

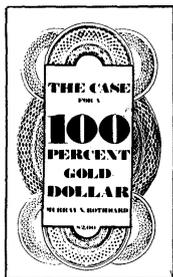
# Libertarian Review

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## THE CASE FOR A 100 PERCENT GOLD DOLLAR

By Murray N. Rothbard



Murray Rothbard has put us all in his debt not only by his long, masterly textbook, *Man, Economy and State* and other volumes, but by his no less masterly pamphlets, particularly his model of reasoning and exposition, *What Has Government Done to Our Money?* He puts us further in his debt by this new pamphlet.

We live in an era of unparalleled confusion of thought on monetary questions. The overwhelming majority of professional economists now advocate fiat paper money. But almost as bad, the handful of economists who do favor a return to

a gold standard cannot agree among themselves about what *kind* of gold standard they want.

The gold-standard advocates may be roughly divided into four groups, with numberless disagreements within these:

1. Those who favor returning to the restricted gold-exchange standard prevailing under the IMF system from 1946 to 1971, with the dollar again made convertible into gold either at \$35 an ounce or some indefinitely higher figure, but still convertible only by foreign central banks or official institutions.

2. Those who favor returning to a fractional-reserve gold standard, with dollars convertible into gold by anyone who holds them and with a specified minimum percentage gold reserve or maximum expansion of deposits or notes. This means those who would return to the pre-1933 form of the gold standard. This probably includes the majority of present gold-standard advocates. A few of them favor abolition of the Federal Reserve System or any central bank; most do not. There is no agreement among them on the gold conversion rate, the minimum percentage gold reserve or the maximum permitted expansion of bank deposits or notes.

3. Those who favor a "locked" gold standard, with no future increase in deposits or notes permitted except dollar-for-dollar for an increased domestic gold supply.

4. Those who favor a full gold standard, consisting only of gold coins or gold certificates 100 percent backed by gold.

Murray Rothbard puts himself in the last group—possibly its sole present member. This may look at first glance like the most extreme, deflationary and impractical position that could be imagined. But Professor Rothbard defends it brilliantly—not only with prodigious historical, legal, and economic scholarship, but with unrelenting logic.

He traces the origin of the fractional-reserve system back to the practice of the old goldsmiths who, he contends, simply perpetrated a fraud by in effect issuing and lending out warehouse receipts for far more gold than they actually held. Modern banks simply continued to practice this fraud, and modern states to sanction it. The truth, he asserts, is that "fractional-reserve banking is disastrous both for the morality and for the fundamental bases and institutions of the market economy."

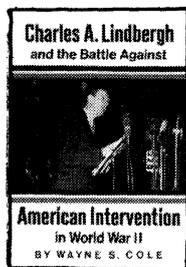
Rothbard's conclusion, in sum, is that "the soundest monetary system and the only one fully compatible with the free market and with the absence of force or fraud from any source is a 100 percent gold standard. This is the only system compatible with the fullest preservation of the rights of property. It is the only system that assures the end of inflation, and with it, of the business cycle."

There will be loud and angry answers to this conclusion, but Rothbard has anticipated most of them. He explains why, for example, there is never any need for a larger supply of money than that already in existence.

This reviewer agrees with practically all the recommendations that Professor Rothbard makes except those concerning when and how to get back to a full gold standard. Here I would classify myself with the tiny group I have labelled "3." But what needs to be emphasized here is not detailed differences in opinion, but that Murray Rothbard has given us another provocative, informative, and elegantly reasoned economic tract. Reprinted with permission from the *Inflation Survival Letter*. REVIEWED BY HENRY HAZLITT / *Economics* (43 pages) / LR Price \$2

## CHARLES A. LINDBERGH AND THE BATTLE AGAINST AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN WORLD WAR II

By Wayne S. Cole



Cole's *Lindbergh* is very well written and good reading. Beyond the historical details of the debate over American intervention into World War II, Cole brings to the fore very well the moral element in the opposition of Lindbergh and the other leaders of America First. It required a moral sense to leave the easy road of going along with the Establishment. Cole begins his study with the example of America First's attempt to bring anti-interventionism to the most rock-ribbed interventionist and militarist section of the country, the South. In Okla-

homa City, a Lindbergh speech was blocked by the American Legion which declared that "the time for freedom of speech is past." Local thugs threatened to disrupt the meeting. But Senator Burton Wheeler, Democrat of Montana, volunteered to speak on the same platform with Lindbergh, while crusty former governor "Alfalfa Bill" Murray agreed to chair the meeting.

From the formation of the America First Committee in the late summer of 1940, Lindbergh became its leading speaker—from the Hollywood

Bowl, where he shared the platform with Senator Worth Clark, Democrat of Idaho, to Manhattan Center, where he appeared with Massachusetts' Democratic Senator David Walsh and John T. Flynn, and Madison Square Garden, where he was joined by Flynn, Senator Wheeler, and Socialist presidential candidate, Norman Thomas. Behind this were the efforts of thousands of America First supporters, of whom three-quarters lived in the Middle West, with the rest located in the cities of the East and West coasts.

Returning in 1939 from Europe, where he had seen U.S. envoys encourage France not to come to an agreement with Germany and pressure France and England to negate the attempts of Poland to return the Corridor to Germany, Lindbergh was encouraged by Herbert Hoover's confidant, William R. Castle, to play a leading role in the battle against interventionism. The Roosevelt administration attempted to buy off Lindbergh with the offer of an appointment to a new cabinet position of air secretary; but encouraged by the Republican isolationist stalwarts in the Senate, Hiram Johnson of California and William Borah of Idaho, he rejected all New Deal offers and stuck to his principles.

Lindbergh saw the war as a civil war of western civilization, a war to  
(Continued on page 2)

**Cole**—(Continued from page 1)

be ended as quickly as possible by a negotiated settlement. As Cole observes, "He was skeptical of the ideological and moral righteousness of the British and French. . . . His approach was, in effect, more understanding of the Germans (without approving of what they did) and more skeptical of the Allies than the conventional view in the United States. Lindbergh saw a divided responsibility for the origins of the European war, rather than an assignment of the total blame to Hitler, Nazi Germany, and the Axis States."

Lindbergh had spent most of the 1930s in Europe. The actualization of that great fear of families—child kidnapping—and the treatment to which the Lindbergh family was subjected by the press had alienated Lindbergh from America. Thus, Lindbergh was in very few ways a typical leader of the American non-interventionist movement. He was not an American isolationist but a Europeanist who saw the United States and the countries of Europe as a single people sharing an important civilization. Much more than the other leaders of the America First movement he was driven by the special desire to end the European civil war which had broken out in 1939 by preventing U.S. intervention, which could only prolong the fratricide. This special drive, and his disinterest in the political processes in the United States, explain the outspoken nature of the leading role he assumed in the anti-intervention effort.

The immediate influences on Lindbergh that activated his leadership were as varied as the diversity of the non-interventionist movement—which spanned the spectrum from Right to Left, from total free market to socialist (the unifying element being a commitment to peace and especially a commitment to justice and integrity). But the two most important influences were the group in Chicago (including Chicago Tribune publisher Robert R. McCormick, Robert E. Wood, Avery Brundage, and University of Chicago president Robert Hutchins), and three students of Yale Professor Edwin Borahard: R. Douglas Stuart, Sargent Shriver, and Kingman Brewster. Wood and Stuart, along with Sidney Hertzberg, John T. Flynn, William H. Regnery, and Chester Bowles, formed the active leadership of the America First Committee.

Lindbergh considered the central issue in the great debate to be that of integrity. He believed that there was no danger to America from abroad, but a great danger from within America, from its governmental leaders. He demanded that policy be made on the basis of openness with the American people rather than secrecy. Lindbergh insisted: "Subterfuge

marked every step we made 'short of war,' and it now marks every step we are making 'short of' a dictatorial system in America. Our nation has been led to war with promises of peace. It is now being led toward dictatorship with promises of democracy." But this a promise of democracy for people abroad, not Americans. Instead of the crusade "for freedom and democracy abroad, let us decide now how these terms are to be applied to the Negro population in our southern states."

FDR was especially spiteful toward Lindbergh. Probably it was Lindbergh's exposure of Roosevelt's lack of integrity which upset him. Roosevelt compared Lindbergh to those who, during the War for Southern Independence, had supported the national liberation struggle of the Confederacy. The label of Copperhead brought immediate responses from such civil-libertarian isolationists as John T. Flynn, Oswald Garrison Villard, and Robert A. Taft. Taft supported Lindbergh's foreign-policy statements and said, "[Roosevelt] lacks the courage to come out openly for a declaration of war, while taking every possible step to accomplish that purpose, and yet threatens those who oppose his policy, as if the country were at war."

FDR set up the Office of Civilian Defense, which was charged to "sustain national morale" by, according to FDR, "effective publicity to offset the propaganda of the Wheelers, Nyes, Lindberghs, etc." With the support of the Establishment media, the vast array of government power made it possible for Roosevelt to enter the Second World War. One reason was that the isolationists had no organizations which compared to the vast array of organizations that supported the interventionist position of the government. The isolationists found they were outsiders looking in. They had always been outsiders, but they had not wished to recognize it, even when the American business community and the middle class generally had been expropriated by the New Deal. (Many people do not recognize expropriation, or other forms of aggression, when it is done to them, due to an inability to recognize "sweet-talking" propaganda for what it is). Since there was no professional staff of anti-government personnel available, businessmen and educators who were better at, and preferred to do, their real jobs had to try to substitute. It was a heroic effort.

The heroes of America First and of American isolationism in general deserve the attention and knowledge of today's libertarians. Cole's Lindbergh offers the most recent—and most readable—work on pre-World War II isolationism. REVIEWED BY LEONARD LIGGIO / **History** (298 pages) / **LR Price \$10**

## THE ART OF DECEPTION

By Nicholas Capaldi

In my undergraduate and graduate days, the liberal left was still in firm command in academia. There was, of course, a pious homage paid to neutrality about ethical and political matters, for positivism was still very much at the helm, but the smugness with which its advocates presented it had long receded into complicated rear-guard action everywhere.

One practice which infuriated me at the time was my professors' technique of using incredibly loaded examples by which their values were communicated to their classes without argument or reasonable consideration. Thus, in a logic course one would explain the nature of the Aristotelian syllogism by taking "All capitalists are crooks," or "Some egoists are brutal," et cetera, as the statements by which to illustrate the general structure of syllogistic arguments.

Logic texts in general exemplify the above tendencies. Their authors have no intention to argue ethics or politics, but they rarely fail to express unambiguous preferences in their selection of examples, a process which is very offensive to the purpose of education.

Now there is a book on informal logic that not only escapes their pattern, but shows how one can make good use of potent examples without becoming an advocate of any point of view in the process. The book is *The Art of Deception*, written by Nicholas Capaldi of Queens College, and it is the best work of its kind on the market today.

Capaldi wrote his book without losing sight of what an elementary logic text is designed to do: educate students in the art of careful thinking. But he knows that education cannot ensue when students are mere passive spectators of the presentation of an author's admittedly brilliant knowledge on some topic. As Capaldi writes:

Typically, the student or reader is asked to identify fallacies in the writings of others, and, although he must respond, his response is within a primarily passive situation. This narrow textbook approach necessitates that the author or teacher rely upon singularly obvious or simple-minded examples. The transfer to other contexts is rarely made.

Capaldi wants to "circumvent this difficulty and . . . give the reader an active grasp of informal logic." He draws heavily on, of all things, Machiavelli's method in *The Prince*. He wants to engage the reader in the substance of the art of reasoning by providing him with a kind of "devil's advocate" handbook. By this approach Capaldi calls attention to what to watch out for in those instances where one is being sold a bill of goods.

His examples are unusually unspanning of any point of view, but quite

often it is the liberal-left side that is used to illustrate how some conclusions are "driven home" without the slightest adherence to the laws of sound reasoning. For example, Capaldi offers this:

A particularly interesting version of the red herring is to be found in the discussions concerning cures for social ills. Imagine a debate about improving the education of ghetto children where Side One claims that some proposal (let us call it X) is the way to solve the problem. Let us suppose further that Side Two attacks X on the grounds that it is inherently self-contradictory, has failed when used before, will interfere with other programs, and costs too much anyway. Side One, in defense of its proposal which has now been ripped to shreds, introduced the following red herring: you do not really understand and sympathize with the problem. Side One then proceeds to elaborate a lengthy presentation of the problem: the horror of the ghetto, the warped lives of the children, the lack of a future, and their eventual destruction. By the end of this red herring the audience is in tears. If the audience does not think that Side Two is racist, it certainly thinks Side Two is insensitive. Moreover, the audience will not only approve of proposal X, they would probably approve of any proposal.

Capaldi's work is balanced in many ways: his examples include dubious cases made for products in advertisement, how either advocates of leftist or rightist positions can be discredited by deceptive means, and how this has in fact happened in cases most readers will be acquainted with. He infuses very rigorous analysis with easy-going discussions, making these formidable, technical points about logic in a crystal clear manner. And he discusses instances of argumentation one will meet in some of the most specialized contexts: he covers statistics, theoretical constructs, classification, definitions, analogy, all the attacks available against argumentation and conclusions, all the "informal" fallacies, face-to-face debating, winning arguments, Mills' method, the formal analysis of arguments, and much more.

Obviously this is not a work for those who are interested in the philosophy of logic, but I bet many whiz kids of propositional calculus would benefit from Capaldi's book in ways they cannot from their own high powered expertise. The book would certainly do a world of good for students and other readers from junior high school and subsequent levels all the way to old age, for it facilitates coping with the problems of a community (and the life) of beings whose entire existence depends on how carefully they make use of their minds. REVIEWED BY TIBOR MACHAN / **Philosophy** (192 pages) / **LR Price \$3.95**

# INTRODUCTION TO MUSICAL LISTENING: A GUIDE TO RECORDED CLASSICAL MUSIC

By John Hospers

## PART VII: ORCHESTRAL MUSIC OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Now to Russian music since Tchaikovsky. The recorded works of Rachmaninov have already been reviewed by LR. Let me only remark that his Symphony no. 2, which I find the most inspiring of his works, has been recorded by Previn (on Angel 36954) in a performance so stunning that it would be a mistake to purchase any other recording. And do not forget Rachmaninov's contemporary, Reinhold Gliere (1875-1956), whose Symphony no. 3 ("Ilya Murometz") is a marvel of colorful symphonic writing (and of colorful recording by Stokowski on Seraphim S-60089).

The most prolific, and in the opinion of many—myself included—the most important of contemporary Russian composers is Sergei Prokofiev (1891-1953). His Symphony no. 1 ("Classical"), a takeoff of Haydn and Mozart, is a delight (Kurtz on Seraphim 60172); but his surging gut-level power is best exhibited in the Symphony no. 5, performed by Ansermet, on "Prokofiev: Symphony No. 5 in B Flat." But this is only the beginning. The violin concerto is a vehicle in which few composers have excelled; Prokofiev wrote two of them, each in its own way a perfect gem—both beautifully played by violinist Isaac Stern and conducted by Ormandy on Columbia MS-6635. His Piano Concerto no. 3 is already a major classic of piano literature, and among many good recordings one stands out: DG-139349, conducted by Abbado and played by Argerich. Also well worth listening to are the "Lieutenant Kije Suite" (Szell on Columbia MS-

evocative suites "Daphnis and Chloe" on the other side. (The same for Szell's fine performance of both on Odyssey Y-31928.) Debussy's "Images pour Orchestra" (including the famous "Iberia") is exquisitely rendered by Boulez on Columbia MS-7362. Stokowski's performance of "Nocturnes," on Seraphim S-60104, is equally exquisite.

Ottorino Respighi (1879-1936) also wrote some interesting impressionistic music, such as "The Pines of Rome," "The Fountains of Rome," and "The Birds"—all available together on one record by Kertesz, London CS-6624 (though Munch's performance, without "The Birds," on London 21024, has even more élan). But the pick of the crop is the "Ancient Airs and Dances" (which I recommend with Karajan on DG-2530247, because it also contains the lovely "Pachelbel Kanon." However, once you listen to these airs in their original form on Turnabout 34195 (recommended in Part I of this series), you will see that in their original form they have more charm than Respighi's adaptation of them for modern orchestra.

A highly original composer is Francis Poulenc (1899-1963), much of whose work contains more "cuteness" than inspiration. Until we get to choral music later in this series, I shall recommend only his Concerto in G-minor for Organ, Strings, and Tympani (Angel S-35953) and his Concerto for Two Pianos and Orchestra (Angel S-35993).

Another French composer, Olivier Messiaen (1908- ), wrote the tremendously colorful "Turangalila Symphonie" (Ozawa on RCA LSC-7051), which some have found an overwhelming spiritual experience and others a crashing bore. But his "L'Ascension" ("Four Meditations") for string orchestra (Stokowski on London 21060) is, at the very least, a "different" experience. Listening to the dissonance-harmonies in the last section, leaving the chordal progression unresolved at the end, is a powerful and unique pleasure-pain music experience.

Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971) is perhaps the most fertile contemporary composer, and enormously influential, though often leaving one unmoved. His "Sacre de Printemps" ("Rite of Spring"), even before it became programatized and celebrated in Disney's film *Fantasia*, was clearly a powerful gut-level musical innovation, and the savage "primal scream" quality comes out best in the earlier of two Bernstein recordings, Columbia MS-6010. (There is a more structurally lucid, "intellectual," performance by Boulez on Columbia MS-7293.) Stravinsky's "Firebird" suite is performed with fiery intensity by Stokowski on London 21026, and his ballet "Petrouchka" by Ansermet on London 6009. You can get the two suites, "Firebird" and "Petrouchka," together on one excellent recording by Ozawa, RCA LSC-3167.

Bela Bartók (1881-1945) writes in a modern idiom with great power and conciseness. His best orchestral works seem to me to be the "Concerto for Orchestra," carefully yet passionately rendered by Bernstein on Columbia MS-6140; the "Music for Strings, Percussion, and Celeste," brilliantly done by Boulez on Columbia MS-7206 (with Stravinsky's "Firebird" suite on the other side) and passionately done by Bernstein on Columbia MS-6956 (with Bartók's two-piano concerto on the other side); and the Piano Concerto no. 2, by Bernstein-Entremont on Columbia MS-7145.

The music of Paul Hindemith (1895-1963) is symphonic in quality, resourceful, and sometimes powerful. His most memorable orchestral work is the symphony "Mathis der Maler," colorfully performed by Kletzke on London 6665.

The American composer Samuel Barber (1910- ) has a large output, but only occasionally forgoes contrivance for inspiration. In his "Adagio for Strings" (Columbia M-30066), moving in its simplicity, the inspiration comes out, and for a moment it is almost Mahler. A fine collection of recent American orchestral music, including the Barber "Adagio" and the fine ballet "Appalachian Spring" by Aaron Copland (1900- ), as well as works by Piston and Ives, is conducted by Bernstein on a two-record set, *The American Album*.

The most controversial of American composers, and by many considered the most important, is Charles Ives (1874-1954). In spite of the ultra-modern harmonies and the intricate complexity of his work, you will appreciate it more if you are acquainted with the revival hymn-tunes, passages from which (often in sardonically distorted form) besprinkle his work. His interesting Symphony no. 1 is well performed by Ormandy on Columbia MS-7111, with Ives' "Three Pieces in New England" on the other side. The Symphony no. 4 is played simultaneously (part of the time) by two orchestras in different tempos (Stokowski does it brilliantly on Columbia MS-6775), and in spite of its raucous cacophony it can be a rewarding experience. Those who prefer modern music in a quieter idiom should listen to Ives' "Concord Sonata" on Columbia MS-7192. (Next month: *Song and Opera from the Beginnings through Purcell*.)

## Music IN REVIEW



**BARBER, COPLAND, GERSHWIN, et. al.: "THE AMERICAN ALBUM" / LR Price \$6.95 (List \$7.95)**

**PROKOFIEV: SYMPHONY No. 5 IN B-FLAT / LR Price \$5.95 (List \$6.98)**

7408) and the "Love for Three Oranges Suite" (on Turnabout 34463 with Prokofiev's great cantata "Alexander Nevsky").

There have been three great musical treatments of the Romeo and Juliet theme (if one ignores Gounod's opera by the same name): by Berlioz, [Ed. note: reviewed in this column last month.] by Tchaikovsky, and by Prokofiev. The only one, in my opinion, that compares with Berlioz' is Prokofiev's; it lacks Berlioz' tremendous intensity, but it is after all a ballet designed for a full evening's listening and viewing, and it is a melodic inspiration throughout, with a shimmering beauty all its own. Until recently only selections from the ballet were available on records, but now there are two exceptional recordings of the entire work, each on three records, one by Previn (Angel 3802) and one by Maazel (London 2312), which I prefer by a small margin because of London's superior sound. (Samples of all three orchestral treatments of Romeo and Juliet—Berlioz, Tchaikovsky, and Prokofiev—are well done by Stokowski on London 21108.)

Dmitri Shostakovich (1906- ) is not up to Prokofiev's standards, and many minutes of his many symphonies are cerebral contrivance, empty bombast, or careful padding. But the early Symphony no. 1 is fascinating (get Weller on London CS-6787), and the Symphony no. 5, after two arid opening movements, rises to a height of sustained tension. (Get the inspired recording by his son, Maksim Shostakovich, on Angel S-40163.) The no. 7 ("Leningrad") is simple and tuneful, and was an inspiring wartime piece, but rather thin soup for such a long composition. The best one so far, I think, is the no. 10 (Ormandy on Columbia M-30295).

The Russian-Armenian composer Aram Khatchadourian (1903- ) wrote but one memorable orchestral work, the Piano Concerto (1936), which has a biting staccato intensity and catchy rhythms. (Try De Burgos on London 6181; different recordings of this piece have interpretations so different that it hardly sounds like the same piece.)

Claude Debussy, though primarily a composer of chamber music, wrote perhaps the most convincing work of program music ever, "La Mer" ("The Sea"), which, though it does not exactly sound like the sea, imitates the rhythms of the sea and certainly conveys powerful images of the sea. Stokowski is at his best at this type of music, and now that the incomparable Toscanini recording is no longer available, Stokowski's on London 21059 is the one to get; it also has Maurice Ravel's almost equally

# THE VIRTUE OF SELFISHNESS

By Ayn Rand

## RATIONAL MAN:

### A MODERN INTERPRETATION OF ARISTOTELIAN ETHICS

By Henry B. Veatch

When David Hume argued that "vice and virtue" have no basis in fact, but are mere "perceptions in the mind"—that the condemnation of murder, for example, is a matter "of feeling, not of reason"—ethical theory was placed on a small raft and cast adrift from human nature and the business of living. Its lifeline to reason and reality thus severed, ethics has since floundered on the waves of subjectivism and emotivism.

Many philosophers, notably linguistic analysts, have abandoned any hope of rescuing ethics in its classical, Aristotelian sense—as the discipline that seeks to gain knowledge of the good life for man. Instead, these philosophers have lost themselves in the labyrinth of contemporary "meta-ethics," where they ponder such monumental issues as whether the act of uttering a moral judgment is "locutionary," "illocutionary," or "perlocutionary." Moreover, the analysts have given notice that their excursion into meta-ethics is the only legitimate function of moral philosophy. The philosopher may analyze what we mean by moral terms, or how ethical judgments function in discourse, but any defense of a system of precepts, especially if that defense is impassioned, is strictly forbidden.

The analysts thus obliterate, in a single ex cathedra pronouncement, what has been the central focus of ethical theory for over 2,000 years. And our fragile raft seems more doomed than ever.

Fortunately, there is more to ethical theory than one encounters in the typical university classroom, and there are still philosophers who, at the risk of heresy, run against the grain of contemporary thought in their insistence that ethics is nothing less than the application of reason and knowledge to human life. To fail to arrive at moral precepts, in their view, is a shortcoming of the ethicist, not of ethics itself. And to divorce values from facts, to drive a wedge between what "is" and what "ought" to be, is tantamount to the dissolution of ethics as a rational enterprise.

Two extremely articulate defenses of this rational approach to ethics are *The Virtue of Selfishness* by Ayn Rand, and *Rational Man* by Henry Veatch. Despite their disagreement over specific points, both Rand and Veatch fall squarely within the Aristotelian, natural-law conception of ethics.

Generally speaking, natural law theory, as it has passed from Aristotle through Thomas Aquinas, has eschewed any radical dichotomization of values and facts; indeed, it has maintained that values are a kind of fact. Using this criterion, Rand and Veatch qualify as natural-law theorists. "The validation of value judgments," argues Rand, "is to be achieved by reference to the facts of reality." And, in a similar vein, Veatch contends that "values are simply facts of nature."

There are many other areas of basic agreement between Rand and Veatch. Ethics, according to Veatch, "can be based on evidence and . . . is a matter of knowledge." Rand concurs. "Ethics," she writes, "is an objective, metaphysical necessity of man's survival," and falls within "the province of reason."

Rand and Veatch also agree that happiness is properly the purpose of ethics. In accordance with Aristotle, who held that "whatever creates or increases happiness or some part of happiness, we ought to do," Rand argues that "the task of ethics is to define man's proper code of values and thus to give him the means of achieving happiness"; and Veatch maintains that "moral rules are more in the nature of counsels of perfection or instructions as to what one ought or ought not to do in order to attain happiness."

But both writers view happiness objectively, within the total context of one's life, and not merely as momentary satisfaction or pleasure derived from any random, unthinking action. "Happiness," Rand contends, "is possible only to a rational man." Similarly, Veatch argues that any so-called "happiness" that comes from something other than "living intelligently" has "somehow become perverted and corrupted."

In other words, both Rand and Veatch see happiness as a concomitant of the good life, which consists of pursuing rational goals in a rational manner. Writes Veatch, "Man's true good, his natural end or goal, and his living intelligently, may, in turn, be equated with happiness." Rand stands in basic agreement: "The maintenance of life and the pursuit of happiness are not two separate issues. To hold one's own life as one's ultimate value, and one's own happiness as one's highest purpose are two aspects of the same achievement."

It is within this natural law framework that one must consider Rand's advocacy of egoism—rational self-interest—which is often, and inexcusably, misrepresented by her critics. Egoism, Rand says, is not a license for man "to do as he pleases." Rather, the principle that man ought to be the primary beneficiary of his own actions "is derived from his nature as man

and from the function of moral values in human life—and, therefore, is applicable only in the context of a rational, objectively demonstrated and validated code of moral principles which define and determine his actual self-interest."

This is in direct contrast to the subjective, voluntaristic kind of egoism found in Stirner and Nietzsche, and it is perhaps best described as "natural-law egoism." It is interesting to note that, although most explicit Aristotelians, such as Henry Veatch and Mortimer Adler, do not label themselves egoists, there is a strong current of egoism in their approach nonetheless, stemming from the belief that the purpose of moral principles in human life is to attain the good, and that the good consists of the development of man's potential powers and capacities as a human being. Thus considered, ethics, as Veatch puts it, instructs man in the "art of living."

Indeed, on several occasions, Veatch makes it clear that "learning how to live," which is what ethics teaches us, is "no more than [learning] what is in one's own best interests." As for the view that the goal of ethics is self-sacrifice, Veatch maintains that

any such identification of ethics with altruism is radically at variance with the sort of ethics of the rational man that we have been trying to defend in this book. In Aristotle's eyes ethics does not begin with thinking of others, it begins with oneself. The reason is that every human being faces the task of learning how to live, how to be a human being, just as he has to learn how to walk or to talk.

Although the terminology differs, this passage is clearly in alliance with the following excerpt from Rand:

A being who does not know automatically what is true or false, cannot know automatically what is right or wrong, what is good for him or evil. Yet he needs that knowledge in order to live. . . . And this . . . is why man needs a code of ethics.

The above parallels, of course, deal only with those basic issues where *The Virtue of Selfishness* and *Rational Man* overlap. Each book, however, contains lucid discussions of various topics not treated by the other, and, were Rand and Veatch to deal with precisely the same areas, they would undoubtedly disagree in many instances.

In addition, some of the subjects treated in common by these works contain significant differences. I shall narrow the field to three, which, in my opinion, are among the most important.

First, although Veatch does not rely on belief in God for his ethics, he plainly believes theism and a rational ethics to be compatible. Here there is no rapprochement with *The Virtue of Selfishness*. Rand, an atheist, holds belief in the supernatural to be irrational and unfounded, and therefore inimical to any discipline, such as ethics, that requires uncompromised rationality.

Second, although Rand and Veatch agree that values are grounded in facts, they disagree as to precisely what those facts are. According to Rand, "it is only the concept of 'Life' that makes the concept of 'Value' possible." This statement is partially derived from a prior assertion that values require goal-directed behavior—"Value" is that which one acts to gain and/or keep—and that goal directedness is a characteristic applicable only to living organisms. Rand explicitly denies "the existence of any teleological principle operating in insentient nature."

Veatch, on the other hand, bases his concept of value on the Aristotelian distinction between potency and act. "The good of any thing," he writes, "is to that thing as the actual is to the potential." Operating from a teleological view of nature, and from a stricter adherence to the metaphysics of Aristotle, Veatch argues that "the whole of nature is permeated with values"—thus extending the idea of value to inanimate nature.

Finally, Rand and Veatch differ in their expressed indebtedness to Aristotle and the natural-law tradition. Whereas Veatch, who subtitled his book "A Modern Interpretation of Aristotelian Ethics," is quite aware of the historical tradition in which he falls, Rand seems curiously oblivious to historical precedents. In fact, referring to Aristotle, Rand says that "he based his ethical system on observations of what the noble and wise men of his time chose to do, leaving unanswered the question of: why they chose to do it and why he evaluated them as noble and wise"—which is scarcely a judicious interpretation of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Without wishing to belittle the many respects in which Rand is brilliantly original in her moral theory, it is simply untrue that her general conception of ethics—its nature, scope, and function—is unheard of in the history of Western philosophy. On the contrary, as we have seen, it comprises a major school of thought.

(Continued on page 5)

## Rand-Veatch—(Continued from page 4)

In those areas, such as value theory, where Rand and Veatch disagree, I find myself most often in agreement with Rand. But, regardless of which author one finds most convincing, both *The Virtue of Selfishness* and *Rational Man* are extraordinarily worthwhile books. Together they succeed in returning ethics to the solid ground of reason. REVIEWED BY GEORGE H. SMITH / *Philosophy* / *Virtue of Selfishness* / LR Price \$5.95 (207 pages, cloth) \$1.25 (151 pages, paper) / *Rational Man* (226 pages) / LR Price \$1.95.

# THE GESTALT APPROACH AND EYE WITNESS TO THERAPY

By Fritz Perls

*The Gestalt Approach* is a description of the most advanced form of Fritz Perls' Gestalt therapy, drawing on his experience with Eastern religions, meditation, psychedelics, body work and, most importantly, a long and highly successful therapeutic career. *Eye Witness to Therapy* comprises a set of transcripts of actual therapy sessions, illustrating and applying the principles explained in *The Gestalt Approach*.

*The Gestalt Approach* is unquestionably the simplest and clearest of all of Fritz Perls' statements of psychotherapeutic theory. Based upon Gestalt concepts of closure and figure/ground, Perls regards neurosis as the chronic failure to complete life tasks, to determine what is important and

arrange one's needs in a hierarchy, to proceed with the business of living. Disowning awareness, the neurotic fantasizes and manipulates through such mechanisms as introjection and projection. The solution to the neurotic's problem is not to ask why he behaves as he does, which merely opens the door to more fantasy, evasions, and manipulation. Rather the solution lies in uncovering how the neurotic acts as he does and in making him face his nameless fears. Perls emphasizes that while neurotic problems may have their roots in the developmental past of the individual, the neurotic problem exists in and must be solved in the present, in the here and now. Accordingly, Perls relies heavily on Moreano's technique of psychodrama, in which the patient becomes (in fantasy) the various elements of his dreams, wishes, and fears. Through his behavior (non-verbal as well as verbal) while acting out these dramas, the patient's awareness of his desires, needs, and problems is gradually increased.

*Eye Witness to Therapy* shows how these principles work in practice. A variety of individuals and couples explore their frustrations, inhibitions, and fears, and in the process become more self-aware. In one beautiful sequence, a young girl imagines herself as the various elements in a recurring dream. Progressively she is a lake, a statue in the middle of the lake, a vase, and water in the vase. This half of the book ends on a paradoxical note, with Fritz Perls assuming the role of a patient and a patient assuming the role of Fritz Perls.

Observing Perls in action, his great ability becomes clear. He has the uncanny knack of saying and doing exactly the right thing at the right time to make his patients ever more self-aware and ever more focused on their own reality.

*The Gestalt Approach* and *Eye Witness to Therapy* is a valuable contribution to the literature of Gestalt therapy. Its chief value lies in the clarity with which it presents and illustrates the principles of this important therapeutic technique. REVIEWED BY JARRET B. WOLLSTEIN / *Psychology* (206 pages) / LR Price \$6.95

# THE FELLOW TRAVELLERS

By David Caute

"Readers of Alexandr Solzhenitsyn's novel, *The First Circle*," writes David Caute,

may remember the icily depicted scene where a big whitewash is put on for the benefit of an important lady, Mrs. R. (Mrs. Roosevelt?). The Prison Governor deliberately infuriates the prisoners, causing them to shout and swear; he then translates their oaths as a unanimous protest against the oppression of the Negroes in the USA. To dismiss this episode as farfetched is to forget the bitterness felt by Russian convicts towards the bland, benevolent smiles of the Western progressives who came for an afternoon to inspect New Harmony, Soviet model. Solzhenitsyn closes the novel with a cruel metaphor for the long line of professional foreign dupes. The Moscow correspondent of the Paris fellow-travelling paper, *Liberation*, is driving to a hockey match when he sees a neat, clean van with the word "MEAT" written on it in four languages. He makes notes for an article on the high standards of hygiene prevailing in Moscow food transport. But the van is in fact packed with political prisoners.

This meeting point between David Caute's *The Fellow Travellers* and the works of Alexandr Solzhenitsyn is a particularly good one from which to launch a review of the Caute book, for two reasons: The first is that Solzhenitsyn's works are, taken together, a brilliant, if tortured, exposure of the true nature of the Soviet system, of the mountains of bodies, the rivers of blood, and the torrents of human suffering which form the skeleton that supports socialism. Solzhenitsyn gives us a record of brutal terror, torture, and death—and shows us how it has been the underpinning of the Soviet system from the time of Lenin until the present. But during these same years, we in the West have witnessed a veritable parade of what Caute calls "fellow travellers," who have, time and time again, apologized for and heaped praise upon the Soviet system. These intellectuals have not yet been called upon to pay for their intellectual crimes; Caute exposes them, and holds them up to the light of reality where, suddenly, they seem infinitely smaller. Such luminaries as G. B. Shaw and Anatole France turn out, under cross examination, to have been pimps for a gang of murderers who heaped upon them precisely the same privileges which these worthies—and their numerous allies—scorned as "corruption" in the West.

But what is the second reason why the Solzhenitsyn quotation is so appropriate? It is an ironic point: one of the most prominent American fellow travellers during this time was none other than Upton Sinclair, whose concern with the human suffering in America's meat industry—expressed in his book, *The Jungle*—altogether vanished when he cast his gaze on the Soviet system. Suddenly, all seemed right. And there is a parallel case, too, in the unceasing apologies of none other than Lincoln Steffens, one of the biggest fellow travellers of all—and one of the most disgusting—who also pretended to be concerned with suffering—in America's cities, but not in Soviet slave-labor camps. Steffens' work *The*

*Shame of the Cities* is well known, but his praise for the Soviet system—pouring forth for several decades—is not so well known; returning from one of his many guided tours of the Soviet Union, Steffens declared, breathlessly, "I have been over into the future, and it works."

Who were the fellow travellers? They included some of the most illustrious intellectuals of our time. And,

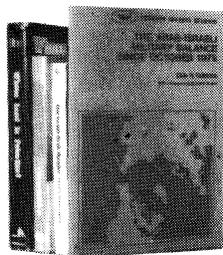
They heartily welcomed the torments and upheavals inflicted on the Russian peasantry during collectivization, arguing that only by such drastic social engineering could these backward illiterates be herded, feet first, into the modern world. Admittedly, the primitive aspects of Russia, and later, China, captivated the imaginations of such intellectuals, but only as dramatic under-development provided a *tabula rasa* for planned construction and rational experimentation.

Basically, fellow travelling involves *commitment at a distance* (to Russian communism) which is not only geographical but also emotional and intellectual. It is remote-control radicalism, as was expressed by Lincoln Steffens, writing in 1926 from the comforts of the Italian Riviera: "I am for them to the last drop, I am a patriot for Russia; the future is there. . . But I don't want to live there. It is too much like serving in an army at war with no mercy for the weak. . . My service to it has to be outside, here. . . The fellow-traveller does not recommend world revolution: he prefers "socialism in one country"—but not his own.

Anatole France wrote, "If I am told that a revolution would bring suffering, I would nevertheless accept it, although I hate suffering. . . But, more than that, I hate mediocrity, sterility. To suffer is to live. . . intensely. . . if one wishes to see an era of justice established, one must be resigned to what may come to pass in its accomplishment—of injustice, of cruelties, and of blood. . ." Long after the blood began flowing, France would write again about the Soviet Union as "this first realization of hopes of universal liberation. . . this first collapse of political despotism. . ." Long after it was shown that "the successful history of the plans represents the sad history of the planned," George Bernard Shaw would write of the five-year plans as "the only hope of the world." Beatrice and Sidney Webb took a similar perspective, lauding the Soviet system from a few years after its inception until their deaths two decades later. As Caute writes: "The Webbs were excellent examples of the type which prefers mankind to people; which originally intends to sacrifice a few to save everyone and ends by sacrificing everyone to save a few." And, on the fellow travellers in general, Caute writes that "on the subject of slave labor the fellow travellers of the 1930's maintained an almost unanimous silence."

*The Fellow Travellers* is a detailed, in-depth study of the phenomenon of "fellow-travelling," of those who committed to socialism in one country—but not their own. These people were not Marxists, most of them;

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Recent war, the resulting threat to American oil supplies, and the growing strength of the Palestine Liberation Organization as sole spokesman for the Palestinian people, have once again drawn attention to the Middle East crisis. The conflict, which began with the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, then spread to the surrounding Arab countries, is now having repercussions all around the globe. Irving Stone recently described the explosive situation as potentially the most dangerous in the world. The Middle East problem threatens to lead to World War III, particularly since the Israelis have acquired the means to make nuclear weapons, according to a recent admission by Israeli President Ephraim Katzir.

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**PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST?** / By Noam Chomsky / 198 pages / **LR Price \$1.95**  
**WHOSE LAND IS PALESTINE?** / By Frank H. Epp / 283 pages / **LR Price \$3.95**  
**THE ISRAEL-ARAB READER** / By Walter Laqueur (ed). / 511 pages / **LR Price \$1.65**  
**THE ARAB-ISRAELI MILITARY BALANCE SINCE OCTOBER 1973** / By Dale R. Tahtinen / 43 pages / **LR Price \$2.00**

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Unfortunately the situation has been distorted by the American media, which present the strife between Israel and the Arabs in black and white terms, the good guys and the bad guys, with Israel as the democratic, progressive power, and the Arabs as wild-eyed, backward fanatics (even anti-Semitic!), ever ready to push the little Jewish state into the sea. These simplistic views should be mitigated by a growing public awareness of America's vital interests in the region.

American military support for Israel, greatly exceeding the terms extended to any other ally, is admirably documented by Dale R. Tahtinen in *The Arab-Israeli Military Balance Since October 1973*. In his concise booklet, Tahtinen provides figures showing just how overwhelming Israeli military superiority is, how dependent Israel is upon the United States, and how expensive this will become for Americans as time goes on and as the conflict escalates. The best available weapons from the U.S. arsenal are supplied to Israel, which in turn forces the Arabs to go to the Soviet Union for effective weapons to counter them. While the Arab states have oil revenues to pay for this expensive equipment, the Israelis must rely on American generosity, and the longer the conflict lasts the more expensive it will become for the United States to supply ever greater amounts of advanced weaponry to Israel. Furthermore, the U.S. has escalated the conflict by supplying Israel with a highly effective air-defense system at least equivalent to, if not better than, the Soviet built SAM (surface-to-air missile) system which was a vital factor in the 1973 October War.

Tahtinen supplies tables demonstrating Israel's strength in relation to the Arab countries. He concludes that despite the Arab challenge in October 1973, Israel maintains military superiority because the United States continues to provide sophisticated weapons, whereas the Soviet Union is reluctant to ship highly developed offensive arms to the Arabs. But the high danger and the very great cost of this American policy "make it essential that the American public be better informed of its government's commitments to Israel." What, for example, is the exact extent of the *direct* military commitment? Will the United States always assist Israel in any future war, even if this should antagonize her NATO allies? What controls does Washington have over the Israeli nuclear capacity?

Walter Laqueur's *The Israel-Arab Reader*, first published in 1969 and now available in paperback, presents many basic historical documents and traces the history of the conflict from the Manifesto of the Bilu (an early Zionist group) in 1882 to the present. The most crucial of the many documents he reproduces is the Balfour declaration, a famous letter from Arthur James Balfour, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to British Zionist leader, Lord Roths-

child, thus realizing his and Dr. Chaim Weizmann's objective of securing British support for the creation of a "Jewish Home" in Palestine. The letter said,

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

By the end of 1917 a menacing situation had thus developed. Britain had pledged support and recognition for Arab independence in return for the Arab revolt against the Turks, but she had also (in deference to the Zionists) committed herself to the support of a Jewish national home (distinctly not a state) in Palestine, a country that at the time had a population that was 93 percent Arab. Only the displacement or suppression of these Palestinians, coupled with massive Jewish immigration, could create a Jewish state, which most Zionists ardently desired. By her ambiguous support for a national home and her vacillating attitude, Britain helped to prepare the conflict which now seems insoluble.

Because he tends to favour the Israeli position, Laqueur makes no mention of the anomalies of the Balfour declaration, and the headlines which introduce each selection are not sympathetic to the Arabs. But his selection of documents frequently exposes the basic Zionist attitude. There is a curious indifference to the feelings and rights of the indigenous Arabs of Palestine. For example, he prints Vladimir Jabotinsky's 1937 statement to the Palestine Royal Commission in the British House of Lords, in which it was argued that because there were many other Arab countries besides Palestine, the Palestinians should not mind becoming a minority in their own country. A similar attitude was recently displayed by Mayor Ted Kolek of Jerusalem when he declared that the Jerusalem Arabs should not really object to Israeli rule because employment and their living standards generally have improved. Surely the point is that the Arabs demand the right to live freely in their own country and to be masters in their own houses. Most people today would reject vehemently the colonialist argument that efficiency justifies aggression or the seizure of others' property.

**M**ASSIVE IMMIGRATION into Palestine during the British Mandate (1918-1948) resulted in the influx of European Jewish settlers and then in the ousting of the original inhabitants after the creation of the Israeli state. This was regarded by the Arabs as aggression, and it generated a violent response. Even the documents reprinted in Laqueur's reader makes this crystal clear. Abba Eban's speech to the United Nations on 17 November 1958, which is given ample space, does not deal with this question. Eban tried to blame the problem of the displaced Palestinian refugees on the Arabs, and reiterated the suggestion that the other Arab countries should take them in. But nothing Israeli leaders can say alters the fact that the people of Palestine, who were ejected from their rightful home, wish to return—and will not be placated by resettlement elsewhere. The Palestinian Arab is not the Egyptian Arab, is not the Syrian Arab, et cetera. The growing strength at the Palestine Liberation Organization is a thorn in the Israeli flesh. Any recognition of the Palestinians as an entity means an acknowledgement of the wrong that was done in 1948—an admission which the Israeli establishment still finds it impossible to make.

There have been many histories dealing generally with the Middle East crisis. Frank Epp's *Whose Land is Palestine?* is as comprehensive as possible, beginning with the situation five thousand years ago. His work, directed to Western Christians, particularly in Canada and the United States, seeks to avoid "a historical view that is too short and a theological stance that is too narrow." A Menonite from Canada, Dr. Epp has no personal bias toward either Arabs or Israelis, and his articulate account considers the prominence of the concept of God or gods in the long history of the Middle East. He believes that Christian theology has not only been a factor contributing to Jewish persecution, but more recently has contributed to the persecution of the Arabs, particularly the Palestinians. The old anti-Semitism has become "a new anti-Semitism directed against the Semitic Arabs. As the old anti-Semitism terribly wronged the Jews so the new anti-Semitism terribly wronged the Arabs."

# ZIONIST STATE OF ISRAEL

After a brief discussion of Palestine and its history, Epp considers the various claims to that little country. The Jews, he recalls, push their claim back to the patriarch Abraham, who settled in Canaan early in the second millennium. They also claim identification with Melchizedek, priest and king of Salem, who was recognized by Abraham as priest of the highest God; Abraham offered the tenth of his possessions to him (Genesis 14:18-20). The Arabs also claim possession through Abraham and his descendants, saying that Ishmael and Esau, who were born before the Jewish patriarchs Isaac and Jacob, belong to them. They argue that the Palestinians were there long before any of the Israelis, most of whom are recent immigrants. Individual Arab families can recall their location in a particular place. For example, Dr. Rouhi Khatib, exiled mayor of Arab Jerusalem, told Epp that his family had lived in the holy city for 700 years before the Israelis exiled him in 1968.

**E**PP GOES ON to discuss the claims of Islam, of Christianity, of Zionism, the British, the Arabs, the U.S., the Palestinians, and finally the claims of God Himself. He challenges Western Christians to redress the wrongs that have been inflicted on the Arabs without further wronging or persecuting the Jews. He thinks Christians should really accept their Messiah and make an important contribution to peace. He points out that the Palestinian struggle for the homeland which was taken from them in the establishment of a Jewish state is at the heart of the problem. For the Palestinian Arabs, security for the Jews and sovereignty for Israel were separate questions; they had no objection to Jewish settlement in Palestine, but they opposed a dominant, exclusivist Jewish state. Christians, who know many Jews and tend to sympathize with Israel, must recognize this if they are to approach the problem fairly. Although Israel can and will continue to win "six-day wars," it cannot crush the Arabs any more than the Arabs can crush Israel. And he rightly concludes that an "international disaster will indeed be the end of the Middle East conflict, if peace is not established soon.

Terrible as the injustice against the Arabs was, Epp does not entirely blame the Zionists who dispossessed them. Arab absentee landowners disregarded the rights of tenants in selling their lands to Zionist Jews for gain, and ambitious Arab rulers failed to live up to their responsibilities. But the greatest offenders have been the Zionists, the British, the Americans, the French, and the Russians. He adds that even now many Zionists deny the presence of the 650,000 Palestinian Arabs at the time of the Balfour declaration, or ignore them as "homeless Bedouins without territorial rights or as bastard descendants of the previous conquerors." In 1969 Premier Golda Meir asked, "How can we return the occupied territories? There is nobody to return them to. . . . There is no such thing as Palestinians."

Consequently Epp thinks it is wrong to say that the Palestinians are terrorists who only understand the use of force. They were relatively passive for 20 years, and took up arms in 1967 when neither the Arab states nor the United Nations did anything to help them in their plight. Their struggle dominates Arab politics, and it has won the support of most of the world. First and foremost the West must acknowledge and recognize the injustice that has been done. Epp appeals to Christian people to help the Palestinian Arabs, who have never been able to explain their case, tell their story. "If Christians would give a fair hearing and fair telling to the Palestinian story, the Palestinians would feel less need to communicate with hijackings and bombings." There must be no further expulsions. Arabs in the occupied territories are still being made homeless while Jewish immigrants arrive at the rate of 150 a day. He points out that although the return of the Palestinians is a difficult task because the country is no longer the same and many of their homes are no longer in existence, they should at least have the right to return or to receive reparations, as has been constantly reaffirmed in continuous resolutions of the United Nations. The commandos should be treated with justice and reminded that terror creates counter-terror. Furthermore, Epp reminds his readers that security for the Jews is also a requirement, and those Jews who wish to remain in Palestine should have the right to stay there, but further immigration should be stopped. He concludes that Palestine belongs more to the Palestinian refugees than to East European Jews who have never been there, and that those Jews who really are being persecuted in their own countries should be warmly welcomed in the United States and Canada.

Epp concludes that a continuance of the present situation will eventually be disastrous for Israel and for the security and the true interests of all the Jewish people. The present Zionist state, being exclusive and isolationist, contains within it the seeds of its destruction, and is likely in the end to collapse as surely as the short-lived Kingdom of Solomon did. His plan, which he admits will sound unrealistic to many people, but which he thinks would be at least as realistic and effective as present policies, is to create an unarmed peace force of well trained and motivated, "fearless, strong, and loving young men and women." They would absorb the "insecurity, fear and even the blows" of the conflict by helping Palestinian and Jordanian farmers as they brave Israeli jets to till their land, or by living on Israeli *kibbutzim* which are shelled by the Arabs.

Noam Chomsky's recent *Peace in the Middle East?* looks at the matter from a very different viewpoint. A leader of Resist, a national draft resistance movement advocating radical social change, Chomsky is sharply critical of American life. In this book, a series of essays discussing aspects of the Middle East crisis, he subjects the Israelis to similarly searching appraisal. He observes in his introduction that to Libya's Colonel Quaddafi it seems only reasonable that the European Jewish settlers in Palestine should return to Europe, where millions of Europeans already live, leaving the Arabs and Arab Jews in their little slice of land. But to his precise counterparts in the American Jewish community it seems obvious that the Arabs should stay in the Arab countries and that the Palestinians should be absorbed into the Arab homeland of more than one hundred million, leaving the Jews and the Israeli Arabs in their little country. Chomsky sees it as a measure "of the bias and irrationality of American opinion" that Quaddafi is regarded as a fanatic, whereas his counterparts are considered moderates. Because he thinks a socialist society is "egalitarian and just," Chomsky praises the *Yishuv*, or Jewish settlements, in western Palestine which establish such forms, but he observes the contradiction. They were constructed on lands (purchased by the Jewish National Fund) from which Arabs were excluded on principle, and this was admitted by some of the Zionist settlers. In 1907, one of them wrote in the Hebrew periodical *Ha Shiloah* that "unless we want to deceive ourselves deliberately, we have to admit that we have thrown people out of their miserable lodgings and taken away their sustenance."

**C**HOMSKY WOULD like to see a Palestine established on "socialist" principles, and believes that the creation of a free, democratic, socialist society might create a common bond between Arab and Jewish left-wing popular forces. He hopes that sharp national boundaries will crumble as the struggle for this society takes place on an international scale, but he does not say what will happen to the non-socialist elements who may not wish for this. Chomsky maintains that the Jews and Arabs might cease to see themselves as nations in conflict and begin to act as participants in a common effort to achieve social justice, an end which he views as "not impossible."

Chomsky also knows that although Israel has succeeded in crushing the Palestinian guerrillas to date (militarily) and in improving technologically, she cannot in the end secure herself by such methods. However, he argues, her policies have left her with sterile alternatives for the future. He thinks it would be best to try to obtain Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, but he dismisses this as an impossible attainment for the present, and sees any immediate hope of the establishment of a Palestinian state on the West Bank as "illusory." A second possibility is that the West Bank will become a protectorate of Israel and reservoir of cheap labor, as advocated by General Dayan. Another is the expulsion of the Arab population and its reoccupation by Israelis.

Israel's dependence on a single superpower is leading to her increasing isolation and increasing the possibility of great-power confrontations in the area. Although these varying accounts of the Middle East crisis agree about its seriousness, the authors vary widely about what should be done. It is most likely now that a solution will have to be imposed from the outside, but this requires the decisive and impartial action of the United States. Unfortunately, the U.S. under its present leadership seems to lack the will to act responsibly here, even as there is a general paralysis in other vital directions, too. REVIEWED BY ALFRED M. LILIENTHAL

## Caute— (Continued from page 5)

they were utilitarians, Fabians, and just plain liberals. But human lives seemed to them an easy price to pay for alleged "progress." Ignoring such intellectuals and Hayek and von Mises and the reports—later substantiated in full detail by Antony Sutton—that the so-called "progress" was being provided by Western technology, aid, and investment in any case, these people sanctioned mass murder and slavery to achieve a "new society" which would, once and for all, rid the world of capitalist "exploitation."

Caute's book is a brilliant one, filled with details, tracing the phenomenon from pre-World War I until our own day, dealing with American, British, French, and German intellectuals, among others. The reader interested in the details will find them spelled out here, with a writing style that is particularly effective, filled with instances of irony and sarcasm, both appropriate to the subject.

Caute's interpretation, however, is a bit weak; though he does not push it as far. His thesis is that the fellow travellers constitute a "postscript to the Enlightenment," that these people are heirs of the Enlightenment, of the view that rationality and planning could triumph over evil in human society. But we should not really concern ourselves with how these worthies view themselves; they were—and are—as deluded in this respect as they were—and are—in their perceptions of the reality of the Soviet Union.

But aside from this minor error of interpretation *The Fellow Travellers* is an exciting and gripping work. Read it alongside the works of Solzhenitsyn, alongside Ludwig von Mises' *Socialism* and Antony Sutton's *Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development*, and you will grasp a great deal about the nature of the twentieth century, about the Soviet Union, about what made the Soviet system possible, and about the values which modern liberals have absorbed from their intellectual parents.

As for the rest—the completion and implementation of the ideals and values of the Enlightenment—that is the libertarian's task. And *The Fellow Travellers* should make us all aware of how important it is to define alternative ideals and values, how necessary it is to have, in short, *ideas*. Ideas led the fellow travellers to endorse torture and to rationalize mass murder. Only alternative ideas can lead us away from both. REVIEWED BY R. A. CHILDS, JR. / *Intellectual History* (433 pages) / LR Price \$8.95

# CAUSATION AND THE TYPES OF NECESSITY

By Curt John Ducasse

Contemporary discussions of causation often center around the objections raised initially by David Hume. Where, asked Hume, is the necessary connection between causal events? Nowhere, he answered, except in the mind: "necessity is something that exists in the mind, not in objects."

With causation thus stripped of objective necessity, many philosophers adopted the view that causation is nothing more than observed uniformity of sequence; i.e., if A regularly precedes B in time, we simply call A the cause of B. But as Thomas Reid—a contemporary of Hume and his staunchest critic—pointed out, since day is followed invariably by night, the above position would commit us to the view that day is the cause of night. Clearly, causation is something more than invariable sequence.

One of the most significant attempts to return necessity to causation was made by H. W. B. Joseph in *An Introduction to Logic* (1906). To deny causal necessity, argued Joseph, is tantamount to denying the law of identity: "to say that the same thing acting on the same thing under the same conditions may yet produce a different effect, is to say that a thing need not be what it is. But this is in flat conflict with the law of identity."

A few philosophers, such as Brand Blanshard and Ayn Rand, accepted this basic approach, but it was largely ignored in philosophic and scientific communities. This is what makes C. J. Ducasse's *Causation and the Types of Necessity* particularly interesting. Originally published in 1924, it remains one of the most detailed and fruitful discussions of causation from a perspective broadly similar to that of Joseph.

In the first five chapters, Ducasse examines the views of causation developed by Hume, Mill, Kant, Shopenhauer, and Russell. These criticisms, although brief, are quite telling. The remainder of *Causation* is concerned with the author's own views, some of which are defended more successfully than others.

Ducasse argues that causal necessity is a logical corollary of the law of identity. "By strictly the same thing," he writes, "... we mean one which in strictly the same circumstances would behave in strictly the same way,"

(Continued on Page 9)

## AN AFTERWORD FROM Readers, Authors, Reviewers

### Childs to His Critics

To respond to my three critics, in the November and December issues of *Libertarian Review*:

Mr. Scheiderer asks me how I can possibly compare the intellectual stature of Miss Rand and Dr. Rothbard... and then he undertakes a comparison. I compared them twice: once to point out that they are the only two major defenders of capitalism concerned with defending capitalism from the standpoint of justice, and a second time to claim that they represent, in different respects, the "completion of the philosophy of the Enlightenment, the philosophy behind the American revolution." This is entirely accurate. As far as their relative intellectual stature is concerned, it is true that Dr. Rothbard is not a philosopher, but then Miss Rand is not an economist, historian, or scholar. It may be somewhat misplaced to compare them at this stage, however, particularly when we consider that Dr. Rothbard is more than twenty years younger than Miss Rand. Who can predict what this indefatigable writer shall produce in the course of the next two decades. Personally, I would not want the twentieth century to be without either Dr. Rothbard or Miss Rand.

My criticisms of Dr. Branden's lecture on government are also valid. I did not claim that a "comprehensive" criticism should be equated with a "valid" criticism, only that if Dr. Branden had given his course after the anarchist criticisms of limited government had been printed, his government lecture would have been much different—and perhaps even stronger.

To Mr. Goldman and Mr. Warner: I am not a Student

of Objectivism, which is not to say that I have not studied Objectivism. I am a Libertarian. And it should be unnecessary to point out that I was not writing an essay on the philosophy of Objectivism, but rather reviewing a lecture series by Nathaniel Branden. That should explain sufficiently why I concentrated on what Dr. Branden had to say, rather than on the views of Miss Rand, not to mention the fact that Miss Rand has taken great pains to separate herself both from Dr. Branden and from his lecture series. Objectivism is indeed the philosophy of Ayn Rand, and I correctly identified Dr. Branden's lectures in my review as "building on the work and thought of Ayn Rand." Far be it from me to neglect Miss Rand; indeed, I expect to do her full justice in my forthcoming book on Rand and Objectivism. In short, gentlemen, I reviewed what I claimed to review, and not something else. Is this a defect?

Now in all fairness to Dr. Branden, the *Basic Principles of Objectivism* course is far more than a mere "commentary" on Miss Rand's philosophy: it is a systematic presentation, elaboration, and defense of her philosophy. Moreover, a good many points which Dr. Branden makes are not made in the works of Ayn Rand at all. Finally, these lectures have been in existence longer than most of Ayn Rand's nonfiction writings. Surely this complicates matters.

As for the remark that Ms. Barbara Branden was merely "delineating one of Rand's more fundamental points" when she discussed the role of purpose in thinking, it should be unnecessary to point out to such scholars that this particular point has been presented many, many times during the last few centuries of the history of philosophy. Indeed, it plays a central role in such modern works as Brand Blanshard's masterwork, *The Nature of Thought*, published in 1939.

And what, may I ask, is this despicable reference to Dr. Rothbard as "a known plagiarizer"? Has *Libertarian Review* lately opened its pages to slander? [Readers will recall that Messrs. Goldman and Warner requested that their letter be published "exactly as

written." I decided to honor this request, thinking, "By their presents ye shall know them:—κττ]

One final note. I dislike Dr. Albert Ellis' book *Is Objectivism a Religion?* very much, but in that title, he has caught a grain of truth. This is illustrated in the Goldman-Warner letter when they refer to Dr. Branden "before the fall"—clearly a religious metaphor. "Fall"... from what? While I do not in any way wish to convey anything less than a vast respect for the achievements of Ayn Rand—a respect which does not extend to most of those who consider themselves her "students"—I think it would benefit a great many people to consider what it is in her works or her philosophy which tends to produce a certain religious type of mentality on the part of admirers. Many of these people lack any sign of independence whatever. While that does not invalidate the truth of much of what she says, it should give one pause to consider that pattern carefully and analytically. If there is anything wrong with my review of *Basic Principles of Objectivism*, it is that I did not consider any of these questions. I hope that the readers of *Libertarian Review* will find that reason enough to do so themselves.

R. A. CHILDS, JR.  
West Seneca, N.Y.

### "Best Ever"

LR is better all the time. The July issue was the best ever, with its bibliographical review concerning the American Revolution. I only wish it had come out a year earlier so I could have found the right books to read for my class in history of the American Revolution. You should do the same thing for other periods of history—it would be a real help for us students who don't know which books represent the best analysis of whatever period we may be studying.

Keep up the good work.

DAVID D. BOAZ  
Nashville, Tenn.

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, 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

## Ducasse— (Continued from page 8)

and vice versa." Moreover, Ducasse maintains that the universality of causation (i.e., the assertion that "every change or state has a cause") can also be "known to be true merely as a corollary of the law of identity." But no sooner does Ducasse pay homage to Joseph than he veers from him in a subtle but crucial way. Whereas Joseph makes it clear that his appeal to the law of identity is an attempt to ground causation in metaphysical fact, Ducasse shifts the discussion to the level of word meaning.

The particulars of Ducasse's notion of causation are too detailed to be spelled out here, but his basic objection to Hume can be summarized as follows: causation is essentially a triadic relation which obtains between a state of affairs and two events. In answer to Hume's comment that causation cannot be perceived, Ducasse replies that causation, since it is a relation between concrete events, can be perceived, for even Hume admitted the perceivability of relations.

Much of *Causation* is spent defending this view, and I leave it to the reader to discover the intricacies of Ducasse's thought for himself. I wish now to remark on a few sub-themes found in this work.

First, in his preface, Ducasse mentions his "methodological creed," namely, "every assertion made is to be sufficiently clear and precise to be capable of being definitely disproved if false." I find this remark intriguing, not only because of its wisdom, but because it is a forerunner of the falsifiability thesis later attributed to Karl Popper.

Second, some of Ducasse's problems are due to his contention that only events, never things, can properly be spoken of as causes. This is important because, as Nathaniel Branden demonstrates in *The Psychology of Self-Esteem*, only a recognition of causation as a relation primarily between entities and actions can lay the groundwork for a theory of human volition.

Finally, Ducasse adopts a linguistic view of philosophy, which mars his treatment of causation in a number of ways. He dismisses the notion that philosophy seeks the most general knowledge of reality possible, on the basis that scientific laws may also be perfectly general in the sense that they apply to everything. But Ducasse—as most other philosophers—misses the central point: philosophy's primary concern is not generality but *fundamentality*, and the former is a consequence of the latter.

Ducasse's linguistic approach leads him inevitably to proclaim that the ultimate choice of metaphysical systems is a matter of taste, not truth, and that philosophers with different metaphysical viewpoints should henceforth "dislike each other in peace," just as they do in all matters of taste. This is surely an ignoble end for a noble book.

*Causation and the Types of Necessity* is a rather technical work, and is best suited to the serious student. Despite my disagreements with it, I cannot help but admire it as an example of clear, sober philosophical analysis. There is much to be learned from this book, and I recommend it. REVIEWED BY GEORGE H. SMITH / *Philosophy* (156 pages) / LR Price \$2

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 • Sigmund, **NATURAL LAW IN POLITICAL THOUGHT**, \$4.95  
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 Spooner, **NO TREASON**, \$1  
 Strauss, **NATURAL RIGHT AND HISTORY**, \$3.25  
 Strauss and Cropsey (eds.), **HISTORY OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY**, \$11.95



## A Word to Our Readers

■ From time to time, we learn of job opportunities with employers who are specifically seeking libertarian-inclined individuals. These range from clerk-typist jobs to foundation directors, from editorial positions to shipping clerks. Jobs in all sections of the country have come to our attention. In addition, *LR* on occasion has job openings, both full time and part time, in our Washington offices, which we would of course prefer to offer to qualified libertarians. If you are seeking work now, or plan to be in the future, and would like to send us a brief resume of your qualifications, we will hold it on file and attempt to match it with job opportunities as they come to our attention in the future. All correspondence will be held in confidence, of course.

■ In conjunction with F. A. Hayek's Nobel Prize and the consequent renewal of interest in his works, the *Libertarian Review Book Service* is pleased to again offer *Roads to Freedom*, the festschrift honoring Professor Hayek. Edited by Erich Streissler, this superb collection includes essays by Karl Popper, Michael Polanyi, Jacques Reuff, Gottfried Haberer, and others. A review by Murray N. Rothbard appeared in our June 1973 issue. The *LR* price for *Roads to Freedom* is \$15.

■ Collectors of Hayek's works will not want to miss his essay in *Beyond Reductionism*, edited by Arthur Koestler and available from the *LR Book Service* for \$3.95. We still have a few copies of this title, but unless demand for it grows, it will soon disappear from our back list.

■ The California Libertarian Alliance is an educational organization interested in contacting libertarian activists throughout California. Interested readers can reach them by writing PO Box 1202, Free Venice, CA 90291.

■ **FREE CATALOG:** Those of you who do not have a *BFL* catalog—which describes over 200 books, records, and tapes available through our mail-order service—may receive one free with any order placed from this month's *LR*. If you would like to have one of these handy references, just write "catalog" on your order form.

■ If you need a speaker for your club or social meetings, seminars, university forums, or whatever, contact the Society For Individual Liberty Speakers Bureau, P.O. Box 1147, Warminster, Pa. 18974. Don Ernsberger and David Walter have put together a roster which includes Jerome Tuccille, David Friedman, Murray Rothbard, Robert LeFevre, Leonard Liggio, John Hospers, Toni Nathan, Fran Youngstein, Tibor Machan and D. T. Armentano.

■ Paul Varnell and Robert H. Meier have launched an excellent new quarterly journal, *The Libertarian Scholar*. (PO Box 394, DeKalb, Illinois 60115; \$4.00 per year.) Messrs. Varnell and Meier explain the purpose of the *Scholar* in their first issue (Autumn 1974): "As interest in the academic and scholarly side of libertarianism grows, there is an increasing need to provide information about the scholarship produced both by

libertarians and by others whose work is, or should be, of interest and value to libertarians. To fill this need is the purpose of the *Scholar*. Each quarter it will list and sometimes comment upon the best and most interesting of such books and articles in the several fields of the humanities and social sciences."

In addition to over 150 annotated bibliographic listings, the Autumn *Scholar* contains reviews of Hayek's *Law, Legislation and Liberty*, Vol. I (available from the *LR Book Service*); Yoder's *The Politics of Jesus*; and Veatch's *Aristotle: A Contemporary Appreciation* (available from the *LR Book Service*); as well as a very nicely done bibliographical essay on the question of restitution.

Joining the editors as regular *Scholar* contributors are: J.M. Cobb, John V. Cody, Douglas Den Uyl, William Dennis, Karl Elder, Allen J. Harder, Tibor R. Machan, Eric Mack, Paul Michelson, Douglas Rasmussen, and Mary Sirridge.

■ A study group for libertarians who work in the legislative branch of our burgeoning State is now being formed. For further information, please call Chris Grieb at (301) 449-5646 (evenings).

■ The Center for the Study of Social Systems is sponsoring the "Libertarian Dinner Series for Greater Boston Libertarians." The first dinner, featuring Professor Robert Nozick, author of *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, will be held 19 February, 7:30 P.M., at the Hong Kong Restaurant, 1236 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. The cover charge is \$2 in advance (\$3.50 per couple) or \$3 at the door. Reservations are strongly advised. Make checks payable to Center for the Study of Social Systems, PO Box 920, Boston, Mass. 02103.

■ The *LR Book Service* has on hand a couple of titles it would be happy to sell at cost. These are Martin Gray's *For Those I Loved* reviewed by Edward Regis in the April 1974 *Books for Libertarians*, and R.J. Herrnstein's *I.Q. in the Meritocracy*, reviewed by H.J. Eysenck in the December 1973 *BFL*. The prices are \$5.28 and \$4.69 respectively, and are subject to our regular discounts. Watch this column for similar offers in the future.

**REVIEWERS FOR THIS ISSUE:** R.A. Childs, Jr. is an *LR* associate editor. Henry Hazlitt, the distinguished economist and writer, is author of *Man Versus the Welfare State*, *Failure of the New Economics*, and the classic *Economics in One Lesson*, among many others. His review of *The Case for a 100 Percent Gold Dollar* is reprinted with permission from the *Inflation Survival Letter*. John Hospers is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Southern California and an *LR* associate editor. Leonard P. Liggio teaches history at City College of New York. Alfred M. Lilienthal, editor of the monthly newsletter *Middle East Perspective*, is author of *What Price Israel?*, *There Goes the Middle East*, and *The Other Side of the Coin*. Tibor R. Machan is Assistant Professor of Philosophy at S.U.N.Y., Fredonia, an editor of *Reason* magazine, and an *LR* associate editor. George H. Smith is a student of philosophy and the author of *Atheism: The Case Against God*. He lives in Tucson, Arizona. Jarret B. Wollstein studied psychology at the University of Maryland and is now in the investment business in Washington, D.C.

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