amendment, supported over 200 successful House candidates in the 1976 election. NRA, by the way, is currently challenging in the courts the illegally passed District of Columbia gun law.

●**Tax Reform**—The sections of the Tax Reform Act of 1976 dealing with privacy questions were a mixed bag, the ACLU reports. Section 1205 of the act required that when the IRS subpoenas bank records, under most circumstances it must give notice to the individual to whom the records pertain. Section 202 guarantees the confidentiality of tax records. The list of exceptions—of individuals to whom such material may be disclosed—however, includes state tax officials, congressional committees involved with tax legislation, the Justice Department, and the president (upon written request). The worst "privacy" feature of the measure is Section 1211, which allows the states to utilize Social Security numbers for identification purposes in a variety of areas, including taxes, general public assistance, drivers licenses, and motor vehicle registration.

●**Export Controls**—In the closing days of the 94th Congress, controversial amendments prevented extension of the Export Administration Act. Among the problematical amendments were restrictions on American business cooperation with the Arab boycott, exports of nuclear technology and equipment, and presidential authority to limit agricultural exports. The old law allowed federal regulation of trade on grounds such as national security, foreign policy, and domestic shortage. President Ford, unwilling to allow the country to escape this measure of interference with free trade, promptly signed an executive order that continued the old controls indefinitely.

●**Investment Advisors Act**—One piece of legislation that quite deservedly bit the dust during the final days of the 1976 session was the Investment Advisors Act Amendments bill (HR 13737, S 2849). This bill, which may be reintroduced in 1977, would have authorized the Securities and Exchange Commission to license publishers of investment advisory newsletters as well as individuals providing certain other advisory services. The bill was killed in committee, due in large part to a number of publishers who organized the Committee to Protect the Small Investor to lobby against it.

●**Corporate Charters**—Another liberal scheme that never got beyond the hearings stage during 1975-76—but which will undoubtedly be back—would have required major corporations to be federally chartered and to make annual reports on various matters to Washington. Such regulation, it was contended, would stimulate greater corporate social responsibility. In reality, as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce notes, federal corporate chartering would mean further "stifling of productivity and efficiency."

●**Phone Company Competition**—AT&T's hopes of ever obtaining passage of the badly misnamed Consumer Communications Reform Act have grown dimmer in recent months. The measure, designed to squelch growing competition by nonindustry companies in sales of business phone equipment and specialized business message services, faces an uncertain future due to disagreement among key congressional figures over its necessity and to the defeat for reelection of its prime Senate sponsor, Vance Hartke (D-Ind.). ■

Economic disaster and famine ahead?

These five basic steps could ensure your survival.



According to many experts, we're fast approaching a world out of control.

Food shortages. Depression. Violence. Collapse of the cities. No, this isn't the scenario for a Hollywood disaster movie. It may soon be all too real.

But a few simple preparations—if made early enough—can guarantee your survival. In fact, there are *five basic protection steps* every intelligent person should be taking *now*.

These steps are outlined in a cassette recording entitled **Food or Famine? Common-Sense Personal Survival Techniques**. On this tape, survival expert Howard Ruff tells you how to prepare—while there's still time.

Briefly, what Mr. Ruff suggests is: 1. Become independent from the national economic system. 2. Be financially liquid. 3. Get out of debt. 4. Strengthen family ties across all generations. 5. Don't sacrifice moral principles in the face of crisis.

In his talk, Mr. Ruff elaborates on each of these steps and explains exactly how to carry them out. After hearing this recording, you'll know how to ensure the safety of yourself and your family against any future calamity.

A leading authority on food storage, nutrition and survival, Howard Ruff is the publisher of *Ruff Times*, a personal survival newsletter. A former stockbroker and investment advisor, he is the author of *Famine and Survival in America*.

Food or Famine? Common-Sense Personal Survival Techniques is only \$10.95 postpaid. And it comes with this *unconditional guarantee*. If you're not completely satisfied after hearing the tape, simply return it within three weeks for a full refund.

So you have nothing to lose by ordering—but you may have *everything* to lose if you don't. Clip and mail the coupon today—before it's too late.

Send me Howard Ruff's **Food or Famine? Common-Sense Personal Survival Techniques**, tape #399. I understand that if I'm not completely satisfied, I may return the recording within three weeks and receive a full refund. AF046

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____ State _____ Zip _____
 Enclosed is my check or money order for \$10.95. Charge my credit card.
 BankAmericard Master Charge American Express
 Card Number _____ Date Exp. _____
 Signature _____

AUDIO-FORUM 901 N. Washington St., Suite 200, Alexandria, Va. 22314



Seven years ago, Nathaniel Branden published his revolutionary *Psychology of Self-Esteem*.

What have been his discoveries since then? What are his latest theories and conclusions?

Now, Dr. Branden has created a series of lectures, substantially *updating* and *expanding upon* the material in his original, pathbreaking work. The content of this course goes well beyond the material presented in Dr. Branden's three books, and represents an integration of his most recent researches, studies and findings. *For the first time, a truly comprehensive presentation of Biocentric Psychology is available.*

Here are some of the highlights of "New Lectures in the Psychology of Self-Esteem":

- The need, the motivating power and the requirements of self-esteem. Its relation to sex, productive work and human relationships.
- The need to understand yourself and other people.
- The psychology of romantic love.
- The nature and source of emotion.
- Neurotic disorders: their meaning and cause.
- Principles of motivation.

- Emotional blocking.
- Disowning the self.
- Self-alienation and social alienation.
- Reason and emotion: A new interpretation.
- Self-awareness, self-acceptance, self-responsibility, self-assertion.
- Anxiety and depression.
- A critique of contemporary psychology: Psychoanalysis, Behaviorism, "Humanistic" Psychology.
- Biocentric Therapy: Its goals and techniques.
- Biocentric Therapy and the Objectivist Ethics.

"New Lectures on the Psychology of Self-Esteem" is available as a set of 20 cassette tapes, which total 26 hours. The price is \$188.95. Recordings are shipped to you in handsome leatherette library binders at no extra charge.

These tapes are *unconditionally guaranteed*. If you're not completely satisfied for any reason, simply return them within three weeks for a full refund—no questions asked.

For those who have been waiting for a fuller presentation of Dr. Branden's Biocentric Psychology, "New Lectures on the Psychology of Self-Esteem" cannot be missed. Clip and mail the coupon today.

Announcing a new, comprehensive course in

Nathaniel Branden's PSYCHOLOGY OF SELF ESTEEM

OTHER CASSETTE RECORDINGS By Nathaniel Branden

- LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: THERE'S A WORLD OUT THERE (A Challenge to the Human Potential Movement) Tape 588 (49 Min.) \$9.95
- EXERCISE IN SELF DISCOVERY Tape 541 (43 Min.) \$9.95
- BASIC RELAXATION AND EGO-STRENGTHENING PROGRAM/Tape 599 (30 Min.) \$10
- DEALING WITH THE GIFTED CHILD/Tape 555 (47 Min.) \$9.95
- DISCOVERING THE UNKNOWN SELF/Tape 550 (91 Min.) \$15
- AN INFORMAL DISCUSSION OF BIOCENTRIC THERAPY/Tape 556 (70 Min.) \$10.50
- MAN-WOMAN RELATIONSHIPS: DISCUSSIONS WITH MEN/Tapes 534-35 (84 Min.) \$20
- DISCUSSIONS WITH WOMEN/Tapes 536-39 (157 Min.) \$30; Both sets available for \$50
- LOVE AND ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS/Tape 811 (42 Min.) \$9.95
- PROBLEMS OF MARRIAGE/Tape 806 (43 Min.) \$9.95
- THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF RELIGION/Tape 815 (88 Min.) \$17
- THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ROMANTIC LOVE/Tapes 601-616 (19 Hrs.) \$144
- TEENAGERS' QUESTIONS ON SEX/Tape 554 (47 Min.) \$9.95

ALL TAPES UNCONDITIONALLY GUARANTEED.

Send me *New Lectures on the Psychology of Self-Esteem*, Tapes 621-640, \$188.95. AF042

Send me the tape(s) I've checked above.

I enclose payment of \$ _____

Charge my credit card:
 BankAmericard American Express Master Charge
 Card # _____ Exp. Date _____
 Signature _____

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____ State _____ Zip _____

AUDIO-FORUM 901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314



Jazz: The Golden Age

By Neil McCaffrey

PART VI: EXIT ARTIE SHAW, AND THE GOLDEN AGE

Artie Shaw and his various orchestras have mostly fallen between two stools. The critics always treated the leader and his bands with reserve. The public certainly liked them all; but, except for one glorious year between fall 1938 and fall 1939, denied Artie the first place in their fickle hearts.

We needn't linger over the vagrant tastes of either group, except to recall that Shaw was in part responsible himself. He never pandered to anyone. A prickly, volatile, introspective man, he went his own way. Nor was that way ever fixed for long. At 24, he abruptly left the lucrative New York radio studios for a Pennsylvania farm. There he tried to write a novel, tore it up after a year (hope deferred: three decades later he published three respectable novellas under the title of *I Love You, I Hate You, Drop Dead!*), and returned to music.

But the restlessness never left him. He had almost as many wives as bands. An overview of the latter finds him leading a unique jazz string ensemble from mid-1935 to early 1937; a conventional swing band, 1937-39; two orchestras heavy laden with strings, 1940-42; an all-star Navy swing band, 1943; a civilian swing band, 1944-45; another big swing and string orchestra, 1946; a string orchestra of some 40 pieces that played classical music (to distasteful reviews), 1949; a bop-styled big band, 1949-50; a conventional big band around 1951 or 1952; a modern combo, 1953-54.

And then he put down his clarinet, never to play again.

We can moan the loss—or reflect that he probably gave us, at each period, as much as his restless genius could sustain. Through two productive decades and some dozen bands, he always said something. And it speaks volumes about the

thirties as the golden age of American music to recall that Shaw's best band was also his most popular.

It was just another underrated swing band when the boys tramped into a New York studio to record "Begin the Beguine" as the B side. So much for his commercial instincts.

Benny Goodman was then riding high. He had no serious rival. When Shaw became the new King of Swing—certified and crowned in the important Make Believe Ballroom band poll in fall 1938—it was as if John Nance Garner had overthrown FDR.

If Shaw's reign was brief (Goodman edged him out in the June, 1939, Make Believe Ballroom poll), it was no fluke. That edition of the Shaw band represented perhaps the supreme fusion of jazz and popular music. For evidence, consult *The Complete Artie Shaw: Volume I, 1938-1939* (Bluebird, AXM2-5517), a double album that Bluebird plans to be the first of a series that will take us through 1945.

It was a young band. Most of the boys were just this side of (pre-Nixon) voting age. (Jazz, an exuberant art, is best played by young men. When I hear old-timers, I'm usually reminded of Dr. Johnson's comment on women preaching.) Shaw, no greybeard at 29, supplied the training, the experience, the polish, above all the vision.

The vision grew out of Shaw's approach to the clarinet: lyrical, warm, sensuous, legato. It is generally conceded that Shaw's tone was warmer and richer than Goodman's—at any rate, than post-1936 Goodman. Some aficionados even hold that Shaw's improvising dug deeper, harmonically, than Benny's. Perhaps; I mention this not to be forced to choose

but rather to underscore that we are discussing a jazzman of the first magnitude.

The band bore the stamp of the boss. They were superbly drilled. The arrangements always swung; and, what was much rarer, they always sang as they swung. Shaw did much of the scoring himself; and, like Glenn Miller, always guided and checked Jerry Gray and the several bandsmen who contributed scores.

The section work set a standard perhaps never surpassed by a swing band—at least until the first Woody Herman Herd of 1945. The saxes were justly famous. Only four, they were led by altoist Les Robinson to an awesomely rich sound. The brass were biting yet legato, never harsh. The first rhythm section (Les Burness on piano, Sid Weiss on bass, Al Avola on Guitar, Cliff Leeman on drums) was good; and when Bob Kitis replaced Burness and Buddy Rich replaced Leeman, it became one of the most galvanizing in jazz history.

When musicians joined this band, they were unknown. When the band broke up, many were stars—or would go on to become stars. Shaw was as good a teacher as ever fronted a band. He brought to maturity Rich and Leeman; trumpeters Johnny Best and Bernie Privin; tenor saxists George Auld and Tony Pastor. He gave trombonist George Arus the only showcase that underrated musician ever enjoyed. He brought Les Robinson along until he became an exemplar among lead altoists. And he launched a girl singer of distinction, Helen Forrest.

It was not just a matter of standing up front and blowing. Shaw, never a victim of false modesty, once pointed out that one of his principal functions was knowing how, and how much, to control an effervescent crew. Nobody had to spur men like Auld and Rich. The problem was to channel all that energy and talent and showmanship. Shaw did—as no one else has ever managed to. He was a leader.

The Shaw vision extended to the band's book. No leader, jazz or dance band, has ever mined the riches of Broadway show music as imaginatively. "Begin the Beguine" was only one of dozens—and far from the most interesting. Of the 34 tunes in this marvelous album, eleven are classic show tunes, another six pop

standards. Four are jazz tunes (three of them by Shaw), and 13 are superior pops of the day. The breakdown demonstrates Shaw's aim: to enrich popular music with jazz, and conversely.

During his year in the sun, Shaw was all over the airwaves. He had a weekly show sponsored by Old Golds, and often turned up on late-night remotes from New York's Hotel Lincoln and Hotel Pennsylvania, and from the Palomar Ballroom in Los Angeles. The New York dates yielded a double album of airchecks, *Artie Shaw in the Blue Room/in the Cafe Rouge*. Released by RCA in 1961, it is long out of print: a minor tragedy, because it captures a great band at its greatest, and may be the best aircheck album ever issued. If you find a copy in a rare record shop, hang the expense.

Less satisfying are volumes 1 and 2 (Jazz Guild 1001 and 1003) of *Artie Shaw—Melody and Madness* (the name of his first show for Old Golds). Though not without good moments, they are the sort of albums a fastidious leader would never allow to be issued. Bootlegs, they are transferred from primitive home equipment that recorded faster than the band was playing. As a result, the tempos are rushed and the vocals distorted. Helen Forrest sounds like a little girl, and Tony Pastor, normally husky-voiced, sounds castrated. Even more surprising for this band, now and again they suffer lapses of intonation.

Still, every performance by a band of this stature is worth cherishing. We had them for so little time. The breakup was so abrupt that it made the front pages. They were playing at the Cafe Rouge on November 18, 1939. Shaw finished a set—and drove off to Mexico. George Auld tried to keep the band together, but it was like Laurel without Hardy.

Though we never realized it at the time, it was the end of an era. Looking back, we can see now that the thirties were the golden age of American music: the golden age of jazz . . . the golden age of the big bands . . . the golden age of the popular song. What followed was often good music—but for the most part not nearly as good. Just about the time Artie was heading south of the border, America was crowning a new dance band monarch. You remember Glenn Miller. ■

FICTION

The Camp of the Saints

By Jean Raspail

Reviewed by Lynne Holdom / Scribner's, 1975 / \$8.95

If you don't read any other book this year, read *The Camp of the Saints*. It is probably one of the most important books of the decade, as it asks questions of the basic values we live by.

The book is not being marketed as science fiction, but it could be considered so, as it takes place about 20 years or so in the future. It is a future in which the entire Third World is a vast slum. Just before total collapse, a million or so beggars in Calcutta seize whatever ships are in the harbor and head for Europe and the good life. They anchor just off the French Riviera. (To be honest, this is probably because the author is French—an American would probably have them off New York or Miami Beach.)

Now the point is that the French aren't doing so great either; nobody's starving but no one is well off. The French can't absorb or cope with these people without destroying their own society

and losing everything they have. How much do they owe these beggars?

There's a lot of naturalistic writing to show exactly the degradation and squalor in which the beggars live. Even French poverty is wealth to them. It's also hinted that other poor nations and peoples are waiting to see the French reaction to the "invasion" before setting off themselves.

Naturally the French have every reaction from "bleeding heart" liberal to "shoot them all" conservative.

If someone breaks in robs me or you, that's a crime. Is it any less a crime to rob a country or a civilization? Just how far can a civilization go to protect itself? This may become more than just a speculation in the next few years. That's why I think this book is important. So does the *Times*, but it accuses the author of racism, as he seems to be suggesting that France would be better off killing all these people. I don't think it's that simple. ©1975 by Richard E. Geiss. ■

EDITH EFRON BLASTS TV's NEWS TWISTERS

A hard-hitting attack on network TV news bias—by *TV Guide's* popular "News Watch" columnist.

In this incisive audio-cassette presentation, Edith Efron reveals evidence of TV's liberal bias and its systematic exclusion of opposing views. She concludes her talk with a surprising—and radical—solution to the problem.

Journalist and media watchdog Edith Efron is author of the controversial book *The News Twisters*. She is a contributing editor to *TV Guide* and has written for *Time-Life*, *Look* and the *New York Times*.

This 85-minute "easy-listening" cassette includes a lively question-and-answer session. To order, simply clip this ad and mail it with your name and address, and a check or money order for \$10.95. Money back if you're not satisfied. Order today.

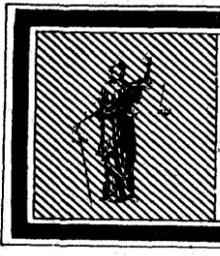
Cassette catalog, \$.25 (free with order).

AF045

AUDIO-FORUM®

901 N. Washington Street
Alexandria, VA 22314





Briefly IN REVIEW

Astride Two Cultures: Arthur Koestler at 70 Edited by Harold Harris

"The title of this celebration of Koestler's life and work on the occasion of his 70th birthday refers logically enough to the fact that although he is most widely known as the author of a superb novel, *Darkness at Noon*, Koestler is also a most effective contributor to scientific discussion of the distinctions between brain, mind and consciousness. A liberating sense that man is more than an automatic system of reflexes emerges from the book. The 14 contributors discuss Koestler's other fiction, "The Sleepwalkers," and his history of science, the always fascinating story of his life and his preoccupation with the paranormal. A lengthy 'overview' by Roy Webberly must be one of the best things on Koestler available and is a *tour de force* of popular exposition; Kathleen Nott on "Koestler and the Behaviorists" is another prize. . . ."—*Publishers Weekly / Intellectual Biography / Random House, 1976 / \$10*

The Rockefellers: An American Dynasty By Peter Collier and David Horowitz

"While they were accumulating more than 200 hours of interviews with the 'Cousins' (the fourth-generation Rockefellers) the authors were able to penetrate the barriers of the 'brain trust in Room 5600' in the RCA Building and were given a limited access to the Rockefeller Family Archives. And when a family PR man asked if their book was going to be favorable or unfavorable, they replied that they 'planned simply to draw a realistic and full-blooded portrait of the family.' This is what they have done in this carefully annotated, thoroughgoing, balanced and readable family history. . . ."—*Publishers Weekly / Biography-History / Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976 / \$15*

Powers of Mind By Adam Smith

"While still a Wall Street fund manager, Adam Smith (who wrote *The Money Game* and *Supermoney*) began to read about mind-body control, the feats of yogis, legends from religion, and started to look into meditation practices. He investigated almost everything from LSD to biofeedback to Eastern religions. He talked to Baba Ram Dass, John Lilly, and other gurus, swamis, mystics, athletes, and practitioners of many faiths and beliefs—including experts in the fields of medicine, physics, and neuroscience. He took courses in Arica and Transcendental Meditation, he observed fads and movements. And it is all carefully and honestly reported, his doubts and disbeliefs, the probable frauds, but also the authentic phenomena, his own altered-state experiences, and the changes in his life. . . . something important is happening in this new world of subjective awareness and this is an excellent, well-documented survey of it all. Highly recommended.—George Adelman in *Library Journal / Psychology / Random, 1975 / \$8.95*

The Failure of the NRA By Bernard Bellush

"The Brookings Institution's 1935 report on the then two-year-old NRA delivered the *coup de grace* to this controversial industry-oriented attempt to correct the evils of the Depression. Bellush, history professor at the City University of New York, agrees with the report in its indictment of Roosevelt and his administration for the lack of direction which accelerated a drift toward monopoly. . . . Bellush's book is a painstaking, disillusioning account of the Blue Eagle

period. . . ."—*Publishers Weekly / History / Norton, 1975 / \$8.95*

"They've Killed the President!": The Search for the Murderers of John F. Kennedy By Robert Sam Anson

"The possibility that there actually were *murderers* nags at millions because of the questionable methods of the Warren Commission, the inconclusiveness of ballistics tests, a botched autopsy. Anson, a political reporter for *New Times*, interprets the evidence, including recently available new material, as pointing to an assassination conspiracy; at the same time, however, he's too responsible to categorically make accusations. . . . Anson suspects the existence of three 'Oswalds,' that a 'plant' lived in the Soviet Union and married Marina, that Marina herself may be an agent. He calls

attention to the problematical coincidences that surrounded the assassination; he examines the factions he sees as having motives: organized crime, Cuban exiles, the CIA. Yet proof of anything remains elusive. Anson's book, as readable and concerned as it is, is made up of intriguing parts that don't credibly add up. . . ."—*Publishers Weekly / Contemporary History / Bantam, 1975 / \$2.50 pb*

How to Protect Yourself from Crime By Ira A. Lipman

"[Lipman's book] contains nothing dramatic or surprising about security, but if you adhere to its commonsense checklists, you'll make it much more difficult for a would-be thief or kidnapper to score on you, your business, or your family."—*Business Week / Survival / Atheneum, 1975 / \$9.95*

RICHARD SUTER PREDICTS:

GOLD AT \$400 by DECEMBER, 1977
40% INFLATION DURING 1977
1978 - THE WORST DEPRESSION SINCE 1930

FIND OUT WHY!

SUBSCRIBE TO NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER TODAY!

YOU'LL LEARN HOW TO EARN PROFITS LIKE:

108% PROFIT IN 77 DAYS!
119% PROFIT IN 85 DAYS!
170% PROFIT IN 55 DAYS!
250% PROFIT IN 63 DAYS!

NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER advised subscribers on Dec. 11, 1972 to buy Japanese yen against the U.S. dollar. On February 28, 1973, when sale of yen was recommended, subscribers realized a profit of \$4,300 per contract. **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** has been watching the currency markets for years. Prior to the August-December, 1971 currency crisis, subscribers were advised to put their cash in Swiss banks. By doing so they realized a 15% profit while maintaining their purchasing power. Again on October 15, 1973 and November 12, 1973, **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** advised to sell British pounds and Swiss francs against the dollar. On January 14, 1975, when these positions were closed, subscribers realized \$4,775 and \$6,825 profit per contract. Again on June 9, 1975 editor Suter advised that the dollar was set to make substantial gain, particularly against the Swiss franc. **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** recommended selling the franc against the dollar resulting in a profit of over \$4,500 per contract on August 4, 1975. Again in August, editor Suter saw the opportunity to make huge profits from the fall British pound. On December 19, when those positions were closed, subscribers earned \$2,500 per contract. The continuing drop of the pound has yielded subscribers \$4,500 profit per contract from January, 1976 through April, 1976. **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** subscribers have made dramatic profits while protecting their capital from loss through devaluation and have, at the same time, made dramatic profits! While the general public has been losing money and buying power to devaluations and runaway inflation, subscribers to **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** have left the crowd and made big profits instead! Profits can still be made in the currency markets. Should you be short in pounds and long in the Swiss franc and mark during the remainder of 1976, **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** has the best profit information.

90% YEARLY COIN PROFITS

Since 1971 **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** has recommended various coin investments. These recommendations include a cross section of every type of United States Coinage and some foreign issues too. There were recommendations requiring only a \$5 investment and others which required in excess of one thousand dollars. On an average, these recommendations have realized a profit of 90% yearly profit to **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** subscribers.

What are the best coin investments today. **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** special reports give editor Suter's picks for maximum profits during the next coin boom, and you're even told when the next general, all-out, coin boom will hit.

FOLLOW THROUGH

NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER follows through all recommendations until sale is recommended. **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** never just makes a purchase recommendation and then leaves subscribers wondering what to do. Instead, **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** makes the much more difficult recommendations of when to sell for maximum profits.

SILVER

Silver hit its all time high price during 1974. Is it in for a repeat performance this year, or should you go short (profiting as the price moves lower) for maximum profits? **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** answers these questions giving insight into how the drained resources of Great Britain will affect silver prices over the next year. How the government's "national defense stockpile" of silver may affect the silver price. How the Silver Users Association may again force the price of silver down.

Should your silver position be in a Swiss Bank Silver Claim Account, or on the London silver market, or in the United States market? **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** gives you the full story.

USING THE TAX LAW

It's legally possible to avoid all income taxes on capital gains. This one special report can save you thousands of dollars of income taxes. As a new subscriber you'll receive this report free. Be sure to order your **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** subscription today. Just this one report can save you thousands of times the cost of a one year, 12 issue subscription.

GOLD

Gold is going to \$400 an ounce just as sure as I'm human says editor Richard Suter. Knowing this, should you now buy gold coins, gold bullion or gold future contracts? In **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** editor Suter tells you which and when! This report gives important technical information which will permit you to earn, what we believe to be, maximum profits in 1976. **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** advised subscribers as early as October, 1974 that the price of gold would drop spectacularly during 1975. All during 1975 editor Suter advised readers to short gold, making subscribers almost 100% profit a month!

How will the continued gold dumping by the United States Government, which will soon be joined by the International Monetary Fund, affect the price of gold? Might the Soviet Union, in its need to buy United States wheat and other grains, be forced to sell so much gold as to force the price of gold back down to \$70 an ounce? Are the Swiss banks currently engaged in a market fixing operation to hold the price of gold artificially low, or is it artificially high? **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** special reports give you the scoop.

COPPER

During 1974 copper hit an all time record high price of \$1.40 a pound. Since then the price has moved steadily down to the current quote of near 60¢ a pound. Copper may be the very best hedge against inflation, which editor Suter indicates will skyrocket in price with the continuing industrial expansion. Should you buy copper now for a 200% to 1000% profit during the next 12 months? **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** special reports give you the outlook for maximum profits from copper investments. Subscribers taking our copper recommendations beginning in December, 1975 have realized \$4,000 profit per contract through April, 1976.

PLATINUM

Platinum has been a traditional store of value. In the course of history, literally thousands of people have been able to buy their freedom with platinum. In recent years the demand for platinum has greatly increased. In Japan most precious jewelry is made from platinum instead of gold. All U.S. automobiles have a catalytic converter which depends on platinum for its effectiveness. What will these new industrial applications do to the price of platinum? **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** gives our insight. Subscribers taking our platinum advice in February, 1976, realized \$1,000 profit per contract by April, 1976.

FUTURE HAPPENINGS

The recession is quickly ending all over the world. During 1977 the word on everyone's tongue will be inflation. This inflation will spread to every corner of the world; commodity prices will greatly increase! When will it finally stop again? Will the next recession end in the worst depression known to earth? **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** gives you the full and complete review of upcoming economic events. Special reports give you an outline of when the economy will be in full bloom, and when the spiral will again wind down toward a recession, what events could push that recession into a depression, and what events could push government to create

"run-away inflation to create a 'full employment economy' with 100% inflation a week! Special reports tell you how to hedge against further devaluations and inflation for maximum profits under the expected economic conditions predicted by seasoned economists under the direction of editor Suter.

ALL SPECIAL REPORTS FREE—SUBSCRIBE NOW

NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER is offering all these special reports free to new subscribers who act now while our supplies last. Editor Suter wants you to benefit from the continuing monetary and economic dislocations that will affect the world in years to come. By subscribing to **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** you'll have the advised judgement of seasoned economists and financiers who know economics, Wall Street and coins, too.

NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER is written for today's world. We don't tell you how the world should be operating, we tell you how to profit in today's real world. If you want down to earth profit facts send your subscription today. We'll immediately rush you all the special reports outlined FREE. You can't lose—see our guarantee—subscribe today!

GUARANTEE

If at any time you are not satisfied with **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** you may cancel your subscription—no questions asked—and receive an immediate cash refund for the remainder of your subscription term.

READER CAUTION

The profits indicated in this advertisement were actual purchase and sale recommendations to all subscribers of **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER**. The editorial staff of **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** will continue to endeavor to find these outstanding profits for subscribers. However, the past is not a guarantee to the future. Subscribers cannot necessarily expect these profits in the future despite the best efforts of **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER**.

NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER, DEPT. 211

P.O. Box 7212 (MPO) Chicago, Illinois 60680

National Hard Asset Reporter, Dept. 211
P.O. Box 7212, Main Post Office
Chicago, Illinois 60680

Here's my subscription order to **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER**. Rush me all special reports as outlined in your ad.

6 month subscription (6 issues) \$22.00
12 month subscription (12 issues) \$41.00

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____

Sentience

By Wallace I. Matson

Reviewed by Tibor R. Machan / University of California Press, 1975 / \$7.95

This marvelous, fresh, meticulously argued and brightly composed book carries a quote from Gilbert Ryle on its cover in order to prepare the reader for it theme:

Man need not be degraded to a machine by being denied to be a ghost in a machine. He might, after all, be a sort of animal, namely, a higher mammal. There has yet to be ventured the hazardous leap to the hypothesis that perhaps he is a man.

Once the fadishly sensitive among us get over the "sexist" overtones of this passage—having remembered what the words mean in the English language—the recommendation contained in Ryle's statement will surely seem worth a try. It is to the credit of Professor Matson that he embarks on proving the hypothesis with no apology to the mystics among us. Instead Matson sets out to show what after all should appear to us an eminently sensible notion about what we are, namely, material entities in material reality. Matson addresses himself to what should interest any thoughtful person: the question of what kind of entity a human being is. Surely we are material—we fall, we can be kicked, we are subject to the laws of physics, chemistry, and even mechanics. Surely, however, we are also different from many other material things—unlike stones, we experience pain; unlike plants, we move about quite freely at times; unlike apes and porpoises, we philosophize. So what are we?

A way of approaching this problem that has gained

prominence in intellectual history involves a consideration of the idea that sensations are brain processes. On a common sense level the idea seems reasonable enough—a feeling one has, say of the saltiness of the soup at tonight's dinner, just could not exist without something going on in our body, very likely in that part of it where the sensory organs come together, namely in the brain. Yet this is a revolutionary idea to some, especially the tender-

“Matson addresses himself to what should interest any thoughtful person: the question of what kind of entity a human being is.”

hearted who have visions that granting such a crass conception of even the simplest of human feelings must give way to an avalanche of reductionism. What next? Well, for one, our emotions may have to be construed as “mere” processes in our brains. And our thoughts, memories, fantasies, dreams, reasoning—yes, even the human mind itself—would then have to be construed as nothing more than epiphenomena of the brains we have in our bodies. Where is the glory in all this, where are we to put our ennobling conceptions about man's special place in nature?

PHILOSOPHY

And, of course, where would be spirit, soul, and—to verge on the blasphemous—where would it leave our supposed divine spark? Now that I have suggested where the simple notion that sensations are brain processes might lead us, I will simply add that the story is far more interesting than what my suggestion makes it appear.

But I will not spoil the story. Once in a while a book should be recommended, not reviewed at all, just as with certain mystery novels. I confine myself, therefore, to this, instead of embarking on what I will do elsewhere, namely a philosophical confrontation with Professor Matson on the topic of sentience. What will suffice for now is to offer a testimony.

Matson, a philosopher who not only knows a great deal of the history of philosophy and has produced some of the best thinking on philosophical topics in his previous articles and books—among them *The Existence of God* and *History of Philosophy*—is a superb prose writer. He is also a completely committed rationalist in the sense that he does not expect his readers to take him on faith about anything. (So where he must limit his exposition, he acknowledges that his position requires additional treatment.) His arguments are always fair, although he does not shy away from calling silliness just what it is, silliness.

Now if this will not entice you to embark on a fascinating yet relatively brief intellectual adventure, maybe you will find it more titillating that Matson handles such topics as the nature of private experiences, artificial intelligence, the mind/body relationship, freedom of the will, and the nature of values—all in a crisp and often dazzlingly intelligent manner.

Again, I do not wish to give anything away, for this book is somewhat of a mystery tour. What does Matson's materialism lead to concerning the nature of thought? Can machines think? Are we free? Are moral judgments meaningful?

Find out for yourself. I promise you a delightful and challenging journey. ■

New cassettes for LR readers



Baxter, Rene TAX AVOIDANCE, POLITICAL FREEDOM, AND THE INVESTOR (1976 Bicentennial Investment Seminar)

Rene Baxter's topic is the investor's political freedom, and how that freedom is violated by taxation. In keeping with the seminar's Bicentennial theme, Baxter's speech is a rousing call to arms for a second American Revolution. He outlines a number of methods being used by tax rebels to avoid paying taxes—with varying degrees of legality. Though he offers advice on how to survive economic crisis, Baxter disputes the prophets of gloom and doom, and explains why he is fundamentally optimistic about the future. Rene Baxter, a free-market economist and investment advisor, is a leader of the national tax revolt movement.

Tape #435 (67 min.) \$10.50

Grinder, Walter E. MONETARY MANIPULATION: ITS STRUCTURAL EFFECTS

Dr. Grinder discusses the effects of monetary policy on the economy. He shows how changes in the money supply affect interest rates and prices, and outlines the consequences of monetary misdirection in a mixed economy. A brief question-and-answer session followed this lecture at an American Geographical Society conference.

Tape #465 (25 min.) \$8.95

Rothbard, Murray HOW GOVERNMENT DESTROYS OUR MONEY

Dr. Rothbard contends that government policies are to blame for inflation. He explains how this occurs through the excessive printing of paper money and the operation of the banking system. Dr. Rothbard outlines the three stages of inflation, and gives a short summary of the abuses of money by various governments throughout history. This recording includes a question-and-answer session.

Tape #429 (59 min.) \$9.95

MacBride, Roger L. ROGER MACBRIDE DISCUSSES THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY PLATFORM

The 1976 Libertarian Party presidential candidate outlines the major areas of the LP's platform. MacBride discusses the LP's position on victimless crimes, foreign policy, and such domestic issues as inflation, taxation, pollution and the postal service.

Tape #446 (47 min.) \$9.95

Null, Gary HOW TO GET YOUR BEST SELLER PUBLISHED

When most people write a book, it never gets published and gathers dust. The reason is that most writers do not know how to sell to a publisher. This invaluable cassette shows you how to turn your manuscript into a best seller. You will learn how to attract a publisher's attention—which publishers to seek out—which to avoid—how to keep from being cheated—and how to receive your fair share of movie, magazine, paperback rights, etc.

Tape #458 (55 min.) \$9.95

Block, Walter MONEY, INFLATION AND THE BUSINESS CYCLE

Walter Block discusses the significance of money, its advantages over barter, and the necessary qualities of a monetary medium. He then turns his attention to the nature, cause and consequences of inflation, and answers arguments against the gold standard. Finally, he talks about the business cycle, contrasting the Keynesian "fine-tuning" approach with the Austrian School's theory of time preference.

Tape #430 (40 min.) \$9.95

Branden, Nathaniel, Ph.D. NEW LECTURES ON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SELF- ESTEEM

Dr. Branden, a therapist practicing in Los Angeles, is the author of *The Psychology of Self-Esteem*, *Breaking Free*, and *The Disowned Self*. Now, he has created a series of lectures which substantially update and expand upon the material in those pathbreaking works. The content of this course goes well beyond the material presented in Dr. Branden's three books, and represents an integration of his most recent researches, studies, and findings.

Here are some of the highlights of this comprehensive presentation of Biocentric Psychology: The need, the motivating power, and the requirements of self-esteem—Self-esteem's relation to sex, productive work and human relationships—The need to understand yourself and other people—The psychology of man-woman relationships—The nature and source of emotion—Neurotic disorders: their meaning and cause—Principles of motivation—Emotional blocking—Disowning the self—Self-alienation and social alienation—Reason and emotion; A new interpretation—Self-awareness, self-acceptance, self-responsibility, self-assertion—Anxiety and depression—A critique of contemporary psychology: Psychoanalysis, Behaviorism, "Humanistic" Psychology—Biocentric Therapy: Its goals and techniques—Biocentric Therapy and the Objectivist Ethics.

Tape #621-640 (26 hrs.) \$188.95

Rothbard, Murray DEFLATION RECONSIDERED

Dr. Rothbard believes that the phenomenon of deflation deserves more attention. He outlines the reasons why deflation is preferable to inflation, and suggests that deflation would help resolve our present economic problems. A lecture delivered at an American Geographical Society conference.

Tape #464 (22 min.) \$8.95



Libertarian Cross-Currents

By Walter E. Grinder

As a movement, libertarianism has a long way to go before it reaches maturity. There have, however, been some significant advances made during this past year, and I would like to use the space in this month's column to take stock of where we are, and where we are going.

As I've said elsewhere, I have never been much of a Libertarian Party fan—that is until the most recent campaign. The MacBride campaign and all the state and local campaigns that went along with it were successful beyond my wildest imagination. I'm not thinking of just the 180,000 or so votes, but the success in getting libertarianism known to literally millions of people who heretofore had not even heard of a consistent libertarian point of view. I think that MacBride's tripartite theme of libertarianism in civil liberties, economics, and foreign policy was a stroke of genius, although I wish that he had been even firmer in the area of foreign policy.

We need much more of this kind of broad-based approach. Other effective mass appeals were found in Murray N. Rothbard's interview in the October *Penthouse* and James Dale Davidson's award-winning *Playboy* article on tax resistance and the IRS.

As important as a political campaign is for effective introductory education and organizing, we must remember that the attention of Americans can be caught for broad political-ideological purposes only once every four years. I don't want to underestimate the importance of local issues in local elections, because

they are important for organizing local constituencies. These local issues are, however, not capable of capturing the attention and imagination of the many people necessary to get across a sustained and comprehensive ideological message. The Libertarian Party can do a great deal to get ready for the 1980 campaign, but we cannot expect the party to be an effective tool of mass education until the next presidential campaign.

Clearly, other vehicles are necessary. Fortunately this past year has seen the emergence of parallel institutions that can serve this important function.

The heart and soul of libertarianism is its ideas. Nurturing and training those who can effectively convey these ideas is the single most important task confronting the movement. For when we get right down to it, *ideas are the key to social change*. But ideas do not move mysteriously through a vacuum. They must be learned, refined, and carried by intellectuals (those who deal with ideas on all levels). We will not build a libertarian movement, we cannot win any significant victories for liberty until we have built up a large and articulate cadre of intellectuals (professors, teachers, writers, lecturers, journalists, conversationalists, et cetera).

The most significant new parallel institutions that are now serving this purpose are the Center for Libertarian Studies (200 Park Avenue South, Suite 911, New York, NY 10003) and the Cato Institute (Box 2256, Wichita, KS 67201).

The Center began only a year ago with virtually no

funds, but with a clear ideological and strategic purpose. In its first year the Center has come a long way. It has among its Board of Directors and Board of Advisors the following: Yale Brozen, Arthur A. Ekirch, Williamson Evers, Antony Flew, R. Dale Grinder, Charles Hamilton, Mrs. F. A. Harper, Henry Hazlitt, F. A. Hayek, John Jospers, Robert D. Kephart, Ludwig M. Lachmann, Leonard P. Liggio, James J. Martin, Mrs. Ludwig von Mises, Felix Morley, Robert A. Nisbet, Robert Nozick, Ralph Raico, Earl C. Ravenal, Murray N. Rothbard, James A. Sadowsky, Louis M. Spadaro, and Thomas Szasz. The officers are John Hagel III, president; Joseph R. Peden, vice-president, Walter E. Grinder, secretary and executive director, and Walter Block, treasurer.

The Center has a contract with Pergamon Press for its new academic publication, *The Journal of Libertarian Studies*. The *JLS* is edited by Murray N. Rothbard. Included in the first two issues, among other articles, are the following: "Toward a Reformation of the Law of Contracts" by Williamson M. Evers, "Robert Nozick and the Immaculate Conception of the State" by M. N. Rothbard, "Toward a Theory of State Capitalism: Ultimate Decision-Making and Class Structure" by Walter E. Grinder and John Hagel III, "Property Rights in Celtic Irish Law" by J. R. Peden, "Comments about the Mathematical Treatment of Economic Problems" by Ludwig von Mises (never published in English), "Coase and Demsetz on Private Property Rights" by Walter Block, "Order without

AN AFTERWORD FROM Readers, Authors, Reviewers

"A Selective Freedom"

Reginald Bretnor's belief that the rights and "powers" of citizenship should be taken away from "irresponsible" individuals is the tip of the right-wing statist's iceberg. "Responsibility," of course, would have to be defined by the state; that is, by people in power. [See "Gun Control" and the Free Citizen," *LR*, Sep.-Oct. '76.]

Historically, there are many abominable examples of what happens when the people in power decide who is responsible and who isn't. Women were considered to be incapable of voting responsibly until a paltry fifty years ago. Blacks were deliberately disenfranchised after the Civil War—not on the basis of race, but by means of economic criteria and literacy tests—so-called objective tests that Mr. Bretnor would perhaps approve of.

The implications here are antilibertarian in so fundamental a way that I am amazed that I even need to discuss them in a libertarian publication. The state is the legalized use of force. To deprive people of citizenship is to leave them without a voice in the affairs of the state. Now, people who are unrepresented in government have a nasty habit of being oppressed and exploited by that very institution. Thus, to deprive people—responsible or not—of the powers of citizenship is to deprive them of the right of self defense in a way more basic than the prohibition of guns itself.

It is predictable that Bretnor would berate the ACLU for its work in protecting the rights of the accused. But his attempt to dig up a libertarian-sounding reason for this leads to bizarre results. The ACLU has an "authoritarian" concept of government, he says, because their adversary concept of government reveals "the memory of czars and com-

missars, serfdom and subjection, pogroms, summary seizures, and arbitrary judgements without appeal." And indeed it does—let's hope we never forget these things! Surely even Bretnor knows that they have happened right here in the United States. And the only reason we don't have arbitrary judgment and summary seizures more often here is because the adversary concept of the relation between government and the governed has led to procedural safeguards for the accused.

But like all right wingers who seek a selective freedom (for themselves), Bretnor defeats himself by contradiction. He starts out with the correct assumption that government is an instrumentality to which people delegate certain powers that they *already have as individuals*. In the next paragraph, he contradicts this. "Full citizenship was not," he says, "something granted automatically to anybody who could grunt and get in line for a handout," thus implying that citizenship is a kind of handout, or "grant" of powers. He speaks of "qualifying" for the right to vote, as if the franchise were a special power above and beyond what all individuals possess already. He speaks of the "powers" of citizenship being "given" to "millions of irresponsibles." Thus, in the last analysis, it is Bretnor, not just the "left-leaning liberals," who believes that the "powers we once delegated to government now belong to it and not to us," to use his own words.

Liberals tell us that only policemen can be trusted with guns; Bretnor tells us that only good, solid, upper-class citizens can be trusted with the vote. What's the difference?

Our commitment to individual rights may ally us with people like Bretnor on one particular issue. That does *not* mean we have to accept or help spread the reactionary and antilibertarian views associated with him. Indeed, that people like Bretnor have been considered advocates of freedom is probably the major reason why the cause has faltered for so many years. If libertarians allow this kind of right-wing statism to ride along

on our bandwagon, we, too, will lose because of it.

MILTON MUELLER
Chicago, Ill.

Bretnor Replies

Mr. Mueller's peroration opens with an outright misstatement of fact when he refers to my alleged "belief that the rights and 'powers' of citizenship should be taken away from 'irresponsible' individuals." I said nothing about the restriction of passive rights, of those rights which pertain only to one's own well-being and destiny, but of course I did question the wisdom of allowing the irresponsible to exercise, perilously, powers that can decide the destinies of their fellow men.

Without some degree of intellectual and interpersonal responsibility, no viable society or culture can flourish, and—perhaps unfortunately—there must be some standard against which this responsibility can be measured. Such standards, in the past, have generally been cultural developments, often unfair, sometimes inhumane, but usually with a survival value for the community. Perhaps in the future more idealistic and more scientific ways can be found by which to determine them. They will be imperfect, certainly, as man is imperfect, but with all their imperfections they will still be necessary. To deny this is simply to assert that everyone has to be free to "do his own thing" no matter what.

Mr. Mueller speaks as a declared Libertarian, but his frames of reference, as revealed by his distortions of what I had to say and by his choice of epithets, seem to be the familiar fuzzy ones of Left-leaning Liberalism. His inability to understand what I wrote and meant is, I imagine, due to the fact that certain meanings and concepts simply are not contained in those frames—hence such absurdities as his statement that "Bretnor tells us that only good, solid, upper-class citizens can be trusted with the vote," which I did not say. He seems to be constrained by an inflexible map of causes and effects, and to be inflicting it on a

terrain to which it does not correspond. As his central argument appears to reduce Libertarianism to a mindless advocacy of anarchy, it is pointless for me to attempt any further explication or discussion.

REGINALD BRETNOR
Medford, Ore.

"Major Misunderstanding"

Bill McIlhany's review (September/October 1976) on my *Punishing Criminals: Concerning a Very Old and Painful Question* was generous, for which I am thankful, but also replete with major misunderstandings, most of which I do not think I can take the space to correct. One, however, goes too far.

Mr. McIlhany implies that I accept "today's senseless jargon of 'one's debt to society'" and adds, "van den Haag is rather hostile to retribution as uncivilized vengeance." Actually, I am in favor of retribution and explain (in a section titled "Retribution and Vengeance" that retribution has nothing to do with vengeance, but instead with promise keeping and that the motive of vengeance, whether or not present, has no logical connection with the intention of retribution. (A and B may have different motives for the same intention of killing C.) I also make it clear that the justification for threats is utilitarian, for punishments retributive—they must be deserved by guilt. Further, the first chapter contains a section ("A Debt Owed by or to Society?") in which I reject the theory that the criminal owes a debt to society. I also unmistakably favor restitution by offenders to injured individuals, in a section headed "Restitution."

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG
New York, N.Y.

McIlhany Replies

I will comment briefly on the "major misunderstanding" Professor van den Haag kindly specified in his letter. The complete sentence in my review from which he excerpted his quotes reads: "The author pays little or no attention to a perspective of inherent transactional jus-

Letters from readers are welcome. Although only a selection can be published and none can be individually acknowledged, each will receive editorial consideration and may be passed on to reviewers and authors. Letters submitted for publication should be brief, typed, double spaced, and sent to LR, 901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314.

Classified

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

TURN FUN INTO PROFIT! Big \$\$\$\$\$ paid for doing crossword puzzles. Complete information \$1. *Spondulix*, Box 827-R, Plymouth, MA 02360.

SILVER INVESTORS, get powerful 3 to 1 leverage with no margin calls, no forced liquidation, no time limit, no minimum investment, no futures or options. 100% legal and ethical. Speculate, while retaining your cool. I got the idea while reading Harry Browne's "Monetary Crisis" book, though oddly enough, he doesn't mention it there. Am I the only person to have thought of this? \$10, money back if not satisfied. *Watson Morris*, Court Reporter, 603 ALR Oak Avenue, Carrboro, NC 27510.

EMPLOYMENT

MERCHANT MARINE, LICENSED OFFICER, tells how to join, \$3 and self addressed stamped envelope to *Ernest*, PO Box 17184, Phila., PA 19105.

STUFF ENVELOPES, \$250 per 1000, send stamped self addressed envelope to: *PFR Co*, Box 250, Ansonia, CT 06401.

MAKE MONEY at home. Details \$1, self-addressed envelope. *Andy Davis*, 290 Cherrywood Ave., San Leandro, CA 94577.

DEEPSEA EMPLOYMENT on Freighters and Tankers. Big Money. World wide travel. Full information, \$2. *Deepsea*, PO Box 012109, Miami, Florida 33101.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES—Work at home full or spare time. Details \$25. *Ashley Enterprises*, 128A, Crosby, MS 39633.

MAKE BIG money at home immediately stuffing envelopes. Rush stamped, self-addressed envelope: *B&B Co.*, Box 115-LR, Redding Ridge, CT 06876.

LITERATURE

GET RICH with "NORMANDY EXPRESS NEWSLETTER." Sample, \$3. *Normandy Express Enterprises*, Box 1154, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5W 1G6.

TRAPPED BY STATISM, gravity, death? You could get: *Earth/Space News*, L-5 Newsletter, *The Immortalist*, *Individual Liberty* and *New Libertarian Weekly* for \$64/yr. Or you could get *Claustrophobia*—which contains all these newsletters plus extras such as contributions from Robert Wilson and Timothy Leary for \$40/yr. Such a deal! (\$70/2 yrs., \$20/6 mos., \$4/mo.) *Claustrophobia*, 5047 SW 26th Dr., Portland, OR 97201.

DR. NATHANIEL BRANDEN RECOMMENDS—TOUCH, a new magazine devoted to "a sensitive, well-informed and highly practical discussion of issues and problems in the area of human sexuality." Sample, \$1.00. Try the ultimate intimate experience NOW! *TOUCH*, 2439LR 4th St., Santa Monica, CA 90405.

SWISS NUMBERED ACCOUNT by mail. Complete details, \$3. *J.T. McShay*, Box 19528, Indianapolis, IN 46219.

MURRAY ROTHBARD VIEWS THE WORLD! Monthly analysis of almost anything from a hardcore libertarian perspective. Frequent contributions by Len Liggio, Bill Evers, Joe Stromberg, Roy Childs and others. For twelve 8 page issues send eight dollars to *LIBERTARIAN FORUM*, Box 341, Madison Sq. Station, New York, NY 10010.

ATHIEST/FREETHOUGHT LITERATURE

Foremost publisher. Generous discounts. Enlightening samples, brochures \$1.00. *Independent Publications*, Box 162, Paterson, NJ 07513.

READ "THE BIGGEST CON: HOW THE GOVERNMENT IS FLEECING YOU." Explains why U.S. "money" and all government inflationary activities are unconstitutional, exposes Federal government's cover up of its \$5 trillion debt and how it engineered the energy crisis, promotes unemployment, crime, welfare, and a lower standard of living. Demolishes Social Security and Keynesian economics. Proposes solutions, including defenses against IRS (Author pays no income taxes). "A Blockbuster"—John Chamberlain. 325 solidly packed and documented pages. For autographed copy send \$9.95 to *Irwin A. Schiff*, PO Box 5303, Hamden, CT 06518.

PHILOLOGOS—a private monthly newsletter of libertarian commentary and humor. Year, \$5, sample, \$.50. *OEHLER*, Box 2586, Tallahassee, FL 32304.

Investigate **CONTEMPORARY REALISM**, a philosophy. (Non-religious, limited government, pro-capitalist, individualistic, objective, non-sacrificial, Aristotelian, activist). Help create a new educational approach, to replace the existing accreditation system. Help create new institutions and commercial enterprises that will help switch our purchasing power from supporters of the collectivists. For a better understanding of this philosophy send \$1 for a copy of **ANSWERS TO 100 PHILOSOPHICAL QUESTIONS to Contemporary Realism Co.**, Box 552, Pomona, CA 91769.

CB'ERS, BOOST your power without linears. Bicentennial special: plans for base and mobile, \$5 M.O. please. *Power Plans*, POB 8641, Ft. Worth, TX 76112.

METRIC SYSTEM newest manual by Neil Holland. Text and chart \$2 ppd. *Pikes Enterprises*. PO Box 5730, Pikesville, MD 21208.

MISCELLANY

MONTANA MOUNTAIN TRIPS: Backpacking and mountaineering in the Montana wilderness, small groups, no crowds, and libertarian guides. For brochure, write: *MMT*, 3401 14th Ave. So., Great Falls, MT 59405.

EUREKA! For information on Brambeau's Fifty-Fifty Economics, Even Age Work Force, Win-Lose War Plan and Herebefore Religion, send S.A.S.E. to *CENTURY APEX*, 1615 Belmont Ave., Youngstown, OH 44504.

WAR to end wars! One gets killed (loser)—one goes home (winner). End unending, socialistic, suicidal wars. For pictorial presentation send S.A.S.E. to *Win-Lose War Plan*, Box 2138, Youngstown, OH 44504.

RELIGION: Any life after death is better than nothing—even this one, for explanation send \$1 to *HEREBEFORES*, Box 2138, Youngstown, OH 44504.

SELF-IMPROVEMENT

MEDICAL SCHOOL—STATE chartered. Privately owned. Independent, unorthodox, correspondence college. Accredited by 3 organizations, but not AMA approved. Doctorate degree for admissions, plus credit given for experience as Practitioner towards M.D. degree. For application and brochure send \$2 to: *Medical School*, Box 248, Oakville, Ontario, Canada L6J 5A2.

SHOP BY MAIL

NON-COMPETITIVE GAMES for children and adults. Play together not against each other. Free catalog. *Family Pastimes*, (LR) R.R.4, Perth, Ontario, Canada.

100-WATT NON-ELECTRIC LIGHT. Smokeless, odorless, noiseless. Aladdin Kerosene lamps and heaters, 20% off. Catalogue, \$.25. *Country Light*, Box 1963, Athens, GA 30601.

RUBBER STAMPS. All styles. 3-line name and address stamp with astrology sign, flag or happy face \$3.50. Name and address only \$2.50. Literature on request. Dealers inquiries invited. *Johnston Linotype Service*, Dept 20, 7250 Angela Ave., Canoga Park, CA 91307.

RUBBER STAMPS— 3-lines, \$1.50 (\$2.25 additional line); Signature, \$4.50; Bank Deposit, \$1.50; c.w.o. *FMS*, Box 2319-L, Lancaster, CA 93534.

WANT MORE MONEY, BETTER JOB? Get valid college degrees by mail, without studying... legally! Bachelors, Masters, Ph.D., H.S. diplomas—Revealing details FREE. *Counseling*, Box 389-LR1, Tustin, CA 92680.

YOUR COAT OF ARMS research, color drawing with reference. Send name, originating country, and \$2.75 to *Stott Crest*, 9916 90th Ave., N.W., Gig Harbor, WA 98335.

STOP BED WETTING. No drugs, gimmicks, age limit. \$5, stamped envelope, P.O. 3325 Wisconsin St., Oakland, CA 94602.

"THE FIGLEAF" A zany, monthly catalogue of indescribable "unique" goodies. Makes Christmas shopping a rib-tickling joy! Send \$1 and two self-addressed stamped envelopes for the next two issues to: *The Figleaf*, PO Box 634, Station H, Montreal, CANADA

GRAVITY CONTROLLED: Wireless Transmission of Electrical Energy. Compress 150 KW out of 100 KW outlet. Small Input, Large Output. Send \$3 for Copy: *World Federation Science Engineering*, 5842 "J" McFadden, Huntington Beach CA 92649.

WOOD SHELTER SYSTEMS available as plans and materials kits for do-it-yourself fabrication and erection. Brochure \$1.00. *AGI*, One Merchants Plaza, Bangor, ME 04401.

NEED NEW ID? Change name/age with State ID cards, birth certificates, official ID! Details \$25. *Eden Press*, Box 8410-LR, Fountain Valley, CA 92708.

BOOKS PRINTED from manuscript. *Biography Press*, Route-1-745, Aransas Pass, TX 78336.

DIVORCE IN 24 HOURS—Mutual or contested actions, low cost, Haiti or Dominican Republic. For information, send \$2 for 24-page booklet to: *Dr. von Gohman*, ODA PO Box 5, Hyattsville, Maryland 20781, USA. Tel.: (301) 559-2342. Worldwide service.

BEAUTIFUL HAWAIIAN SHIRTS. 100% cotton, short sleeves. Small to XL, \$9.95 each plus COD fee. Available in Blue, Green, Brown, Orange & Red. *Marukiyoya*, 188 North King Street, Honolulu, HI 96817. No catalogs.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS are accepted at the discretion of the publisher. Rates: 10 cents per word (minimum \$2). For U.S. box number, \$1. Full payment must accompany order. Address: Classified Dept., *Libertarian Review*, 901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314. Replies to LR box numbers should be sent to the above address.

BEAUTIFUL RED, WHITE and Blue button inscribed, "God's Country and Mine," two flags and handsome Blue Eagle. Safety pin on back. Send \$1.25 ppd. Individual order. Bumper stickers, \$1.25 ppd. Price lists for salesmen, distributors, concessionaires, "Fund Raising Groups" with sample. *Sorenson Enterprises Corporation*, 7005 West South Ridge Drive, Greenfield, WI 53220.

PERSONALIZE SNAPSHOTS! (9-word or less text) applies over image. Sample \$.25. *Photo Captions*, Box 203-L, Wynantskill, NY 12198.

PROTECT YOUR ALBUMS. White cardboard replacement jackets \$.35. Gray plastic lined inner sleeves \$.15. Postage \$1.25. Record boxes and 78 sleeves available. *CABCO LM*, Box 8212, Columbus, OH 43201.

GOOD GIFT IDEA! Instrument kits! Build Dulcimers, Guitars, Balalaikas, Harps, Banjos, Mandolins. Free catalog: *Hughes Dulcimer Company*, 8665 West 13th Ave, LR, Denver, Colorado 80215.

MIRACLE ALL PURPOSE POLISHING CLOTH WITH LEMON OIL. Better metals and furniture polishing than liquids, ask your friends. \$1.29 postpaid, 3 for \$3. Sorry, no C.O.D. *Marchegiano's* 1734 Johnston St., Philadelphia, PA 19145.

SEQUENTIAL SPELLING. Word Family. Approach: all, tall, stall, install, installment. Parents can use to tutor their own child at home. Recommended by and for Special Education & Learning Disabilities teachers. \$5.95. Reading Via Typing, \$8.95. *AVKO Educational Research Foundation*, 3084 W. Willard Road, Birch Run, MI 48415.

ADAM SMITH NECKTIES AND TEE/SHIRTS. Featuring an original illustration based on the Tassie Medallion. Neckties \$10 each postpaid; Gold on Burgundy and Gold on Navy Blue. Tees \$6 each postpaid; two sizes fit all: Large and Too Large. *Decatur Shoppe, Ltd.*, Dept. LR, North Adams, MI 49262.

INEXPENSIVE, CONFIDENTIAL receiving, forwarding. Write: *P.A.P.A.*, PO Box 3299, Pasadena, TX 77502.

KESHI YENÁ (Stuffed Edam Cheese). Send \$1 for recipe this delicious meal indigenous Aruba-Curacao, Neth. Antilles. *Sargent*, Box 451-L, Woodridge, N.Y. 12789.

HORS D'OEUVRES, 4 recipes. Delicious different, easy. \$1. Also Rum Balls, sensational, \$1. *M.C. Miller*, PO Box 126, Sewickley, PA 15143.

"AMERICA... 1776 to 1976". LP collection of bicentennial music done in contemporary styles, including jazz-rock, swing, and pop. Unusual and hip arrangements for the contemporary music lover to celebrate America's bicentennial. \$6.00. *L. Paxton*, 5900 Sussex, Troy, MI 48084.

CINCINNATI is a funny name for a nice town with chili dishes all its own. Recipes \$1. *Johnson*, Box 272-B, Mason, OH 45040.

AGING FACE? Sagging chin? Protruding tummy? Reverse the law of gravity. \$3. *SASE. Verna*, Box 2445, Hot Springs, Arkansas 71901.

An Afterword. . . (Continued from page 21)

Kudos—

Libertarian Review is my idea of a publication! I know of no other that does what it does—and I feel you and the editorial board deserve a perfect chorus of huzzahs! There are many of us out here who hunger and thirst for what you provide! Keep it up!

I want especially to say thank you for Reginald Bretnor's articles. The man has a mind like a steel trap, and he focuses unerringly on the fallacies of our modern times. For his articles alone I would send gift subscriptions to all my friends—only my means are limited (in other words, the government has made it impossible to in-

dulge in many luxuries!). I must content myself with clipping his words and sending them in letters to one friend who, I know, reads with attention.

Because I am no longer young, I lack a kind of spiritual resiliency, so I cannot believe that the Libertarian Party can ever be a force in this poor beleaguered country of ours. I wish it could!

The platform on which Roger MacBride is running is *exactly* what I think a party platform should be. (I sent out a copy of it to a friend who is a conservative, and to another who is a liberal—and they were *both* impressed!)

As I said, do keep it up! Libertarians are truly voices crying in the wilderness—but they can be insistent voices, and disturbing.

MRS. DAVID HAMBLIN, III
Newton, Mass.

And, on the Other Hand . . .

I feel your magazine leaves much to be desired. Let me explain. I have seen Roger MacBride on "Firing Line," and have read his book, *A New Dawn for America*. I have spoken briefly with Bob Meier and Ed Crane. These gentlemen strike me as being intelligent and reasonable. Because of their positions of leadership in the Libertarian Party, I presume that their posture is representative of the party.

I do not consider the tone of your magazine to be intelligent and reasonable, however. Most of your contributors impress me as being paranoic evangelists who are more concerned with spreading the word that we are all being persecuted by the government than with discussing ways in which we can all improve our lifestyle and contentment regardless of who is in office. I believe that libertarianism will grow with the awareness that

each of us has the ability to better himself without government assistance. Libertarianism has no future if it is primarily a springboard for pie-in-the-sky anarchists.

May I suggest that in the future your magazine be more devoted to social essays of thought-provoking substance (such as Reginald Bretnor's piece in the July-August issue), and less devoted to book reviews (many of which give the reader the impression that the reviewer has a bone to pick with some author none of us has ever heard of before).

If libertarianism grows as a philosophy of realistic and pragmatic doers, then Roger MacBride will get my vote. But if you people are just another bunch of whiners and pseudo-intellectual compainers, then, gentlemen, I just don't have time to listen.

RUSSELL F. MOON, JR.

Why Has This Little-known Journal Become a Major Force in the New American Revolution?

You may never have heard of *Libertarian Review*, even though it is in its fourth year of publication.

But you have surely heard of the libertarian writers and scholars whose works have appeared in its pages: the late Ludwig von Mises, Nobel Laureate F. A. Hayek, Leonard E. Read, Murray N. Rothbard, Henry Hazlitt, Thomas Szasz, Arthur Ekirch, John Hospers, Nathaniel Branden, Roger MacBride, Robert LeFevre, G. William Domhoff, Felix Morley, Theodore Sturgeon, Robert Sherrill, Karl Hess, and dozens of others.

LR has been called the outstanding intellectual journal of the emerging libertarian movement—the premier commentary and review of books, ideas, and the arts—written by and for libertarians.

LR promises to aggravate, stimulate and infuriate. It will raise questions you may never have considered. It will challenge some of your most firmly held beliefs. It will *never* bore you.

Now you can join the vanguard of the most exciting intellectual-political movement of the century by subscribing to *LR*. For new readers we make this offer: A full year of *Libertarian Review* for only \$8.

To take advantage of this offer, tear out and mail the coupon today! Unconditional money-back guarantee if you're not completely delighted!



YES—I want to join the thousands of informed readers of *Libertarian Review*. Start my subscription today. I enclose payment of \$8 for one full year. 350

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

6737 Annapolis Rd., P.O. Box 2599 / Landover Hills, Md. 20784

Libertarian Review 

SA779

Libertarian Review



January-February 1977 Vol.VI, No.1

\$1.50

The Yankee and Cowboy War / Power Shift

Reviewed by Alan Fairgate

The Literature of Freethought

By George H. Smith

My Years with Ludwig von Mises

Reviewed by Murray N. Rothbard

Cut Local Taxes

Reviewed by Tom G. Palmer

ALSO: A look at "The Power of Congress (As Congress Sees It)" / "Prohibiting Rattlesnakes and Strychnine" by Gary A. Hughes / "Thomas Paine: A Soldier for All Seasons" by Carl Shapiro / Neil McCaffrey brings his "Jazz: The Golden Age" to a close / Tibor Machan's thoughts on "Sentience" / Much More!

