Libertarian Review

September-October 1976 — Vol. V, No. 5 $1.00

HISTORY

'Twas A Famous Victory

By Benjamin Colby

An American First

By Michele Flynn Stenehjem

Reviewed by James J. Martin / *Victory* / Arlington House, 1974 / $7.95 / *American* /Arlington House, 1976 / $8.95

Colby's book is as readable as Stenehjem's is not. But they are both valuable additions to the revisionist historical library on World War II, and it is good to see them. Colby exploits no materials that have not long been part of the public record, while Stenehjem has made use of a vast assemblage of previously unpublished and largely unused papers in giving us a filled-out account of the New York chapter of the anti-involvement American First Committee in the eighteen months prior to direct U.S. participation in the war early in December 1941.

The Colby book concentrates on the propaganda war for the American mind after hostilities began, and adds instructive observations on the assiduous and astute peddling of Stalinophilia throughout the U.S., but his most impressive contribution is to its opposite side, detailing the murderous poison of Germanophobia that was loosed upon the nation in a continuous flood. The part this played in numbing public consciousness and making possible a zombie-like reaction to the unbelievable saturation bombing of Germany, which totally wrecked its 70 largest cities in less than three years while killing or maiming millions of noncombatants, is not easy to overestimate. Colby has done a superior job in analyzing the domestic mass-marketing of the hate-Germany psychology by a regiment of experts. His summary of the subsequent obliteration bombing is unexcelled. Such calls to total hate are no longer fashionable, and perhaps there now is living a generation that cannot comprehend something of this magnitude. The only war youth know is that in Vietnam, which never came within a light-year of inspiring what Colby has highlighted so well. If such innocence prevails, *'Twas a Famous Victory* is the place for the uninformed to start catching up with the last 40 years.

The Stenehjem book is of another order. It is so densely compressed that it does not make very enjoyable reading, but it reveals a mass of facts related to the struggle of the major antiwar organization against the heil-bent-for-war Roosevelt entourage in the critical 1940-41 years. That it is built around the various skills of John T. Flynn makes it that much more interesting to this reviewer, who in those years shared the sentiments of Flynn and the AFC and made no effort to conceal it. This should disqualify me from holding forth on the book, which strives to be "objective" on the matter, as is the wont of all doctoral

dissertations. That the author ends up with some rather stammering and tremulous support for the ideas Flynn and the AFC loosed upon mostly unheeding ears indicates a departure from the bloodless detachment one is supposed to emulate in such literary endeavors.

In Stenehjem's discussion of the forces that confronted Flynn, one of the most articulate writers in America in the 1930s and '40s, it might have been useful for her to have investigated the Germanophobes and Stalinophiles who constituted an important contingent among these adversaries. The ingenious resourcefulness of some of the Anglophiles and actual British agents is fairly well documented. (There were more British in Washington in 1941 than burned the city in 1814!)

Whether Flynn and the other eloquent spokesmen for the New York-based America Firsters could have done more than they did in slowing down or reversing the heavily proinvolvement sentiments in the region they were part of is a subject for discussion. My own conviction is that Flynn directed a clean and gentlemanly contest in which he and his compatriots took part with one hand tied behind their backs. Allowing Roosevelt and his numerous cohorts, cronies, and allies, buttressed by the resources of the federal government, to set the ground rules, guaranteed that the AFC would always be on the defensive. Flynn and the AFC refused the help and rejected the membership of almost all people in the country who criticized prowar Jews, or who favored a German victory in Europe or an inconclusive negotiated peace with overtones favorable to the Germans. The AFC's prowar opponents smeared it at once upon the faintest possibility of such relations, but turned away very few whose predominant sentiments were with England or Stalinist Russia; all these were jubilantly recruited. That Flynn and others bolted with frightened cries at the possibility of being tainted by allies of "unrespectable" potential reveals how carefully they had been boxed in by adversaries who abided by no rules in their assemblage of combatants, and who resorted to every subterranean stratagem, some of which would have retched a buzzard. (These were the people who screamed "guilt by association" a decade later in the days of Sen. Joseph McCarthy.)

Why did the AFC and Flynn panic and agree to disband so precipitously after the Pearl Harbor attack? This reviewer has probed this with others for 30 years. Had the AFC kept a skeleton organization intact and returned to the fray a few months later as sentiment for an investigation of Pearl Harbor grew (it is to Flynn's permanent credit that he was the first of the Pearl Harbor revisionists), it might have led a national reaction that might in turn have had a significant effect on the conduct and duration of the war. Instead, the FDR regime was allowed a virtually unopposed field and following, while it waged a war in such a mindless way and concluded it on such incredibly bad terms that it is unlikely anyone alive will live to see all its still unsolved business liquidated.

(Continued on page 8)

In Libertarian Review This Month

Departments

A Word to Our Readers

•The increased costs of postage, printing, and other operating expenses over the past year now make an increase in *LR*'s subscription rate unavoidable. Effective 1 November 1976, therefore, the new rates will be 6 issues for $8. This rate anticipates that LR will continue to publish on a bi-monthly schedule for at least the foreseeable future.

Present *LR* subscribers may avoid this rate increase by renewing at the present rates of *12* issues for $8. To take advantage of this final opportunity to renew at these rates, your order must be postmarked before 1 November 1976–the absolute deadline–and must be accompanied by payment. Simply mail your subscription label from this issue with your check or money order for $8.

• **New Cassette Tapes** available from Audio-Forum: "Roger MacBride Discusses the Libertarian Party Platform," Tape 446 (47 minutes) $9.95 / "Roger MacBride Talks to Conservatives," Tape 447 (45 minutes) $9.95. / "Murray Rothbard on "Deflation Reconsidered," Tape 464 (22 minutes) $8.95. / Nathaniel Branden with "Ladies and Gentlemen: There's a World Out There (A Challenge to the Human Potential Movement)," Tape 588 (49 minutes) $9.95. / Jerome Tuccille on "The Future of Libertarianism," Tape 359 (51 minutes) $9.95./ Laurence Moss on "Anarchy With Property: An American Variant," Tape 438 (31 minutes) $9.95.

•Last issue, somewhere between our production department and the printer, three lines of type fell from the top of the second column of Jeff Riggenbach's "Introduction to Imaginative Literature." These three missing lines read: "...stories. Is *Animal Farm* a children's story? Is *The Lord of the Rings*? Is Lord Dunsany's *The King of Elfland's Daughter* or Hope Mirlee's *Lud-in-the-Mist*?" Our apologies to Mr. Riggenbach and to our readers. (Gotta get a new glue pot!)

•This issue, E. Scott Royce joins *LR* as a regular columnist (see page 17). In every issue of *LR*, Scott, a long-time libertarian Washington watchdog and editor/publisher of *Southern Libertarian Review,* will be reporting on Washington news of interest and import to libertarians in his "Washington Watch." Welcome aboard, Scott!

•From time to time in this space we are able to recommend mail order sources for materials of interest to our readers. Independent Publications of New Jersey stocks many books and pamphlets on rationalist, humanist and free thought subjects. Among available titles:

Centennial Oration on the Declaration of Independence by Robert G. Ingersoll. –$1.50.
Jefferson The Freethinker by Joseph Lewis.–$1.
Wisdom of Clarence Darrow.–$1.
Is Religion Necessary? by Joseph Lewis. –$1.
Inspiration and Wisdom from the Works of Robert G. Ingersoll.–$2.
Jefferson on Democracy, Religion, Education, Science.–$2.
Inspiration and Wisdom from the Works of Thomas Paine. –$1.
Rationalism of Clarence Darrow.–$.50.
Inspiration and Wisdom from the Works of Abraham Lincoln and Walt Whitman. –$1.
Christianity's Social Record (1936) by Joseph McCabe.–$2.
Inspiration and Wisdom from the Works of Thomas Jefferson.–$1.
A Vision of War by Robert G. Ingersoll. (illustrated)–$2.95.
Thomas Jefferson–Leader of the New American Thought by Joseph McCabe. –$.50.
Evangelism Unmasked by Winfield Beesley.–$2.
Thomas Paine Portfolio. (Book-type unit containing enlightening articles and memorabilia).–$3.

Order directly from Independent Publications, Dept. LR, P.O. Box 162, Park Station, Paterson, NJ 07513. Minimum order $3. Add $.50 postage on orders under $5.

•**Things to Come:** The Essay Review for November-December is something special: Benjamin A. Rogge's "Adam Smith: 1776-1976." Also in the same issue: Randy Boehm on *A Gang of Pecksniffs* and *The Letters of H.L. Mencken,* Richard E. Geis on *Healer,* Dr. F. Paul Wilson's first novel, Roy Childs pondering *The Long Thirst,* Bill Danks thinking about *Intelligence Can Be Taught,* and much more. Also in the works: Bruce Bartlett in praise of Murray L. Weidenbaum's *Government-Mandated Price Increases* (which, despite its title, is interesting, informative reading), Dr. Peter Breggin reporting on *The Death of Psychiatry,* Leonard Liggio on *Up from Communism,* plus much more. Stick around; you won't be disappointed.

Contributors
IN THIS ISSUE

Bruce Bartlett is a graduate student in history at Georgetown University **Reginald Bretnor** is a well-known freelance writer of fiction and nonfiction. One of his many interests is antique and modern gun collecting. He is a member of the National Rifle Association. **Susan Love Brown** is on the staff of the Campus Studies Institute and is vice-chairwoman of the California Libertarian Party. **Douglas R. Casey** is a Washington, D.C., investment broker. His review of *Three-Digit Inflation Ahead?* is reprinted with permission from the *Inflation Survival Letter.* **Roy Childs** is a former editor and associate editor of *Libertarian Review.* He is the author of hundreds of articles and reviews. **William Danks** is a PhD candidate in political science at the University of Hawaii and director of the university's Human Rights Project. **Alan Fairgate** is a graduate student in business administration and law at a leading American university. **Walter E. Grinder** is executive director of the Center for Libertarian Studies and an *LR* associate editor. **John Hospers** is a professor of philosophy at the University of Southern California and an *LR* associate editor. **Alice Laurance** is a freelance writer whose fiction has been published in several national-circulation magazines and in original anthologies. **James Lawson,** a descendant of Nathaniel Bacon, presides over Books and Friends (Oakton, Va.), one of the most complete and interesting bookstores in the Washington, D.C. area. He is currently leading the drive to place Roger MacBride and David Bergland on the Virginia ballot this November. **James J. Martin** is a leading revisionist historian. He is currently at work on a book about U.S.-Soviet relations during World War II. **Neil McCaffrey,** jazz buff extraordinaire, is president of Arlington House Publishers. **Bill McIlhany** is a history graduate from Washington and Lee University. He is now a freelance writer and an active speaker for the John Birch Society. He is the author of *Klandestine* and the just-published *ACLU On Trial* (Arlington House). **E. Scott Royce** works for the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation and is the editor/publisher of *Southern Libertarian Review.* ■

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Libertarian Review is published bimonthly by Libertarian Review, Inc., editorial offices at 901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314.

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: 12 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.

Application to mail at second class rates pending in Alexandria, Virginia

A New Dawn for America: The Libertarian Challenge

By Roger L. MacBride

Reviewed by James Lawson / Green Hill, 1976 / $.95 pb

Roger MacBride's *New Dawn for America* is a masterpiece of campaign propaganda. It outlines the libertarian perspective/alternative with great clarity and brevity. MacBride neither compromises nor wastes words. He makes libertarian points that have been made over and over. For the uninitiated, *A New Dawn* will be an eye-opener. For the libertarian, MacBride's polemic may provide new data—and may convince that the time has indeed arrived for political action.

For MacBride and the Libertarian Party, our enemy is the State. *A New Dawn* both outlines why and proposes some alternatives.

MacBride begins with a statement of his worldview: "We get what we need and want from the external world by attacking it with our life-energy directed by our power of choice. When our choices are narrowed by force, our life-energy is restricted accordingly. We are the less well able to sustain our lives. The individual's life-energy is the only human energy that exists. When liberty dies, men begin to. These are the facts of our condition on earth." This is a view we share. MacBride believes that the "American Libertarian Revolution" of 1776 created "the only country ever built on the truth of human freedom" and "created the modern world."

> "Roger MacBride's 'New Dawn for America' is a masterpiece of campaign propaganda."

> "...makes a telling case for political activism in the face of Republican and Democrat bankruptcy."

The course of recent history has been the betrayal of this idea: "the unchecked, malignant growth of the national 'government' at Washington . . . the whole process of increasing Washington intervention is. . . self-perpetuating and self-worsening. Each time it intervenes to deal with one problem, it breeds a new problem in some other, perhaps unexpected area. . . . and it is difficult to find any area of life that has not been *worsened* as a result."

And then documentation: The current cost of government is $7792 per household per year. Government doubles in size every seven years, while our "economic energy" doubles only every 30 years.

MacBride on the economy: We must return to a money created in the marketplace rather than on printing presses. ("The government has a legal monopoly on counterfeiting.") "The cure for any depression is the same as the cure for galloping inflation: the federal government must stop inflating the money supply . . . . We must abolish the income tax—especially the withheld income tax. . . . There must be a complete separation of Economy and State."

On our everyday world: The Postal "Service" takes its obligatory beating. We are reminded that regulatory agencies serve only to stifle competition and efficiency in the area regulated. (Most appalling is the brief note that *all* of our interstate airlines either existed when the CAB was established or are the products of mergers or extensions of lines that existed then. No new airlines in forty years! No wonder they *want* to be regulated.) According to the federal government's Office of Management and Budget there are 5146 different *types* of "public-use forms" required of business—and Americans spend 130 million man-hours a year filling them out.

The Social Security system takes it licks. And the Food and Drug Adminstration: "A humanitarian Libertarian administration would sweep away the FDA and all its abuse!"

Of the FCC, MacBride echoes Murray Rothbard's query: "What would we think if all newspapers were licensed, the licenses to be renewable by a federal press commission, and with newspapers losing their licenses if they dare express an 'unfair' editorial opinion, or if they don't give full weight to public service announcements? Would this not be an intolerable destruction of the right to free press? Yet what we all consider intolerable and totalitarian for the press is taken for granted in the medium which is now the most popular vehicle for expression and education: radio and television.

Of agriculture: "It is time to formulate a policy which with all deliberate speed will disentangle the federal government from agriculture."

On foreign policy: "President Woodrow Wilson in 1917 reversed the basis of U.S. foreign policy prevailing since the days of Washington and Jefferson. The results have been disastrous. . . . We propose to return to a strict policy of neutrality in other countries' affairs, of non-intervention in other peoples' wars, of free trade and travel throughout the world."

On civil liberties and the criminal law: "People must again be allowed to live their lives free of the coercion of the criminal law unless they violate the rights of others. . . . Since the beginnings of these United States the government has been forbidden to regulate private conduct in matters of religion. This is an apt model to guide us. Why should government have any greater power to exert control over purely private conduct in non-religious areas?"

And then the pitch: "It is critical that the Libertarian Party succeed, for it alone lies between us and the dismal choice—down the years a bit, but not far—between total collectivism and violent upheaval."

I agree. And Roger MacBride makes a telling case for political activism in the face of Republican and Democrat bankruptcy. For him and the LP it is not yet too late. They may well be mistaken—but their ideals are ours and the effort valiant.■

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

The Open Society and its Enemies

By Karl Popper

Reviewed by Roy A. Childs, Jr. / Princeton University Press, 1966 / 2 volumes, $3.45 ea. pb, $10 ea. hc

This work is undeniably a classic. Karl Popper decided to write it in March 1938, on the day he received news that the Nazis had invaded Austria, and finished it in 1943. This origin says a great deal about Popper's motivation for writing *The Open Society,* and about its main theme as well, for by 1938 Popper, the Viennese-born Jew, was 36, at the height of his powers, and was forced to witness Hitler's early political and military triumphs. In addressing Popper's main reasons for writing the book, Brian Magee writes that

> One has to remember that for most of the period while he was working on it Hitler was meeting with success after success, conquering almost the whole of Europe, country by country, and driving deep into Russia. Western civilization was confronted with the immediate threat of a new Dark Age. In these circumstances what Popper was concerned to do was to understand and explain the appeal of totalitarian ideas, and do everything he could to undermine it, and also to promulgate the value and importance of liberty in the widest sense.

Popper had produced his major work on the philosophy of science, *Logik der Forschung* (English ed., *The Logic of Scientific Discovery,* 1959), in 1934, and it was only natural that the politically aware philosopher would want to use his powerful, highly trained intellect to fight the forces of totalitarianism as they confronted the world at that time. Karl Popper moved to assault totalitarianism at its root.

Popper sees totalitarianism of all stripes as essentially *tribal,* as a "closed society," a rebellion against the "strain of civilization." He assaults it by using his philosophy of science (which greatly emphasizes "falsification," i.e., the refutation of statements and theories) to criticize the doctrines of those whom Popper takes to be behind modern totalitarianism, namely, Plato, Aristotle, Hegel, and Marx. In *The Open Society*, he seeks to "examine the application of the critical and rational methods of science to the problems of the open society. [He] analyzes the principles of democratic social reconstruction, the principles of . . . 'piecemeal social engineering' in opposition to 'Utopian social engineering.' "

Popper's was one of that brilliant burst of works of the same period that had a similar antitotalitarian thrust: among others, Paterson's *The God of the Machine,* Lane's *The Discovery of Freedom,* Rand's *The Fountainhead,* Flynn's *As We Go Marching,* Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom,* and Ludwig von Mises' *Omnipotent Government* and *Human Action.*

Yet Popper's *Open Society* is, of all these, by far the most namby-pamby and anticlimactic. It begins by wrestling with such giants as Plato, Hegel, and Marx, but concludes with little more than a defense of social democracy, of piecemeal engineering with freedom of discussion and controversy. Brian Magee ably summarizes Popper's reasons for defending the "Open Society":

> Because he regards living as first and foremost a process of problem-solving he wants societies which are conducive to problem-solving. And because problem-solving calls for the bold propounding of trial solutions which are then subjected to criticism and error elimination, he wants forms of society which permit of the untrammelled assertion of different proposals, followed by criticism, followed by the genuine possibility of change in the light of criticism. Regardless of any moral considerations. . . he believes that a society organized on such lines will be more effective at solving its problems, and therefore more successful in achieving the aims of its members, than if it were organized on other lines.

Such a society is what Popper takes to be social democracy, entailing the "problem-solving" of piecemeal social engineering.

This social democracy may indeed have once inspired the intellectual elite of the West, seeking (as many were) alternatives to fascism and communism, but today it inspires hardly anyone. And for good reason, for what else *is* democractic social reconstruction but that postwar system of fine-tuning the economy, the reign of countless redistributive social programs designed by politicians and social scientists to meet those alleged "social needs" that a host of interest groups are pressing upon the political systems of the West as "non-negotiable demands"? Since the Second World War, most of the Western democracies have followed Popper's advice about piecemeal social engineering and democratic social reform, and it has gotten them into a grand mess. Intervention has been piled upon intervention; regulations have been continually modified in unpredictable ways (Popper advocates such "revisions" in the light of experience); taxation has increased drastically to finance social welfare programs (as has inflation, with its resulting economic fluctuations); and the unhampered market economy, so forcefully defended by Popper's close friend F.A. Hayek, has been "reformed" out of existence.

> **"Far more important than the principle of democracy, . . . even by Popper's own arguments, is the principle of individual liberty."**

Interventionism, piecemeal or not, has worked its inevitable way, and has led to precisely those consequences that Mises, Hayek, Rothbard, and others had predicted: economic stagnation and political conflict. Democratic institutions themselves are threatened by those whose vested interests are entwined with the State apparatus. Dime store tinkering, even with freedom of criticism and revision, is leading to the closed society that Popper so fears. There is indeed nothing new in this warning: it is the theme of both Ludwig von Mises' *Socialism* and of F.A. Hayek's *Road to Serfdom.*

In short, the Open Society is not enough. Why this is so has a direct bearing on the major themes of Popper's book. Popper attacks the views of Plato, Aristotle, Hegel, and Marx. (Here we cannot consider the merits of his case, but the interested reader should at least consult Levinson's *In Defense of Plato,* Cornford's *The Open Philosophy and the Open Society,* and the earlier writings of John Wild defending the tradition of Plato and Aristotle.)

One element of these views that Popper is anxious to refute is the "natural law" tradition, the basing of norms on human nature or some other "natural" standard. He opposes "essentialism," emphasizing instead the dynamic element in knowledge, that knowledge must always be open to revision. It is from *this* view of the functions of the human mind and the nature of knowledge that Popper derives the characteristics of his Open Society, which amounts to little more than democracy combined with a critical approach to social programs and the constant willingness to revise such programs in light of experience. (He wants in fact to develop a *technology* of "social reform" that would make such revisions possible; this is astonishingly naive.)

Now one should ask at this point: just what is this, if not the essence of a natural law approach given new window-dressing? The natural law tradition insists that norms for human conduct and for political organizations should be based on the requirements of man's nature. Popper tacitly uses a variant of this approach, in the very process of denouncing it: he criticizes "fixed" political principles because they conflict with the (presumably universal and permanent) requirements of human knowledge, of man's nature. But in doing this, has Popper done anything other than to erect new standards of precisely the form that he initially rejects? Popper should be reminded of Ettiene Gilson's quip: "The natural law always buries its undertakers."

If the Open Society is equivalent to a society in which everything and anything is open to democratic revision—except the basic institutions that make democratic revision possible—then Popper is only focusing on one need of human beings (that a dubious collective need), not the broader need for liberty that is implied in the outline of his argument as stated by Magee. Popper makes a great deal of noise about "individualism," but nevertheless only applies the structure of that argument to *collective* processes of hypothesis, testing (action), and revision in the light of experience; the argument would apply to individuals as well, since they are the sole constituents of "society." By focusing on this collective democratic character of the Open Society, Popper ignores the more basic need for *individual* liberty in art, business, science, and all other areas as well.

The arguments for democracy that Popper presents, then, are in principle identical to arguments for individual liberty. It is the principle of nonaggression, the first principle of liberty, that properly limits the domain of democracy. If Popper's *arguments* for democracy (as opposed to his advocacy of democracy itself) are valid, then it is not the rigidity of a technology of social engineering that we should seek, but an unhampered market economy, where people can constantly act on their own judgment and can continually revise their plans in accordance with the new information brought by change. This brings us not to social democracy, but to the doctrine of libertarianism.

Far more important than the principle of democracy, then, even by Popper's own arguments, is the principle of individual liberty. Liberty is paramount, democracy at best secondary: democracy is important only insofar as it is a servant of and means to the end of liberty. Thus, in following the logical

(Continued on page 10)

PHILOSOPHY/RELIGION

Theistic Objectivism: An Autopsy

By Michael Emerling

Reviewed by Roy A. Childs, Jr. / Published by the author, 1975 / $1.50

Some years ago, there was a magazine published called *The Christian Objectivist,* founded by a Biblical scholar and a college professor, looking for all the world like a yellow, primitive version of *The Objectivist.* Their aim was to rescue us from the usual sorts of things—doubt, depravity, despair, and the like—by offering us an inspiring union of Christianity with the thought of Ayn Rand. I do not know what has become of these people; I have not heard anything of them for several years.

Now, apparently, a new group with similar inclinations has popped up in the Washington, D.C., area, centering around the ideas and person of James Kiefer, a mathematician whose original argument for the existence of God was quoted, albeit somewhat mysteriously, in the first edition of Richard Taylor's *Metaphysics*. Kiefer has lately stirred up some controversy and converts by offering before a libertarian-oriented group in the Washington, D.C., area two lengthy lectures devoted to refuting Nathaniel Branden's lecture "The Concept of God" from the *Basic Principles of Objectivism* course and providing a proof for the existence of God from Objectivist premises.

> "In some ways, Emerling's response is effectively pointed, in a fundamental sense, he seems to have missed the point entirely."

Without going into any detail, it should be said that what we have in the case of these people is an amazing phenomenon. A small group of people, possessed of extraordinary intelligence, has asked the Kantian-type question "How is the fidelity of man's consciousness to the facts of reality possible?"—and, in seeking a comprehensive answer, have reasoned their way into chastity, the Trinity, and Sunday Mass.

Michael Emerling, a disciple of George H. Smith—if you can imagine such a thing—and a frequent contributor to *Libertarian Review*, seems to regard this with an attitude akin to moral indignation. Despite the fact that there are at best a dozen people involved in this "movement"—people who, by the way, seem seriously to regard *Atlas Shrugged* as an inspired text—Emerling has gotten himself sufficiently worked up to have privately published a rejoinder to Kiefer's argument. It's title is *Theistic Objectivism: An Autopsy,* and it is filled with the sort of argumentative razzle-dazzle that one has come to expect from Students of Objectivism in their published missives.

Unfortunately, it isn't very good. The problem is that Emerling has not taken sufficient time and care to grasp Kiefer's argument, or to state it properly. I have read Kiefer's paper, and have had a lengthy discussion with Kiefer and two of his disciples. I think they are flatly wrong. But Emerling's statement of their views is simply unrecognizable to me, as it seems to be for others familiar with the Kiefer argument. In some ways, Emerling's response is effectively pointed; in a fundamental sense, he seems to have missed the point entirely. Why he bothered to publish it in the first place is another question.

If one is a student of such theological disputes, therefore, one should find this booklet interesting and useful, without finding it definitive. For those interested in watching the heated flogging of dead horses it is, as we book reviewers say, "must reading."■

Music IN REVIEW

Jazz: The Golden Age

By Neil McCaffrey

PART IV: THE DUKE AND HIS DUCHESS

Duke Ellington is in danger of becoming a household god, a solemn invocation made by men of uncertain faith. Duke did nothing to discourage this. The last decades of his awesome career were crowded with concert appearances, cathedral appearances, long-winded compositions, all the panoply of an international institution. The music tended to get lost.

Fortunately, he recorded amply during his most productive years, 1927-42, and most of the records survive on LP reissues, largely from Columbia and RCA. They are a monument to the most fecund composer-arranger in the jazz idiom, and the leader of what many hold to be the most distinguished ensemble in jazz history.

The Ellington Era: 1927-1940, Vol. 1
Columbia 3CL 27 (3 records) / $13.98
Duke Ellington Presents Ivie Anderson
Columbia KG 32064 (2 records) / $6.98

Order from Sabin's Records, Dept. LR, 3212 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Washington, DC 20020.

RCA's Bluebird reissue program hasn't yet gotten around to Duke, and the parent label has behaved irresponsibly about keeping him in the catalog. French RCA, on the other hand, has all but completed its reissue program—album after album, in chronological order. But since these albums are only available here randomly and more or less sub rosa, you'll have less trouble finding Columbia reissues. The most imposing of them is a three-album set called *The Ellington Era: 1927-1940, Volume 1.* (What ever became of Volume 2?)

These records span two generations, from the ten-piece band just breaking in at Harlem's Cotton Club in 1927 to the 15-piece powerhouse of 1940. The band, and jazz history, unfold in 48 panoramic selections. The effect is stunning. I don't mean to suggest a simple onward-and-upward progression; though most Ellington buffs do in fact regard the 1940-42 band as the acme. I once did myself, and said so in the first jazz review I ever wrote, back around 1942. I've since come to prefer the "blue" period of the early '30s and the early swing of the mid-'30s. The '20s sides show the band developing its distinctive voice, the sophisticated "jungle" music of "Black and Tan Fantasy" and "The Mooche." In the early '30s, popular music was at its most sentimental, after the brash '20s. Duke grew apace. Melodic masterpieces poured from his pen, many represented here: "Lazy Rhapsody," "Blue Lightnin'," "Drop Me Off in Harlem."

The Swing Era that dawned in the mid-'30s was a watershed. In one sense, the Negro bands were pioneers. They had taught the whites; taught them less, however, than modern historians would have us believe. But swing—i.e., the commercial breakthrough of jazz—was almost entirely the work of white bands. So, if Duke and the other black bands didn't lead the way, they were there to profit from the vast new audience for their music.

Yet Duke was never to achieve major popularity in these years—nor, in truth, to feel entirely comfortable in the swing-band pattern. To be sure, several of this set's high points come from these years: "Merry-Go-Round," "Harmony in Harlem," "Slap Happy." But so do some works of uncertain taste, like "In a Jam" and "Battle of Swing."

There are 48 bountiful selections here. To particularize among them would require a whole issue of *LR*. But a few points are worth noting. All but four compositions are Duke's. All the arrangements are his—and the band's: their musical life was one long collaboration, and Duke always thought out his music in terms of his players. In the '30s the personnel changed hardly at all. It was the era before prima donnas. The major soloists were Johnny Hodges on alto and soprano sax and Cootie Williams on open and growl trumpet. But hardly less important were the liquid, lacy clarinet of Barney Bigard, the booming, gutty baritone sax of Harry Carney, the witty trumpet of Rex Stewart, and trombonists Tricky Sam Nanton and Lawrence Brown.

In a recent issue of *The Village Voice,* 14 jazz critics picked their favorite albums. Six of them named this one—and I think the other eight have some explaining to do. But so do all 14. Not one of them picked *Duke Ellington Presents Ivie Anderson,* a recent two-album set in a somewhat more commercial vein that may nonetheless be the most interesting Ellington collection ever issued.

Ivie Anderson was a nonpareil. She joined the band in 1931, its first vocalist, and stayed into 1942, when asthma finally wore her down. (It would kill her in 1949, at 45.) In all that time, she never received her due, either from the public or the critics. It may be instructive to speculate why.

Public indifference is easily explained. In an era when the word was only beginning to be used in the modern sense, Ivie was *cool.* Singing with the most elegant band of them all, she fit. Though a crowd-pleaser, she shared with the bandsmen an indefinable detachment. Call it class. I've seen her before a white audience, and before a colored audience. The whites were indifferent, the blacks at the Apollo only a shade more responsive—and then only when she put on her hip act (which was a delight: a touch of self-mockery—and more than a little mockery of the unaware audience. This side of her is represented in the album with "Killing Myself," "I'm Checkin' Out—Goombye," and "I've Got to Be a Rugcutter").

But how do we explain the indifference of the critics? I am not straining after paradox when I suggest—unconscious racism.

> "Ivie Anderson was a nonpareil."

But could this be, when it is no overstatement to describe jazz critics as a breed obsessed with racism? Moreover, I tend myself to recoil from such a charge, since people are so glib with it. Yet there may be something here. Consider, by contrast, the critics' long love affair with Billie Holiday. Here was a black singer of genius—who at the same time could be (unconsciously) patronized as tramp, junkie, *victim.* Likewise the old blues singers. Whereas Ivie was "uppity," as sophisticated a singer as jazz ever accommodated.

I am far from insisting on this interpretation. Meanwhile, I await a more convincing one.

If the public and the writers scanted Ivie, musicians never did. More and more you hear them saying, with Bobby Short (in his book, *Black and White Baby*): "Like Gertrude Lawrence, she could sing the worst songs in the grandest way. Hers was a rare gift. She was a popular singer who listened to lyrics, and stayed within the character of the song. She was my favorite singer—not only then, but for all time."

There are 32 songs here, and the performances range from good to imperishable. Ballads or rhythm tunes, Ivie never falters. A lovely song like "Isn't Love the Strangest Thing?" can send her into lyrical flights, yet she is never maudlin. Some of the songs ("In a Mizz," "There's a Lull in My Life," "If You Were in My Place") would defeat most singers; Ivie's intonation is flawless, her phrasing an adventure.

> "So, when you make for that desert island, I don't care how few albums you bring; this must be one of them."

She is equally at home on rhythm tunes. "Truckin'" swings as hard as anything Duke ever recorded; "Oh Babe, Maybe Someday" isn't far behind. On these and other rhythmic gems like "Raising the Rent" and "Get Yourself a New Broom," drollery enhances the Anderson contributions. All in all, no other jazz singer can put so many facets on display.

If this collection brings Ivie Anderson front and center for the first time, the band is no less interesting. The players, in fact, seem to enjoy the change from the heavier Ellington diet, as if lightening Milton with Herrick and Lovelace. It is a dimension of Ellingtonia that never came out of the closet till this album.

So, when you make for that desert island, I don't care how few albums you bring; this must be one of them. ■

MAKING IT

Winning hrough Intimidation

By Robert J. Ringer

Reviewed by Alice Laurance / Fawcett Crest, 1976 / $1.95 pb

In the introduction to *Winning Through Intimidation,* Robert J. Ringer explains his choice of a title by quoting Ayn Rand's statement on why she uses the term selfishness, "To those who ask it, my answer is: 'For the reason that makes you afraid of it.' " It's a great line, but by the time you are halfway through Ringer's book, you know he called it *Winning Through Intimidation* because nobody would buy a book called *Winning by Putting Up a Good Show and Fudging a Little with the Truth.*

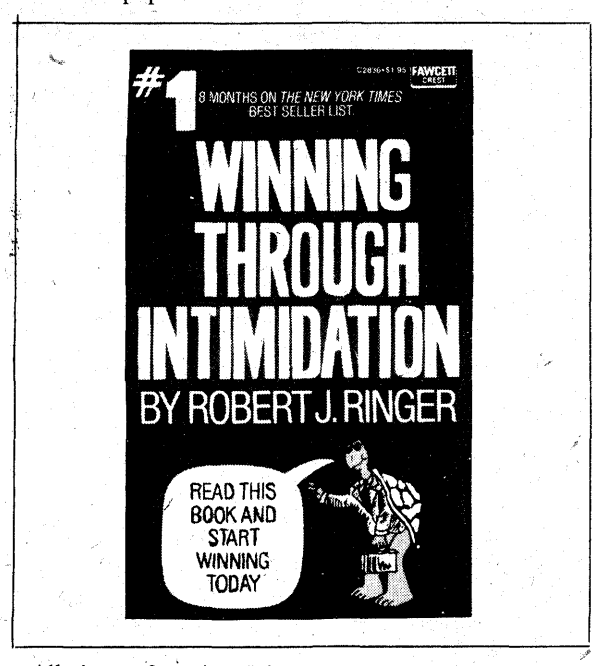
Winning Through Intimidation is a terrible book; the trouble is, it isn't a completely worthless book.

Ringer actually has some interesting and even important points to make. His formula for success involves a great deal more than running a good bluff; it's unfortunate that his presentation emphasizes all the wrong things.

The cornerstone of his philosophy is a firm reliance on reality; his discussions of the nature of reality in the commercial world and the consequences of using it or abusing it, while not particularly original, are well worth reading. Variations on this theme include his discussions of the necessity of defining terms and obtaining specific evidence, and his ultimate injunction: *"GET PAID!"*

Ringer is foursquare for competence and includes some pointed comments on the necessity for being totally prepared; one suspects that this is what actually accounts for his success.

His theory on attitude, "Theory of Sustenance of a Positive Attitude through the Assumption of a Negative Result," is his one really original observation and is almost worth the price of the book—at least in paperback!



All this is fine, but I have strong reservations about this book on several counts.

My first objection is content. *Winning Through Intimidation* is 304 pages long and sells for $1.95 in paperback; it's a rip-off. Any reasonably good editor could cut the repetition and padding and produce a 50-page pamphlet that would omit nothing important. Ringer is entirely consistent: *Winning Through Intimidation* is "intimidating" in his terminology. While nit-picking, I'll also mention that Ringer's style is too cutesy-poo for words (one gets very tired of reading about his undergraduate days at "Screw U."), and Jack Medoff's illustrations complement Ringer's prose perfectly.

I am also troubled by certain factual omissions in the story of Ringer's own success. For example, on pages 133-34, after an account of the "long road I'd traveled, a road often lined with frustration, humiliation and confusion," we find a financially disadvantaged Ringer saying with a smile, "Let me make one thing perfectly clear; you won't have Robert Ringer to kick around anymore." On page 144, after 10 pages of theory, Ringer is broadsiding to clients his "calling card," a $5 per copy, 10" by 10" hardcover book (which is intimidating). But nowhere does Ringer tell us where he obtained the stake to pay for his "calling cards," equipment, and employee's salaries. To anyone interested in emulating him, this has to be a significant omission.

But my real objections are more fundamental. Ringer's ethics and basic premises on human conduct are very much open to question.

Early in the book, he tells of a deal he consumated by "repackaging" the messages between two principals—watch that word "repackaging"; what he did was *misrepresent* an offer. Ringer himself seems troubled by this and spends several paragraphs explaining it, but the bad taste remains. *If* this is an example of his ethical code, the man is not honest.

But more crucial is his discussion of human motivation. He's concluded that all humanity is divided into three types: (1) the man who makes it clear he's out to get "all your chips" and acts accordingly; (2) the man who assures you he isn't interested in "your chips" and then acts the same as the first type; and (3) the man who says he doesn't want "your chips," means it, but still ends up trying to grab them all. I don't know with whom Ringer has been associating, but 15 years in the business world (albeit not closing multi-million-dollar real estate deals) convinces me they are the wrong people.

As a guide to behavior in the business world (or anywhere; Ringer, something of a male chauvinist pig, suggests that the female of the species can use the same system to nail a man), *Winning Through Intimidation* is deplorable and misleading; but read judiciously, it has some useful things to offer.■

The Power Broker: BIOGRAPHY

Robert Moses and the Fall of New York

By Robert Caro

Reviewed by Alan Fairgate / Random House, 1974 / $25

Robert Caro deserves even more tribute than he has already received. Any many who can write a massive biography of a relatively obscure (at least outside of New York) urban planner and win the widespread public acclaim and recognition that Caro has must be a talented author. Caro has not only presented the reader with a detailed account of the rise and fall of Robert Moses, one of the most powerful men in New York City, but he has also expertly dissected the complexities of urban politics and developed a number of themes that should be of great interest to libertarians. More than a simple biography of one man, Caro's book represents a significant contribution to our understanding of the unique political-economic institutions that emerged in postwar urban America.

Anyone interested in the history of New York or, even more generally, in the evolution of urban politics in the postwar period should immediately recognize the importance of a biography of Robert Moses. More than any other man, Moses and his policies dominated the political evolution of New York since the 1930s and even determined much of the physical landscape of New York City today. In the course of his career, Moses personally conceived and executed public works costing $27 billion, including vast parkway systems, bridges, and urban redevelopment projects, and culminating with the New York World's Fair in 1964. During a period when America worshipped the engineer, the builder, Robert Moses emerged as a builder on a grand scale. More important, however, Moses articulated an entirely new doctrine regarding urban public works and pioneered in the development of strategies necessary to implement highway construction and urban renewal programs. Even Lewis Mumford, one of Moses' bitterest critics, acknowledged that "in the twentieth century, the influence of Robert Moses on the cities of America was greater than that of any other person."

> "To use Isabel Paterson's memorable phrase, Moses was truly a 'humanitarian with a guillotine.'"

On one level, *The Power Broker* can be viewed as 1162 pages of subtle variations on Lord Acton's well-known theme: power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Unfortunately, although Caro does acknowledge the corrupting influence of power, he tends to focus attention instead on the inherent weaknesses in Moses' own personality that Caro feels made Moses especially susceptible to the destructive effects of power. As a result, the reader is left with the vague impression that, perhaps, if Moses had had a stronger character, he might have resisted the temptations of power and emerged as a genuine public reformer.

Moses in fact began his career as an idealistic public reformer intent on reorganizing the civil service of New York as part of a broader effort to make government more efficient and responsive to social needs. However, from the very beginning Moses displayed a profound contempt for the lifestyles and intelligence of the lower classes, and he was guided by a highly paternalistic concept of government that he acquired during his graduate study at Oxford.

Moses sincerely felt that he knew best what the population of New York needed, and he ruthlessly proceeded to implement his vision against intense opposition from local neighborhoods that were irreparably damaged by his vast public works projects. To use Isabel Paterson's memorable phrase, Moses was truly a "humanitarian with a guillotine." In fact, Moses once announced in a speech that "when you operate in an overbuilt metropolis, you have to hack your way with a meat ax." Caro adds that "he didn't just feel that he *had* to swing a meat ax. He *loved* to swing it." In discussing the gradual transformation of Moses' personality, Caro argues that "slowly and inexorably, he began to seek power for its own sake. . . increasingly, the projects became not ends but means—the means of obtaining more and more power."

In his pursuit of power, Moses displayed an exceptional instinct for identifying and mobilizing the key centers of economic and political power on behalf of his programs. In the process, he pioneered in the development of a novel institutional form—public authorities—which represented an ominous attempt to merge public and private institutions. Public authorities manifested many of the characteristics of large private corporations, but they also possessed a variety of powers—such as the power of eminent domain—that clearly differentiated them from market institutions and vested them with quasi-governmental status. The public authorities were empowered to issue bonds as a source of revenues and, by creatively structuring the covenants in the bonds, Moses established binding contractual agreements with bondholders that could not be legally abrogated by the municipal government. As a result, Moses effectively insulated both himself and his institutional creations from political meddling.

In expressing his concern over the incompatibility of public authorities with a democratic political system, Caro demonstrates considerable insight into the political consequences of large-scale public works projects. He quotes approvingly Raymond Moley's observation that historically all great public works have been associated with autocratic power and provides an excellent analysis suggesting that this correlation is hardly fortuitous.

Moses very early perceived the critical importance of New York's banking institutions in the metropolitan political and economic system. The bond issues of his public authorities were carefully structured in a manner designed to provide the banks with a highly lucrative source of revenue. As merely one example, the banking syndicate that underwrote the bond issue to finance the construction of the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge received almost $5 million in profits *in one day*. Since public authority bonds were considered excellent investments, the underwriters were exposed to negligible risks in performing their services. The banks were appropriately grateful for Moses' largesse, and they reciprocated by loyally supporting his proposals for ever-expanding public works projects.

As Caro points out, Moses succeeded in mobilizing enormous political and economic power behind him. However, his ultimate downfall can be directly traced to his confrontation with the one man whose power resources could not only match but overwhelm those mobilized by Robert Moses. That man was Nelson Rockefeller. As Caro notes, Rockefeller resembled Moses in many ways, particularly in the scale of his imagination and of his arrogance. Rockefeller had in fact adopted many of the "backdoor" financing schemes that Moses had originally developed for his public authorities. Ultimately, however, the personalities and ambitions of these two power brokers clashed, and Rockefeller demonstrated little compassion in his campaign to remove Moses from his entrenched position. The gradual escalation of this confrontation provides the climax of Caro's account of Moses' career.

At a time when New York wrestles with the prospect of prolonged fiscal crisis, Caro's book represents an essential contribution to our understanding of the origins of that crisis. ■

Colby/Stenehjem—*(Continued from page 1)*

One of the founders of the AFC, Robert R. Young, shared this approach from the moment of the attack, and had even more drastic objectives in mind. In a letter he wrote to Harry Elmer Barnes on 2 June 1953, the railroad magnate asserted:

> I happened to be one of the three dissenting voices when the directors of the America First Committee voted to disband on the Wednesday after Pearl Harbor. I felt then and still feel that if the Committee could only have been kept going, some of these people who will become national heroes could have been made to pay for their sins by their liberty or even their lives. If the Republicans had not been equally corrupted they could have had the whole damned crowd in jail.

Another overlooked possibility was the refusal of Flynn to join with George Hartmann and the Peace Now movement in 1943 in striving for a negotiated peace to end the war, on the grounds that during a war was an inappropriate time for such an enterprise. On the contrary, the effective time to work for peace is while there is a war going on, as the anti-Vietnam forces have just proved, though it must be said in extenuation of Flynn that it took far, far more guts to oppose World War II after the U.S. became abelligerent than it did to oppose the Vietnam War. Nevertheless, it makes no sense to favor carrying umbrellas only when it is not raining.

At the conclusion of her study, Stenehjem expounds briefly upon the partial acceptance of the AFC's views today, 35 years after it disbanded. A rather clammy comfort may be derived from this, observing that the gang that waxed fat, famed, and powerful during and after World War II even now is slightly discomfited by this development. Though some of the arrogant apologists and camp followers who rejoiced in permanent global war and the exercise of unlimited power by FDR and his successors are now making noises that would have made them AFC recruit potential in 1940-41, one suspects that this is simply a trendy ploy to make them sound "with-it," as curtailment of executive power, world retrenchment, and related continentalism and "isolation" enjoy current favor. However, it is also possible to see a brighter side to it, and look upon any moves toward the attainment of sanity in world politics as commendatory. ■

Money: Whence It Came, Where It Went

ECONOMICS

By John Kenneth Galbraith

Reviewed by Bruce Bartlett / Houghton Mifflin, 1975 / $10

John Kenneth Galbraith is many things to many people. One of the things he is not, however, is a good economist. If his past efforts were not enough to justify this conclusion, then this, his latest book, certainly is.

Galbraith begins with a short history of money—so superficial as to be almost worthless. He goes through the emergence of precious metals as a medium of exchange (without a mention of Carl Menger), notes the development of paper money, the origin of the Federal Reserve System, and briefly discusses the great German inflation of the 1920s.

Then, Galbraith gets around to his true purpose for writing this book, which is another protracted polemic on the virtues of John Maynard Keynes. Once again the reader is subjected to a rehash of Galbraith's *The Great Crash, 1929.* Galbraith condemns the Fed for not expanding the money supply and blames a reactionary fear of inflation on the part of business, Congress, and most economists.

His technique is to slur anyone who believes in gold or voices fear of inflation. For example, Galbraith makes a point of attacking Professor Edwin Kemmerer of Princeton by making it seem that he supported the gold standard only because he made a lot of money advising foreign governments on the subject. Galbraith also has contempt for the Austrian School and makes it appear as though Mises, Hayek, Schumpeter, Haberler, Machlup, and Morgenstern attack inflation and socialism only because they lived through the post-World War I inflation in Germany and Austria. Such ad hominem attacks by Galbraith are so blatant that *Marxist* historian Eugene Genovese felt obliged to defend the Austrians in his review for the *New York Times.*

The meat of Galbraith's book begins, appropriately enough, with a chapter called "The Coming of J.M. Keynes." It is a significant chapter, however, because Galbraith makes several admissions about Keynesian economics. First, he admits that the economic policy of Hitler and Nazi Germany was essentially one of Keynesian economics. Keynes himself admitted this in a famous forward to the German edition of *The General Theory.* What is interesting about Galbraith, though, is his implied criticism of the United States for not having followed Hitler's lead!

> "... the only thing that separates Keynes' ideas from those of acknowledged cranks like Waddill Catchings, is the fact that Keynes is taken seriously."

Galbraith goes on to state that "the effect of *The General Theory* was to legitimize ideas that were in circulation. What had been the aberations of cranks and crackpots became now respectable scholarly discussion." In other words, the only thing that separates Keynes' ideas from those of acknowledged cranks like Waddill Catchings, is the fact that Keynes is taken seriously.

Galbraith points out that the New Deal was not basically a Keynesian program. Rather, it was a disjointed hodgepodge of programs that reacted to individual problems but had no rational organization. "It was," Galbraith says, "a policy in search of a rationalization, the rationalization that Keynes provided." This seems very close to saying that Keynes wrote the *General Theory* as a justification for policies that the government was already pursuing—which helps explain its extraordinary popularity.

It was not enough, however, to have a theory that conveniently fit the times. Keynes also needed fellow conspirators. According to Galbraith, the chief American "conspirator" was Professor Alvin Hansen. His influence spread to the generation of students at Harvard that brought the Keynesian gospel to Washington. "Fortunately," Lauchlin Currie (later accused of Communist connections) was chief economist of the Federal Reserve Board. Galbraith says that in this capacity, and later at the White House, Currie made a point of always filling slots for government economists with men "of assured Keynesian convictions." Thus the bloodless revolution was achieved.

Finally, Galbraith is forced to deal with the consequences of the Keynesian revolution. Once again he drags out price controls as the only way to stop the inflation generated by vast government spending and monetary expansion. His devotion to this remedy probably stems not only from his inability to criticize Keynesian economics for causing all the problems, but also from his nostalgia for the Price Control Commission, where he served during World War II. Perhaps he longs once again for the incredible power he possessed. We can only hope that he never gets it. ■

> "... this book ... is another protracted polemic on the virtues of John Maynard Keynes."

Reason and Belief

PHILOSOPHY

By Brand Blanshard

Reviewed by John Hospers / Yale University Press, 1975 / $30

Blanshard's long-awaited book is the third and final portion of a philosophical triology, of which the first two parts were *Reason and Analysis* and *Reason and Goodness*, both published more than ten years ago. This final volume is devoted to the relations between reason and religion.

The book is long (more than 600 pages) and rich in content. Not since Santayana's *Reason in Religion* in 1910 (one of the five volumes of his "Life of Reason" series) has a philosopher stood back from the religious scene with such an objective eye—sympathetic, yet critical—and shared with his readers so much wisdom on the subject. The book is written in Blanshard's inimitable philosophical style, smooth and polished, always to the point, full of well-turned phrases and quotable quotes.

Part I, consisting of the first four chapters, deals with the Roman Catholic doctrines on faith versus reason, reason and revelation, and revelation's relation to natural knowledge. One of the chief points that emerges from his discussion is how devoted to the pursuit of reason (granted a few initial premises based on faith) the Catholic Church is, committed to carrying out the implications of each argument. Blanshard leans so far over to be fair to Catholic doctrine that one begins to suspect at last that he will end up supporting the Catholic cause; but just when we feel that this is imminent, comes a section (e.g., on inconsistencies in the Bible, or on papal infallibility) that throws any such theory on the scrapheap.

Part II, dealing with Protestant Christianity, is 200 pages long. It is devoted primarily to Luther, Kierkegaard, Brunner, and Barth. For someone who wants a not too lengthy but thorough rundown on what each of these men believed on matters of faith and reason, Blanshard's presentation ideally satisfies the demand. For those readers (probably the majority) to whom such names as Barth and Brunner draw blanks except for a vague association with religion, Blanshard's chapters are the easiest and most systematic way to fill the gap.

Part III, "Ethics and Belief," is of greatest interest to students of ethics. Blanshard's two chapters on rationalism and Christian ethics are paradigms of accuracy, objectivity, and clarity of presentation. What is the attitude of Christianity (and why) to wealth? To art? To the State? To slavery? To women's rights? To pacifism? To power? To work? To social justice? Here it is all spelled out, with a bringing together of various texts from the Bible to substantiate each contention—not without insightful critical comments along the way on many of the positions discussed.

The chapter entitled "The Ethics of Belief" is perhaps the best in the book. Blanshard shows us, for example, exactly at what points Pascal's famous "wager" is in error. He also examines with uncommon thoroughness such questions as "What made the acts of the Spanish Inquisitors wrong?" They acted from honorable motives (saving the souls of those who would otherwise be damned) and from clear-sighted regard for consequences (what was an hour of slow fire in this life compared with an eternity of fire hereafter?). Blanshard concludes that, while from the vantage point of their beliefs their actions were impeccable, they had *no right to believe* as they did, and shows us why sincerity of belief is not enough.

Part IV, "A Rationalist's Outlook," begins (in the chapter on cosmology) by providing us a recap of Blanshard's earlier works on metaphysics. The sections on the Principle of Causality are thorough and forcefully presented, particularly the reasons for disagreeing with Hume and Ayer and agreeing with Joseph in the defense of "causal necessity." The next two chapters, on human nature, values, and goodness, after a discussion of evolution and its implications for ethics, presents a renewed defense of the position (first argued toward the end of *Reason and Goodness*) that intrinsic goodness is to be conceived in terms of two concepts, satisfaction and fulfillment, all other values being instrumental to these two.

The final chapter, "Religion and Rationalism," is a watershed chapter in that it here behooves the author, who has been giving us the pros and cons of every issue thus far, to "fish or cut bait." And he does. Having conceded as much as he possibly can to the opposition—having shown why reasonableness is a "grey virtue," and having spoken as favorably as one plausibly can on the values (and disvalues, too) of reverence and humility as human attitudes, and having traced the stong and often honorable motivations for having religious belief, Blanshard proceeds to make mincemeat of faith as a ground for belief by showing us where such a criterion would ultimately lead us. Reason is the only self-corrective faculty for arriving at truth. "Take reason seriously," Blanshard says. "It has been from the beginning the unrealized architect of religion, of conduct, of the world, but almost always doing its work under the interference of interests alien to its own."

Many readers who are greatly interested in issues of metaphysics, epistemology, and ethics are far less interested in religion. They may, as they read these pages, become impatient with the author for devoting so much time and effort to this subject. My own reservations about the book come not from the extended treatment of the phenomena of religious belief—which is the most interesting survey since William James' *Varieties of Religious Experience*—but from the comparative lack of treatment of deep-level epistemological problems of religion. Just as one looks in vain for a careful definition of "reason" (the most used word in the book)—though one finds it in Richard Robinson's book *An Atheist's Values*—so one looks in vain for a knock-down treatment of epistemological problems of religion (which, if pursued, seem to me to invalidate the views popularly labeled theism, deism, pantheism, *and* atheism and agnosticism). Perhaps it was not the author's aim to give us a treatment of these matters; but in a long work on religious beliefs, with so much empirical material on the history of religion, it seems a pity not to have devoted more time to such central questions as "Exactly what can this religious sentence be construed to mean?"—questions which lie at the root of all the others. Philosophy of religion is, first and foremost, epistemology applied to the subject of religion, just as philosophy of science is epistemology applied to science. One regrets that Blanshard has apparently forsaken the most probing and tantalizing problems central to his discipline, philosophy, and has taken on instead a survey of an area in which he is much less of a lifelong specialist, brilliantly though he does it.■

> **"Not since Santayana's 'Reason in Religion'. . . has a philosopher stood back from the religious scene with such an objective eye—sympathetic, yet critical—and shared with his readers so much wisdom on the subject."**

Popper—*(Continued from page 4)*

implications of Popper's views (which are not, after all, *that* original), we move from the open society to the "Free Society," and find ourselves agreeing with Michael Polanyi's claim, contra Popper, that the Free Society is *not* an Open Society, but a society committed to a very definite set of rules. In Popper's Open Society, the principle of democracy is regarded as fixed, as not being open to revision. In the Free Society, is it the far more fundamental principle of individual liberty and nonaggression that is not open to revision (though its implications may be refined with growing knowledge). Popper's reasoning is, by and large, correct, but it is *individuals* who must solve problems to survive, not "societies," and therefore individuals who must be free to think and act to achieve values and to revise mistaken plans and impressions in the light of experience or more critical thought.

Why is it important to consider *The Open Society and Its Enemies* after all these years? Very simply, because these are times when totalitarianism is on the rise, and Western democracies are in the midst of crises that are threatening the stability of their basic institutions, and perhaps even their very survival. In this battle against totalitarianism today's right-wing social democrats—the neo-conservatives such as Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Irving Kristol, and Daniel Bell—are once again raising the banner of social democracy against tyranny. But this is pointless, for such democracy combined with social engineering and statist "reforms" is inherently unstable and is unjust as well.

No mere democratic machinery, no mere procedure, is enough to oppose fascism or communism, not in a world of those real social dynamics that are set in motion by interventionism. Only liberty can fully oppose closed societies, and only if liberty is seen as something that is *not* to be bargained away or abandoned through a series of insignificant piecemeal reforms. Liberty must be regarded as the ultimate political end, foremost among those political values held dear by reasonable men and women, the highest and most noble political form possible to human beings.

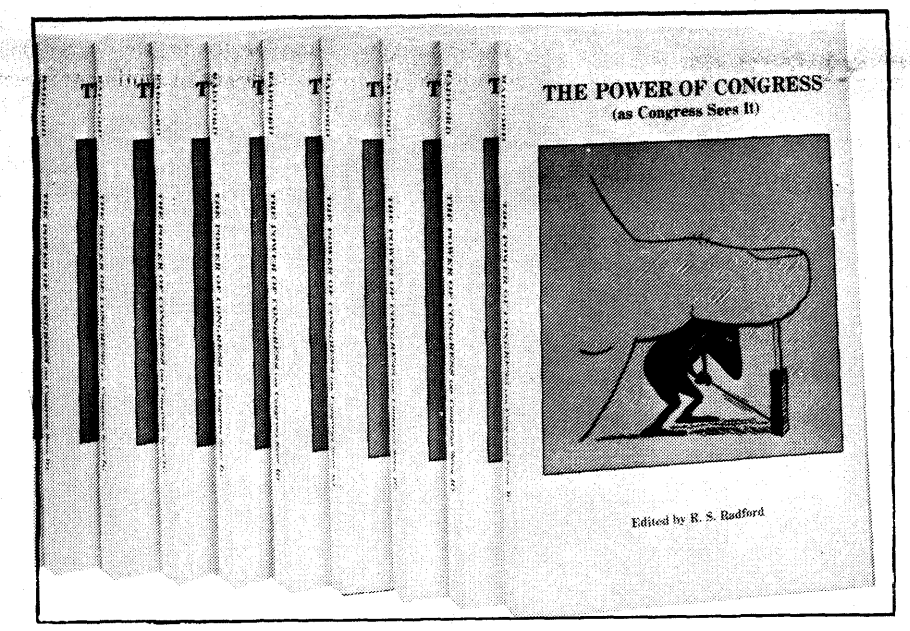
I do not wish to leave the impression that *The Open Society* is worthless. It is indeed a heuristic work, tossing off suggestive arguments and insights on nearly every page, and the criticisms of Plato, Hegel, and Marx are always pregnant ones. Popper is a great and forceful advocate of reason, science, and progress, and his passionate idealism shines forth continually from the pages of this work. But so too does nearly every moth-eaten philosophical cliche around, e.g., the attack on "certainty," the fact/value dichotomy, the Humean assault on induction. Moreover, Popper is unnerving in his treatment of capitalism. Opponents of the Open Society who see it as being *too coercive* are slighted by Popper, mentioned only in the context of Popper's astonishing smears of laissez faire, his continual granting of Marxist historical points against capitalism, and his cheerful parading before us of those "democratic reforms" that have all but obliterated the unhampered free market economy.

Social democracy, the Open Society, has been tried and found wanting. The question that faces us now is simply whether those lovers of "experiment" and "flexibility" are experimental and flexible enough to advocate that liberty be given a chance. If it is not given that chance, there may be no turning back, and we may yet arrive in an era when we shall look back at the totalitarianism of the 1930s as a veritable golden age.

But in one sense, at least, Popper is right: the future is ours to shape. Liberty has never been fully tried. It is the task of readers of this journal to remedy that unfortunate situation; if we do not, no one else will.■

Would you like to know what members of Congress say about their use of power over you?

HOW MUCH POWER DO THEY RIGHTFULLY HAVE? FROM WHAT SOURCES DOES IT COME? MORE PARTICULARLY, WHAT DO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS Believe ABOUT THE POWER THEY WIELD?



Bob LeFevre, famous libertarian and iconoclast, has challenged each of them with a series of arguments in which he charges dishonesty, illegality, and corruption on the part of every elected office holder in the nation's capitol. What is astounding are the responses he has received. More than forty senators and representatives were so intrigued (or infuriated) by what LeFevre said that they responded in a surge of letters that expose some astonishing attitudes and conclusions. Among them are: James L. Buckley, John G. Dow, Frank E. Evans, Gerald Ford, Barry L. Goldwater, Jr., Hubert H. Humphrey, Mike Gravel, Daniel K. Inouye, Bob Mathias, Wilbur D. Mills, Edmund S. Muskie, Jerome Waldie.

LeFevre's original letter and the ensuing correspondence have been brilliantly edited and annotated by R.S. Radford, who teaches at the University of Southern California. An active member of American Mensa, Ltd., Radford publishes the **LibSIG!** newsletter for libertarian Mensans.

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"Gun Control" and the Free Citizen

By Reginald Bretnor

The two words "gun control" present us instantly with a totally false concept and a totally false promise. That is why I use them here between quotation marks, and why I shall return to the subject of the meanings they convey later in this essay.

We have here four books all dealing with the subject, but from very different viewpoints, for opposing purposes, and with widely differing standards of honesty and competence. One of these, Robert Sherrill's *Saturday Night Special,* is antigun–in other words, basically opposed to the private ownership of firearms. Two others, Bill R. Davidson's *To Keep and Bear Arms* and the National Rifle Association's *1975 Firearms & Laws Review* are just as fundamentally in favor of it. The fourth, *Published Ordinances, Firearms, Important Information to Gun Dealers,* is a 253-page guidebook to the tangled bureaucratic wilderness already created by federal, state, and local efforts at "gun control" by legislation. It will soon be issued by the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Bureau of the Treasury Department, the agency charged with enforcement of federal firearms laws.

The Saturday Night Special
By Robert Sherrill / Penguin, 1975 / $2.75 pb

To Keep and Bear Arms
By Bill Davidson / Arlington House, 1969 / $5.95, out of print

1975 Firearms & Laws Review
Compiled by the National Rifle Assocation / NRA, 1975 / $4

Published Ordinances, Firearms, Important Information to Gun Dealers
Compiled by the U.S. Treasury Department / Government Printing Office, 1976 (forthcoming) / Price not available

The Saturday Night Special is a strangely schizoid book that apparently has actually discomfited many of the antigun liberals whose viewpoint it presumably is pushing. It has been characterized by Polly Toynbee, an English writer, as

> a clear, concise canter around the whole problem of gun control, mocking those who have half-heartedly attempted reforms and sneering at the police and the NRA almost too much for pleasure. What Sherrill does is to defuse the situation by throwing in any number of conflicting attitudes, but in the end he has escaped making a serious comment on guns and crime. He prefers to play jester than chief adviser. One suspects that is because his rational thinking goes trespassing all over his liberal prejudices, and he isn't apt to give up his liberal label, not even that little corner of it. . . .

Sherrill's attacks on the NRA and on the police generally are in deplorably bad taste, and his statistics are the ones usually selected by antigun propagandists and are presented in the usual false perspective. For example, he never mentions that when guns were much more readily available than they are today, before any registration was required anywhere and when you could buy any firearm you wanted by mail, the streets of most American cities were quite safe–except for certain districts in places like Chicago and New York–and that this continued to be the case up to and through World War II. (In the San Francisco Bay Area, little old ladies could take long walks alone at night, lovers could stroll in parks or on college campuses, and after an Italian dinner and a pub-crawl in North Beach you and your girl could walk down to the ferry building to catch the last boat home. No more. Now it's a jungle. And the availability of handguns was in no way responsible for the transformation.)

Sherrill's statistics and arguments are also generously seasoned with horrible individual examples of the misuse of guns, and of course he presents the stock liberal distortions of their opponents' purposes and programs. Where the NRA is concerned, he is downright offensive, stating "that the great majority of the membership is not only rabidly hard-line but slightly dotty–a classic tennis-shoe dottiness," which, according to him, allows them to believe that the country is in some danger from armed subversives. As an example of this kookiness, he quotes an editorial in the *American Rifleman* that takes seriously an FBI report stating that the Communist Revolutionary Union had spread to ten states and that its members had been accumulating weapons and engaging in firearms and guerrilla warfare training.

> Americans of normal perspective, [he tells us] having long ago learned not to take too seriously the FBI's rationale for higher budgets, chuckle and nudge each other when the FBI trots out this kind of spooky stuff. . . .

And he goes on to inform us that

> Everything about the NRA reeks of obsolescence: the slogans, the trophies. . . the tales of derring-do perpetuated in its literature, the boys-behind-the-barn chumminess, the blustery patriotism, the simple-minded notions of law and order. They are like things out of the attic and out of the memory of an ancient American Legionnaire. . . .

Where the Second Amendment is concerned, we find the same general approach. The amendment is deliberately misread, and its original meaning misconstrued, to convey the notion that it ensures *only* the right of the states to raise their own militias–and left-thinking liberal "authorities" are quoted to support this.

All in all, about the only good thing one can say for Mr. Sherrill's work is that he had enough intellectual honesty to present facets of the crime problem in the United States that the antigun crowd usually prefer to ignore: the violence-mongering of the mass media, the immorality of many politicians and many policemen (especially in those big gang-ridden cities that are at the core of the antigun movement) the ineffectiveness of our criminal courts and prisons, and the inescapable ethnic factor involved.

It is refreshing, after reading Sherrill, to open Bill Davidson's *To Keep and Bear Arms.* Davidson argues the case for the private ownership of firearms *and for a viable revival of the militia concept* clearly and vigorously, discussing it against the world background of dictatorship, persecution, subversion, and rampant terrorism as well as the domestic scene of violent crime. He does not go in for sneering or name-calling, and in each instance he supports his contentions not only with "authorities" but with good sense. I was especially impressed by his comments regarding an armed citizenry acting as a militia in defense of their freedoms:

> The armed citizen had been a bulwark of Swiss independence through generations of hostility between France, Germany, Italy, and formerly Austria. Sweden has a highly sophisticated militia-reserve program. Norway, which suffered agonies under five years of Nazi rule in World War Two, has a less formal but perhaps just as effective program geared to guerrilla war.
>
> Israel is the ultimate democratic garrison state, for excellent reason. It exists in a 24-hours-a-day, 365-days-a-year atmosphere of hate unequalled since the Communist, Nazi, and Japanese vilifications of the 1940's. . . .Israel is a fully armed nation in which troops take their Uzi burp guns home with them on leave, in which paramilitary weapons and fitness training are mandatory for adolescents, in which a quarter-million skilled troops can be summoned in an incredibly short time.

And Israel, like Switzerland, has a remarkably l crime rate–much lower than the rising violent crime r in totally disarmed England (to say nothing of No Ireland).

Davidson's book should be read by every thought American concerned with his own and his nation's c tinuing freedom, and it should most certainly be in ev library; and the same can be said for the NRA symp ium. It is equally well balanced, thorough, and polit restrained.

Several of the 18 articles in the *1975 Firearms & La Review* discuss the origins of the Second Amendme the intent of the men who framed it, and its subseque interpretations and distortions. Every liberal, especial should read "The Lost Amendment," by Robert Sprecher of the Illinois bar, which won the 1965 Sam Pool Weaver Constitutional Law Essay Competition, a which is reprinted here from the *American Bar Assoc tion Journal*–and every conservative and libertarian w want to read it.

Several other articles examine the entire question "gun control" both here and abroad, and I found "Fi arms Control in England and Wales" especially intere ing because its writer, Colin Greenwood, is a care police official in England who was awarded a Resear Fellowship at Cambridge for the study of this subje His conclusion–that "gun controls have had no effe on the rate of serious armed crime in England and Wale and that the imposition of further controls. . . will nothing to prevent the crime rate rising"–demolish one of the antigun liberals' most cherished myths.

> **"... the essence of 'gun control'... is that the individual cannot be trusted with that fundamental right of the free citizen, the right to protect himself, his family, his property, and if necessary his nation ...."**

Law enforcement officers will, I think, find the articles by Judge Bartlett Rummel and others on gun laws, police liability, and new court cases dealing with self-defense especially interesting. The book concludes with the statistics of firearms in crime and accidents, a discussion of federal and state legislative procedures, and digests of federal, state, and local firearms laws.

I repeat, these are two books to buy and read–or at least to persuade your library to have on its shelves. As for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms' *Published Ordinances*– well, it's not bedside reading, but it contains much information useful to gun dealers, collectors, hunters and target shooters (especially if they hap-

pen to be travelling), and students of how bureaucracy thinks and functions.

To my mind, probably the most interesting aspect of these four books is the light they shed on the present "gun control" campaign in Congress and in the states, and on the enormous difference between the view of the honest citizen and his government held by the framers

"... the Second Amendment ... is now being given 'mod' interpretations never imagined by its originators ...."

of the Consitution and the one now only too generally presented by the mass media and many of the politicians who allegedly represent us.

When the Constitution and its first amendments were drawn up, it was generally held—and this was demonstrated in the practical application of the law—that full citizenship (implying its active *powers* as well as its more passive *rights*) was *not* something granted automatically to anybody who could grunt and get in line for a handout. Where the franchise was concerned, criteria of responsibility were universally imposed, and while I am not arguing that these were ideal or wholly just, they were better than none at all. The vote of a hard-working, property-owning New England farmer may have been no more sensible than that of a transient journeyman tinker, but the chances are that it was cast more sensibly and would have been far harder to manipulate or buy than a drunken bum's or a petty criminal's.

The *responsible* citizenry, then, were seen as the fountainhead of governmental power and authority, and the law of the land, essentially, was no more than a contract between all responsible citizens. The government itself was simply the instrumentality to which they delegated certain of their powers, and the relationship was not conceived to be basically antagonistic; they were not *subject* to their government; they were not the ruled and their government was not the ruler; they *were* the government; that, at least, was the ideal. The adversary concept belonged not among free Americans, who either had been born to a heritage of freedom or else had crossed the ocean seeking it, but to the subject populations of continental Europe, some of them scarcely out of serfdom, and many not even dreaming of self-rule.

One measure of the degree to which the framers of the Constitution trusted the responsible individual citizen is their often expressed distrust of standing armies, which they regarded as the always potential instruments of tyranny. Another is the Second Amendment, which, as we have seen, is now being given "mod" interpretations never imagined by its originators, interpretations that have their origin neither in English common law nor in our American tradition, but rather in the ways of thinking native to Mitteleuropa and points east, where government had been the average man's natural enemy, something imposed upon him from *above*.

In the American view, ideally, the first ten amendments did not constitute a *grant* of rights to the citizen. Instead, like the constitution, the Bill of Rights was actually a compact between free individual citizens, *affirming* the rights each man was considered to possess, guaranteeing the possession and enjoyment of these rights to one another, and carefully spelling out what the government, as an instrument of the will of free citizens, would and would not be allowed to do. It is interesting to note that, in this interpretation, the individual criminal or the criminal gang (even when not politically motivated) is just as capable of violating "civil rights" as is the state; any victim of a murder, a rape, a burglary, a mugging, or a "protest" riot has had his or her civil rights—the right to be secure in person or property—violated just as certainly as a victim of illegal arrest, unwarranted police violence, or prejudice in employment. This is scarcely a position acceptable to the ACLU, an organization that, consciously or not, espouses the adversary idea of the citizen-government relationship and is quite unable to get excited about cities turned into jungles, streets unsafe even in daylight, police who cannot even protect themselves, and a court system designed for maximum confusion and delay (and a maximum profit for lawyers).

The ACLU position has, unhappily, been generally adopted by the mass news-entertainment media, and increasingly by the country as a whole. Partly this is due to the degradation of the meaning of citizenship. (Sherrill says, in effect, that we are a nation of irresponsibles and that we will never change, in direct contrast to the message of Bill Davidson's book, which is that we must and can again become a land of responsible men.) At present, literally no responsibilities are demanded of the citizen—except of course that if he is industrious he must pay his taxes; he need demonstrate no qualifications for the exercise of the franchise, except residence, and even this has been attacked; Jacksonian democracy, carried to its extreme by left-leaning liberals, has given the powers of citizenship to millions of irresponsibles who make no effort to understand the nature of those powers, and by doing so has effectively alienated millions of responsible citizens from their government, making them distrustful of each other and of each other's groups, and rendering them vulnerable, not only to divisive and destructive totalitarian propaganda, but to what is essentially an authoritarian picture of the citizen-government relationship—a picture echoing the memory of czars and commisars, serfdom and subjection, pogroms, summary seizures, and arbitrary judgments without appeal.

The "gun control" campaign shows very clearly how this works. It has been given new impetus recently by the unprecedented increase of violent crime throughout the country, by assassinations and attempted assassinations, and by hideous terrorist violence in many lands. The logic behind its simplistic argument at first glance seems plausible: take the guns away and nobody will be able to shoot anybody or use a gun to hold up or kidnap or terrorize anybody; and generally the media do not look beyond that argument to read its corollary, that we are no longer viewed as free, responsible citizens, that we no longer *are* the government, which now has a new identity (Big Brother, if you will), and that the powers we once delegated to government now belong to *it* and *not to us*—for the essence of "gun control," demonstrated in every nation that has adopted it, is that the individual cannot be trusted with that fundamental right of the free citizen, the right to protect himself, his family, his property, and if necessary his nation, and that therefore he must surrender his personal weapons, and that right with them, to the police and to the military—in other words, to agencies of Big Brother.

The Second Amendment states: "A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, *shall not be infringed.*" (Italics mine.) When this was written, its meaning was completely clear. "Militia," then, had not acquired its present connotation of a permanently and formally recognized semistanding army, like our federalized National Guard. Yet this is how some of our courts, many of our politicians, and most media men now interpret it. If we accept this, we are saying that the free American citizen enjoys the right to keep and bear arms to exactly the same extent as the citizens of Hitler's Germany, of Communist Russia and its vassal states, of Red China, and of every scurvy little military dictatorship in the so-called Third World. They too can keep and bear arms, *if* they meet Big Brother's standards of physical condition, age, sex, conduct, and *belief.*

That is scarcely what the Founding Fathers had in mind.

Today, we are being told that the right was granted originally only so that a trained militia could be raised when necessary, and that Big Brother's superweapons and standing armies now make this impractical and indeed *un*necessary. This is an outrageous distortion of what the amendment says and means, for—again—there is nothing in it about *granting* the right, which was generally accepted as one of the inherent rights of free men. (It was so incorporated in the constitution of New Hampshire, which antedates the U.S. Constitution.) The operative phrase, actually, is the one I have italicized: ... *shall not be infringed.*

You cannot *infringe* a right unless it already exists, and unless its existence is accepted as a fact.

Very well, then, can "gun control" accomplish what its sponsors say it will? It cannot. "Gun control" is a deceptively plausible PR phrase—as plausible as "prohibition," as plausible as "disarmament." (We all know how effective prohibition was, and we have only to remember that the hundreds of treaties, thousands of conferences, and billions of words devoted to disarmament since Czar Alexander II convened the first such conference in St. Petersburg nearly a hundred years ago have resulted in nothing more tangible than the very dubious outlawing of the dumdum bullet. It is impossible to disarm a technological society physically even if it wants to be disarmed.)

What the "gun control" campaign really is accomplishing, besides its perversion of consitutional meanings and American attitudes, is the creation of a smokescreen to conceal the forces mainly responsible for our wave of violent crime, the people who profit from that wave, and those who hope to exploit the alienation and anarchy it is breeding. The extreme left and its liberal sycophants have, of course, a political goal in mind. Criminal elements look to "gun control" to enhance their freedom and their power, especially in the greater cities. But there are two even more potent elements who profit constantly from crime and criminal violence:

"The two words 'gun control' present us instantly with a totally false concept and a totally false promise."

our sensation-peddling mass media on the one hand, and the legal profession on the other. Men tend to vote their own interests, even when moralizing against them, and both the mass media and the lawyers are guilty in this regard, the media by overpublicizing violence and making public heroes out of the violent (Patty Hearst take witness), and the lawyers simply because to a great many of them a criminal is a very valuable property, and an involved, nearly inert judicial system an instrument for enhancing his value to the limit (F. Lee Bailey take the stand).

But the price of de-emphasizing and de-dramatizing violent crime and expediting the processing and punishment of violent criminals would be too high. Too many fat incomes would be reduced, too many brilliant or promising careers ended, and too many felonious little plans—private and political—frustrated.

To the men behind the "gun control" campaign, it is far more practical to disarm the responsible citizen, to erode the Second Amendment in their own interest, just as they have already eroded the responsibilities of citizenship; and if they succeed in this, then they can proceed against the other rights we once guaranteed each other.

Haven't they already started?■

Theory of Racial Harmony

By Alvin Rabushka

Race and Economics

By Thomas Sowell

Reviewed by Susan Love Brown / *A Theory of Racial Harmony* / University of South Carolina Press, 1974 / $5.95 / *Race and Economics* / McKay, 1975 / $3.95 pb, $9.95 hc

To solve a problem, one must analyze it and understand it. Too often, the problems of racial minorities have not been given this due consideration. Dispassionate judgment has too often been supplanted by emotional conjecture. Let us look at two books that have managed *not* to fall into this trap.

In *A Theory of Racial Harmony,* Alvin Rabushka presents a cogent argument for his thesis: "Under conditions of voluntary exchange in free markets, racial tensions and conflicts are kept to a minimum."

In order to lend credence to his point, Rabushka, a political scientist at the University of Rochester and a specialist in multi-ethnic societies, explains the functioning of the market. He begins with such basic concepts as preference, scarcity, competition, cost, substitutability, and self-interest. There is also an extended discussion of the theory of public goods and the way in which it is used to justify further encroachment of governments upon the private sector.

> "The 'logic of racial harmony' is to be found in the marketplace . . . ."

The "logic of racial harmony" is to be found in the marketplace: "Ghazali lives in the Malayan countryside in a riverside village . . . . Wong, on the other hand, lives in a bustling, noisy, and overcrowded city . . . . In the marketplace all of the Wongs and Ghazalis, and the Ramasamys in Malaya's multiracial society can compare their personal valuations with each other for the goods and services offered for sale."

Multi-racial societies of relatively little conflict *have* existed, examples being colonies of Great Britain in which the government was impartial and which were all "large, free port societies with low rates of personal taxation."

The "logic of racial conflict" is usually exhibited in these same colonies *after* independence from Britain and the subsequent abandonment of free market decision-making and the adoption of political decision-making. In short, governments take resources from the public, lack the knowledge to be able to allocate these resources efficiently, fail to provide public goods efficiently with administrative and policing costs exceeding the benefits of their intervention, and consume private economic resources. Those benefited are members of the racial group currently in power. The losers in every case are the members of racial minorities who finance not only these government activities but also their own oppression by government.

Race and Economics by UCLA Professor Thomas Sowell is an exciting work largely because it achieves what its author set out to do: deal with minority progress in cause-and-effect terms. "More important than any particular theory of ethnic minority progress is the testing of all theories against fact," says Sowell. "Obvious as this may seem, it has been widely disregarded in practice."

Sowell explores American slavery, giving a brief history of the phenomenon and a comparison with slavery in other times and other places. We learn about the economic progress of free blacks before and after the Civil War and also what emancipation held in store for former slaves.

The second part of *Race and Economics* is devoted to immigrant minorities of the nineteenth century (Jews, Irish, and Italians) and the twentieth century (Japanese-Americans, West Indians, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican-Americans). This study in combination with what we have already learned about American blacks yields many interesting conclusions: that each minority in its time experienced similar deprivations (slum and ghetto living, high crime rates, high death rates, and animosity from the majority); that economic progress varied among minority groups depending on their preparation for the urban experience into which they were thrust; that self-reliance, work skills, education, and business experience are the factors most commonly found conducive to economic progress; and that success in the political arena does not necessarily make for economic advancement.

But these are just a *few* of the important facts brought to light. The individual minority histories themselves are fascinating and offer opportunities to broaden understanding of minority progress; they testify that problems of minorities are much more complex and involve many more factors than the prejudice of the majority.

Perhaps the most important fact that we should keep in mind is that "*all* American ethnic minorities show unmistakable signs of economic progress, and those minorities commonly thought of as "disadvantaged' or 'problem' minorities have advanced not only absolutely but relative to the American population as a whole."

This book is most important to those who will probably never read it—bureaucrats and social workers. Helping people should not entail minimizing progress that they *have* made or hanging negative labels on them. It should not involve consuming their energies in measures that are primarily political, while detracting from economic endeavors, for where this has been the case, minorities have prospered little.■

Briefly IN REVIEW

The Peter Plan: A Proposal for Survival

By Laurence J. Peter

"Perhaps the most generous thing to be said about *The Peter Plan* is that its intentions are good. Peter's peppery wit and impish spirit are nearly self-defeating. He has a number of original, intelligent, and serious things to say about surviving in the future, but his message is obscured by his too numerous and distracting quotations, his playful and silly names, his tendency to ramble all over the place in his reasoning, and his peculiar blend of cynicism and idealism—all of which failed him, by the way, in *The Peter Prescription*. . . . "—A.J. Anderson in *Library Journal* / **Social Science / Morrow, 1976 / $6.95**

You Can Profit From the Coming Mideast War

By John Dublin

"Dublin's book presents a number of speculations which were profitable because of the last Middle East War. He discusses opportunities in the plywood, lumber, vegetable oils, crude petroleum, foreign currencies, propane, petrochemicals and cotton markets. He has some interesting thoughts in the context of profiting from another 'hot' war in the Middle East. This 'how to' book is not for the novice trader-speculator, but there are some solid ideas here to be developed by the experienced or well-advised trader.

"In spite of essentially correct analyses of some of his chosen markets, notably plywood, lumber and petroleum, there are numerous factual errors in the commodity presentation. Unfortunately, many examples are underdeveloped, and the evaluation of the Mexican peso market is questionable. There are some statistical errors in the margin amounts and contract sizes, which further detract from his exposition.

"On balance, Dublin's book is not only recommended reading, but it is a *must.* It coincides completely with my feeling that in the coming years, it is not the long-term investor, but rather the speculator who will profit from the wide swings of the markets and the changing economic conditions in the world. I would highly recommend this book, but with the proviso that you do additional research on your own through reliable sources before you act on its speculative recommendations."—Walter Perschke in *Inflation Survival Letter* / **Investment / Dublin Publishing, 1976 / $10**

Government by Gunplay

Edited by H. Hazijian, S. Blumenthal and the Assassination Information Bureau

"A citizens' group dedicated to researching alleged political conspiracies, the Assassination Information Bureau here presents position papers that in most cases are so well documented, so connected and in context that you sit up and take note. From the killing of JFK to the role of the media during Watergate, the questions posed by these pieces are another reminder of how successfully news may be withheld or only partially reported. In one article an optics expert comments on his 10-year study of the Zapruder film, in another a former congressman reviews the ballistics report on the RFK assassination. Other pieces discuss the murder of Martin Luther King, the shooting of George Wallace. Not all the conspiracy evidence presented is equally convincing but informed readers will reach their own conclusions." —*Publishers Weekly* / **Politics & Conspiracy / Signet, 1976 / $1.50 pb**

The Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956, Parts III & IV

By Alexandr I. Solzhenitsyn

"Continuing his horror story of the Russian penal system under Stalin, Solzhenitsyn shows what happens to the political prisoner after he has survived his interrogation and is sent to serve the standard 10 years in a forced-labor camp. . . . We see the unrealistic deadlines the slaves were forced to meet, the starvation rations, the relentless cruelty. All that free labor should have meant an economic bonanza for the U.S.S.R., but such a huge force of guards and adminstrators was needed and there was so much corruption in the system that most of the projects were financial disasters. We see how the women and children fared in the camps and how vicious criminals with light sentences were used to terrorize the politicals. . . . This is numbingly painful reading, but it is a book that had to be written."—*Publishers Weekly* / **The State / Harper & Row, 1975 / $2.50 pb, $15 hc**

Shock Treatment Is Not Good for Your Brain

By John Friedberg

"Here we have a bold, courageous, and long overdue attack on a common psychiatric practice—electroconvulsive shock treatment (ECT). Neurologist Friedberg has a captivating writing style. He conducted 15 interviews with persons who had experienced ECT, and discusses seven of these in detail in the book. Actual dialogue enchances the presentations and offers insight into the feelings and viewpoints of persons who have undergone this type of treatment. The appendixes contain capsule descriptions for the lay reader of the variety of shock procedures as well as a detailed compilation of statements about ECT by authorities in the field. . . ."—Beatrice J. Kalisch in *Library Journal* / **Psychology-Medicine / Glide, 1976 / $6.95**

Thinking About Crime

By James Q. Wilson

Punishing Criminals

By Ernest van den Haag

Reviewed by Bill McIlhany / *Thinking About Crime* / **Basic Books, 1975 / $10** / *Punishing Criminals* / **Basic Books, 1975 / $10.95**

It is always encouraging to read rational conclusions from the academic world, even though so long in coming. Particularly interesting are conclusions from representatives of the empiricist realm of the social sciences concerning the causes of criminal actions and the way criminals should be treated in a free society. Professors Wilson of Harvard and van den Haag of New York University have a great deal to say on these subjects that is true.

In an enlargement on earlier published essays, Wilson manages well to refute with much data and reasoning most of the widespread myths held by "liberals" with regard to the causes of crime and the issues of punishment and rehabilitation. He reviews the extensive historical evidence that indicates the existence of punishment of criminals tends to deter some potential criminals from violating the law. The data is consistently clear on this fact, he shows, with the possible exception of capital punishment as a deterrent for murder and other serious crimes. The problem here is that in numerous states that still have capital punishment on the books, no one has been executed for years. Thus, empirical data correlating capital punishment in a state with that state's violent crime rate is misleading.

> "It is always encouraging to read rational conclusions from the academic world, even though so long in coming."

Wilson is careful to point out that punishment, as a deterrent, can only influence future crime rates if it is employed now; it cannot erase our current epidemic level of violent crime. He notes that the mere existence of more police, courts, and prisons does not deter potential criminals, contrary to what some "conservatives" suggest. It is the active enforcement of punishment, however, that does.

Wilson's other major attack is on the "liberal" thesis that poverty and other social and economic "forces" cause crimes. Thus, "society" is responsible for the criminal's actions because "it" deprived him of what he needed. And rather than further cruelty in the form of punishment, the criminal really needs the positive provision of various services to rehabilitate him into a good citizen. Aside from dismissing the rank behavioral determinism in this notion, Wilson shows that all of it is undermined by the record.

All nations, regardless of economic and political systems, suffer from rising crime rates. In the United States, crime rates have soared during times of increased economic prosperity and increased federal welfare programs that supposedly eradicate the economic conditions that "cause" crime. Wilson is quick to point out the reality that today's prisons do not rehabilitate their inmates. But that does not mean prisons serve no useful function; they do isolate convicted criminals from more potential victims. Wilson, most remarkably, proves that some sociologists, zealously devoted to perpetuating these myths, have actually falsified data to buttress their attack on the deterrence and advocacy of rehabilitation in the absence of any hard evidence.

Whereas Wilson's selection of subject matter is within, admittedly, a rather limited range, Professor van den Haag not only confirms his major conclusions with additional data, but also surveys many of the broader philosophical issues associated with criminal justice.

Van den Haag goes beyond proving that the imposition of punishment *that fits the crime* does deter *future* criminal actions. He discusses a number of important related problems.

Although serious or severe punishment does deter, it is useless unless it becomes popular with the majority of citizens who serve on juries and determine the fate of the accused. Most of those citizens have not been victims of serious crime, because usually it is repeatedly inflicted on prior victims, a minority of the general population.

Van den Haag is more sure than Wilson that capital punishment is an effective deterrent. An obvious corollary to this is the fact that persons serving life sentences in states where there is no death penalty have nothing to deter them from killing again. Although imprisonment for the noncrime of drug addiction is probably unjust and certainly does not assist the addict in any rehabilitative manner, van den Haag shows that it does tend to discourage others from destroying themselves with narcotics.

Attending much more than Wilson to related questions in the philosophy of law, van den Haag stresses the fact of free will as the basis of personal responsibility before the law, although he admits poor people have fewer alternatives and much less to lose.

Although both authors have made very valuable contributions by proving the case for the consistent enforcement of commensurate criminal punishment as a deterrent to future crime, whether in the context of today's "humane" system of imprisonment or the alternate and older institution of retributive justice, corporal punishment, I have several reservations about the works of both authors that will probably also occur to other libertarian readers.

On the whole, Wilson and van den Haag show consistency in dealing with the major issues they discuss; however, there are some very annoying brief digressions that indicate sloppy thinking, notably Wilson's weak advocacy of "rather complete citizen disarmament," which would mean a monopoly of weapons in the hands of the state.

> "I regret that both authors overwhelmingly stress the social utility or political usefulness of criminal punishment rather than adopting the natural law or constitutionalist view . . . ."

I regret that both authors overwhelmingly stress the social utility or political usefulness of criminal punishment rather than adopting the natural law or constitutionalist view that justice requires restitution by the criminal to his victim of what has been damaged or stolen, and when that is impossible by the nature of the crime (murder and rape are obvious examples), then an equal forfeiting of the criminal's rights or values, as retribution for the deed, is logically required. The authors pay little or no attention to a perspective of inherent transactional justice between the criminal and his victim as an alternative to today's senseless jargon of "one's debt to society," and van den Haag is rather hostile to retribution as uncivilized vengeance. These inconsistent positions seem to derive from what is obviously taken for granted by the authors: the positivist view that laws are nothing more than edicts by those in government proscribing certain socially destructive actions as criminal and imposing threatened penalties for same in order to prod people into behaving as they should.

Unfortunately, many laws, particularly in the area of "victimless crime," fit this description. But Wilson and van den Haag are left with little hope for the realization of justice on earth because they have no clear definition of it derived from the individual rights characteritic of human nature.

My final objection to both books—which I still strongly urge you read—is that neither author personally indicts those in and out of government who have been promoting policies that have strongly, if indirectly, encouraged our epidemic crime rate, policies based on the notions both authors prove groundless. This certainly is a relevant concern, for that rising crime rate is now being, and has been, used as the excuse by those in government for the "solution" of more police-state controls all around us.■

Washington Watch

By E. Scott Royce

●**Marijuana Decriminalization**—Marijuana offenses may be prosecuted under federal as well as state law, and the Controlled Substances Act of 1970 provides for punishment of up to one year in jail and a $5000 fine. Rep. Ed Koch (D-NY) and Sen. Jacob Javits (R-NY) have introduced legislation (H.R. 6108, S.1450) that would limit federal penalties for possession to a maximum $100 civil fine. While this is a step in the right direction, a better bill is H.R. 4520, also introduced by Koch, which eliminates all penalties for minor marijuana offenses. The House measures have been bottled up in the Subcommittee on Health and Environment. Letters to Subcommittee Chairman Paul Rogers (D-Fla.) urging him to hold hearings on these bills would be most helpful.

●**Congressional Salaries**—By a one-vote margin (214-213) the House approved in July 1975 a bill that hiked members' pay 5 percent immediately and provided for automatic cost-of-living increases at regular intervals in the future. Rep. Charles Grassley (R-Iowa) and over 75 of his colleagues have sponsored legislation to repeal the automatic pay hike provision. No action is currently scheduled, but a discharge petition—a mechanism whereby the bill can be brought directly to the floor despite committee obstructionism—has been filed. The next pay raise is scheduled to go into effect in October, and as the deadline approaches, the issue should heat up. Urge your congressman to sign Discharge Petition No. 7.

●**Full Employment**—The Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1976, introduced by Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Rep. Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.), calls for reduction of the national unemployment rate to 3 percent—with the federal government providing jobs for those who want to work but supposedly can't find positions in the private sector. The measure, if passed, would be wildly inflationary, and this fact seems to have sunk in with the growing number of prominent liberal economists—like Charles Schulze, Arthur Okun, James Tobin, and Otto Eckstein—who are joining conservatives in criticizing it.

●**"Sunset" Laws**—In April, Colorado became the first state to pass a "sunset" law—legislation requiring periodic reevaluation of state agencies and elimination of those not specifically reauthorized by the legislature. A bipartisan group of U.S. senators led by Ed Muskie (D-Me.) and including such conservatives as William Roth (D-Del.) and Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) has proposed doing the same thing on the national level. Their bill, S. 2927, calls for reauthorization or termination at least every four years of all but a few specifically exempted programs—like Social Security and Medicare. It looks like a good idea, but Congress should take the advice of Roy Ash, former director of the Office of Management and Budget, who told the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee earlier this year, "Don't wait for legislation," get to work on reevaluation *now*.

●**Psychosurgery**—Dr. Peter Breggin and others have effectively attacked the practice of psychosurgery in recent years, and Rep. Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) has introduced legislation (H.R. 10699) to prohibit it in federally connected health care facilities. Stokes notes that psychosurgery is a highly experimental procedure with no proven therapeutic value and an "awesome potential as a tool for the social and political repression of minority groups, political dissenters and the poor."

●**Phone Company Competition**—Congress is currently embroiled in a "great debate" over the phone company "monopoly" question. At issue is whether to overturn rulings by the FCC, which regulates interstate phone service, enabling nonindustry companies to sell varieties of business phone equipment and specialized business message services now provided primarily by "Ma Bell" and its independent allies. AT&T, recognizing that competition may cut into its profits, has encouraged Sen Vance Hartke (D-Ind.) and Rep. Teno Roncalio (D-Wyo.) to introduce the so-called Consumer Communications Reform Act (S. 3192, H.R. 12323), which would effectively squelch the budding competition. This legislation is currently stalled in committee, but its broad support, particularly in the House, makes it a real threat.

●**Wiretapping/Criminal Code Reform**—While opponents have succeeded in slowing the movement of the highly controversial criminal code reform bill (S.1) toward passage in the Senate, proponents of the legislation seem to be attempting to pass it on a piecemeal basis. S. 3197, introduced by Senators Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Roman Hruska (R-Neb.), would permit federal wiretapping against anyone alleged to have contact with an individual involved in "clandestine intelligence activity"—a phrase that is not clarified further. Sound familiar? It should; as the *New York Times* noted, the same rationale was used to justify FBI bugging of Martin Luther King. Civil liberties groups have urged that letters and telegrams in opposition be sent to Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.), chairman of the subcommittee that is holding hearings on the measure.

●**Occupational Safety and Health**—"OSHA," Rep. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) recently remarked, "after terrorizing small businesses throughout the country, has turned its attention on yet another segment of our economy . . . farmers." Harkin went on to damn an OSHA pamphlet which contained such words of wisdom as: "When floors are wet and slippery from manure, you could have a bad fall." OSHA also proposed that every farm be equipped with at least one toilet facility for every 40 employees or fraction thereof, and that such a facility be located within a five minute walk of each individual's place of work in the field. The cost of this study ran in the neighborhood of $119,000. Write your "representatives" in Congress and urge them to abolish OSHA now!

●**UN Genocide Treaty**—Buried for over 20 years in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, this international agreement's ratification was blocked by a filibuster in 1974. It is dangerously vague and has vast potential for overriding constitutional liberties. It is vital that the Senate again decline to approve it. For more background information, see my article in *Human Events*, 12 June 1976.

●**Gold-Clause Contracts**—Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) has introduced S. 3563, a bill calling for the removal of all legal obstacles to gold-clause contracts. Congress has legalized private ownership of gold; passage of the Helms bill is another logical step on the road back to a sound American currency.

●**Write Your "Representatives" in Washington**—To contact senators or congressmen on the above or other matters, simply address an envelope to "The Honorable ——" (whether he or she is or not), U.S. Senate or U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC (Senate ZIP 20510, House ZIP 20515). For the best effect, letters should be courteous, concise, and confined to a single subject. ■

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Does Socialism Liberate Women? By Hilda Scott

Reviewed by William Danks / Beacon, 1974 / $7.95

To the libertarian, of course, the answer to this book's title question is an obvious and resounding *no!* Statism—of whatever variety—can hardly *liberate* anyone. Though for primarily *non*libertarian reasons, and despite the author's prosocialistic leanings, she's forced to answer her question in the negative as well.

Hilda Scott lived for many years in Czechoslovakia. She appears well versed in the primary source materials for her study, and her notes list a number of Czech and Slovak articles with English translations of their titles. She remembers childhood impressions of newspaper accounts of "Soviet women in white uniforms bending over infants in *creches,* as they were then called. This solved everything, it seemed to me then and I resolved to have many children and combine them with a career." Though she has modified this vision in later life, the connection between socialism and feminism seems to remain in her mind.

The book covers such interesting matters as whether or not there is room at the top for women in socialist states, Engels and the rise and fall of the family, the first years of socialism in Czechoslovakia, why women work and whether they should, the "underpopulation" crisis, collective versus family care, and *can* women be free.

This last is the most important. Leading up to it, we are presented with a fairly accurate narrative of women and the state in Eastern Europe. Interestingly, however, though there is much discussion of political economy, there is *no* consideration of radicals such as Selucky, Vanek, or Garmarnikow, who take an antistatist, market view of socialist society. It would have been useful to view a study such as Micanic's "Economics of Socialism in a Developed Country" as an alternative model from which to consider the place of women. Of course, it would have been even more useful to look at some truly *contrasting* theory—say Hayek or Rothbard—to examine the efforts made thus far.

The value of Scott's concluding chapter is a *reverse* value; we learn and gain most from her numerous mistakes in analysis, rather than from the occasional (but obvious) truths.

For example, she writes that although "socialism has not yet succeeded in making women free and equal. . . in spite of shock and ridicule and with many sacrifices, this painful and laborious effort to put into practice a revolutionary concept of the position of women has kept alive for more than one hundred years ideas which are common currency among women's liberationists."

The shock and ridicule—and certainly the *sacrifice*—are real enough, but the "revolutionary concept" turns out to be politically far from revolutionary, and philosophically not much of a concept.

The ideas she refers to include such socialist cliches as the "dehumanizing influence of property relations"—a bromide surely refuted at least as early as Böhm-Bawerk in the last century. In more recent years, Mises and Rothbard have shown with startling clarity the very *humanizing* influence of property relations, especially as opposed to the *truly* dehumanizing influence of *political* relations.

Scott speaks contradictorily of "the liberating effect on women of economic independence"—under a government whose policies *destroy* all such independence. She realizes that "everyone in a socialist country knows that consumer goods are held in contempt only by those who already enjoy them." And that, "in conflict with the realities of her life, socialist woman attempts to exorcise the unresolved and at present unresolvable conflict between her rights and the limited possibilities of exercising them."

Scott realizes these things and yet can only come up with more of the same old, tired, failed socialism as a *solution,* as a *vision* for the future.

Me thinks a paradigm shift is called for here. Especially in regard to "class conflict"—an important concept in Scott's thinking—the libertarian paradigm is so much simpler and closer to reality than the socialist model. There are basically only two classes: the rulers and the ruled, or the state and the people. The use of *this* kind of class analysis, and the attendant revolutionary strategy it calls for, will result in a *flowering* of liberation—and for more than just women.

And for more than just Eastern Europe.■

CASSETTE TAPE

Three-Digit Inflation Ahead?

By Hans F. Sennholz

Reviewed by Douglas R. Casey / Tape 277 / 5½ hrs. / $32. Order from Audio-Forum, 901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314

I heard the speech Dr. Sennholz gave at the 1974 New Orleans Monetary Conference and was unimpressed; its content seemed vague, its delivery pedestrian, and its rhetoric repetitive. After the first five rather vague, pedestrian and repetitive minutes of this tape I feared the worst for the remaining five-plus hours; fortunately, however, my fears had as little grounding as the establishment economic policies that Sennholz demolishes with precision, verve, and dexterity. The speaker simply needs a bit of time to build momentum; as a result, the recording grows in wisdom and grace, not to mention fervor, as each minute goes by. Sennholz' pronounced Teutonic accent and inflection lend an evangelical flavor (which I like) to the presentation. Few, indeed too few, free market proponents have a flair for this kind of enthusiastic, rousing speech (C.V. Myers and Franz Pick are two who come to mind), but Dr. Sennholz is the most scholarly of the group. He exhibits just what is needed—the substance of Ludwig von Mises couched in the rhetoric of Elmer Gantry.

> "...the substance of this tape is absolutely superb."

And the substance of this tape is absolutely superb. The speaker directs great attention to the problems of productivity, capital formation, wage rates, unemployment and unionism—all of which are closely related, but not, unfortunately, in ways that 99 out of 100 people understand. Sennholz builds his case for a massive economic depression on the theory (read: fact) that great masses of people are no longer producing new wealth, but are instead consuming wealth produced over the decades by their forefathers. This analysis is buttressed by the best explanation of the Great Depression I've heard. In fact, this section is so good I'd like to see a law passed that all political and labor leaders must listen to it until a *Clockwork Orange*-like reaction is produced in them.

Dr. Sennholz feels, however, that it is already too late to turn the tide, by whatever means; he feels the political and sociological realities are such that a grim future is assured, and close at hand. He expects 1976 to be wrought with economic crises, 1977 to feature massive civil tumult, and a new currency and popularly elected dictatorship to be established by 1980. His reasons for believing these things are convincing and his time-table clearly compels a sense of urgency.

I listened to the tape for a solid five and a half hours late one Sunday night, and at its end, applauded his command performance. I believe you will, too.■

Libertarian Cross Currents

By Walter E. Grinder

•The increasing participation of workers in managerial decisions is an idea that has swept Europe and is rapidly becoming a force to be reckoned with in the United States. **David Henderson,** assistant professor of economics at the University of Rochester's Graduate School of Management (Wilson Blvd., Rochester, NY 14627) was interviewed on the question in the Rochester *Democrat & Chronicle* (11 July 1976). Henderson articulated what seems to be the reasonable, libertarian viewpoint. First, that there is nothing whatever wrong with workers and owners getting together on a voluntary basis in order to determine business policy. Second, however, Henderson concludes that such arrangements will be unlikely to last long unless enforced by the long arm of the State. This argument is, of course, based on the familiar thesis of Professors **R.H. Coase, Harold Demsetz,** and **Armen Alchian,** but it is great to see a bright young libertarian star like Henderson pursuing the logic vigorously against the onslaught of the new government-enforced worker's control movement.

•Speaking of Rochester: Dr. **John T. Sanders** has received an appointment beginning this fall to the Department of Humanities at Rochester Institute of Technology (One Lomb Memorial Drive, Rochester, NY 14623) as an assistant professor of philosophy. He will also be the chairman of the Division of Philosophy. Sanders recently finished his doctorate in philosophy at Boston University under the guidance of Dr. **Paul Segal.** His dissertation was entitled *The Ethical Argument Against Government.*

•After one wades through the "head" and rock articles (all of which are technically well done), one finds that *Rolling Stone* is consistently one of the best investigative and muckraking periodicals around. Two cases in point: First, in the 20 May issue see "Strange Bedfellows: The Hughes-Nixon-Lansky Connection: The Secret Alliances of the CIA from WWII to Watergate" by Howard Kohn. This is the first time I have seen all of the pieces fitted together in such a compellingly reasonable fashion. One new point was particularly intriguing, i.e., the alleged relationship between Allen Dulles (CIA), the Syndicate, and the presidential campaign of Thomas Dewey. I would like to see further documentation on this astounding disclosure. Second, on another topic that should be of interest to libertarians, see "Pat Moynihan: Ruling-Class Hero" by Timothy Crouse. I particularly liked the editor's choice of a quote of Moynihan's to exerpt: ". . . most politicians have a right to feel morally superior to their constituencies." This is really investigative journalism at its very best.

•**Joseph L. Castrovinci,** doctoral student in the History Department of the University of Chicago is clearly one of the best of a growing number of young libertarian historians. For a recent scholarly contribution, see his "Prelude to Welfare Capitalism: The Role of Business in the Enactment of Workmen's Compensation Legislation in Illinois, 1905-12" in *The Social Science Review,* March 1976. Castrovinci shows that businessmen, far from being opposed to the adoption of workman's compensation legislation, were actually in the forefront of the movement. Why? The answer is, unsurprisingly, money. The costs of individual claims for injury which were being handled in the normal tort process were rising. Workman's compensation legislation was a way to "socialize" the costs, i.e., place the burden on the public at large, and, just as important, to "rationalize" the payment process by substituting an adminstrative agency for the far more libertarian common law tort procedures.

•**Karl Hess** was interviewed in *Playboy,* July 1976. The interview is an interesting integration of Hess' unusual biography and his shifting ideological growth—from right to left. Hess has more to offer libertarians than do many, but his new-found anarcho-egalitarianism leads him into a utopian corner from which meaningful strategy for social transformation seems all but impossible. Nevertheless, the interview makes for both good and useful reading.

•The October issue of *Penthouse* will carry an in-depth interview with Murray N. Rothbard (and about time, too). Rothbard was interviewed by **James Dale Davidson.** Buy it, read it, and then spread it around!

•The hottest book in libertarian circles since Robert Nozick's *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* is undoubtedly **Walter Block**'s controversial *Defending the Undefendable* (Fleet Press, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010, $9.95). This is a book about which it seems hard to be ambivalent. Most people I have talked to about it either love it or hate it. Nevertheless I am extremely ambivalent about the book. I am in full agreement with the twofold thesis of the book: (1) that all voluntary social relationships, both economic and noneconomic, must be tolerated by the law in a free society, and (2) that insofar as nonaggressive professions are held illegal, those who practice them in spite of the law have about them an aura of the heroic. If their professions were legal, as indeed they should be, there would be absolutely *nothing* heroic about them.

This beings me to my feeling of ambivalence. The book is, for the most part, ideologically sound, but I am con-

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AN AFTERWORD FROM Readers, Authors, Reviewers

Troglo-Libertarianism

Apparently Petr Beckmann can rationalize the contradiction of being a libertarian and advocating nuclear power. [See *LR,* May-June '76, p. 12.–*Ed.*] But what an odd libertarian he must be, for nuclear power is not possible without that arch oppressor, the State. Even if Mr. Beckmann was of that peculiar race: a libertarian who supports limited government, the contradiction remains because nuclear power requires the State in its grandest, most opulent and oppressive form. Here's why:

Nuclear power is the fruit of one of the latest and most complicated technologies. However, technology itself is necessarily destructive of liberty. It is the means by which fictional persons (like the State and its clients, the corporations, institutions, bureaus, collectives, etc.) exploit the environment. The more elaborate and complex the technology, the greater and more insidious is the threat to liberty.

When the person exploits the environment, he is using technique, not technology. You say the two are the same! But, they are not. They are antagonistic.

Technology requires the concentration of resources to carry out its mammoth research, development and construction. It requires control of the market to guarantee a return on the vast capital outlay. It requires a uniform, dependent consumer who is susceptible to the phantasmagoria of advertising. It develops a complicated and mystified process that is out of scale and out of the control of the person.

Technique requires none of these things.

Technology requires privilege to carry out its grand designs, and as we libertarians all know, the State, with its monopoly on terror, is the broker of privilege. Petr Beckman argues for the greater oppression of the State when he argues for nuclear power. He would put off that day when the person identifies his own problems and designs his own solutions to them. The person in a libertarian society may or may not identify energy as a problem, but if he does, nuclear power will not be the solution.

WALTER R. CARROLL
Fort Montgomery, N.Y.

Technology is tools, the means whereby we survive–and prosper. *A stone axe is technology, so is a nuclear-electric powerplant.*

There is no necessary connection between the State and technology. Tools can be used or misused, developed by free men to satisfy their needs and desires or forced into existence by the State to serve the interests of its clients.

While it is true that the American nuclear power industry as it exists today is largely the product of political–State–decisions and actions, there is absolutely no reason why such high technology would not/could not be developed in a libertarian society. In fact, there is every reason to believe that had nuclear power research and development gone forward unshackled by statist edicts, we would now be far ahead of where we are, perhaps even phasing in fusion *power–virtually unlimited energy with next to no negative impact on the environment.*

One doesn't have to live (die) naked in a cave to be a libertarian.–KTP

Hoaxter?

At the risk of being identified a hoaxter (having supported the Nuclear Safeguard Initiative in California), I take exception to Petr Beckmann's roundhouse castigations of those who have grave doubts about the spread of commercial fission power. I do not propose to defend Ehrlich or any other of Beckmann's bete noirs. However, it is unfair to represent all nuclear "debaters" as ignorant technophobes insensitive to economic and social pressures.

Beckmann seems to view fission power as the modern industrial genie, the brainchild of American free enterprise. In reality, fission power has been a government-funded, -promoted, and -regulated technological nostrum. We are given the claim that fission power saved the consumer $740 million in utility expenses last year. Considering the budget for ERDA (nee AEC) over the same period was $1.4 *billion,* it is questionable whether one can say the nuclear program has resulted in a *net savings* to anyone. Furthermore, when Beckmann *et al.* sing the praises of "safe" nuclear power, the utilities still hide under the umbrella of the Price-Anderson Act–which sets a *ceiling* on the legal liability for a nuclear accident. No *private* insurance company would cover fission powerplants at the low premiums provided by the Price-Anderson exemption.

The promiscuous and premature advancement of fission power seems evident through the incidents at the Fermi and Browns Ferry stations–where management oversights, construction errors, and design shortcomings all played their part to initiate core melt-down sequences. Recently, an inspector of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission resigned on conscientious grounds because *he* was dissatisfied with NRC's concern for operational safety.

And waste disposal? This very minute, many hundreds of thousands of gallons of boiling radioactives are stored in leaky underground tanks at Hanford, Washington. (A major leak has already happened there.) The only waste solidification plant now operational is in Idaho, processing essentially pilot quantities of wastes. When the federal government hasn't yet disposed of *its* 30-year backlog of military wastes (there is no private waste processing), it is somewhat optimistic of Beckmann to assert we have a functioning waste-disposal system. Moreover, a crucial point is being disregarded: continued fission power is a hoax unless it relies on breeder-reactor technology–a technology that is entirely untested for commercial purposes. (Presently used U-235 is in short supply and will become prohibitively expensive within decades.)

Beckmann is asking libertarians to swallow a rather large apple by suggesting we rely on the wisdom and vigilance of government agencies whose *self-interest* is furthered by proliferation of fission power. I would ask *why* Beckmann is so zealous about meeting the projected "need" for commercial fission power. I do not believe such growth can continue unbounded without disastrous consequences; Beckmann evidently holds otherwise.

Once upon a time, Rand blessed the soot billowing from industrial smokestacks. I should hope Beckmann is above such short-sighted glorification of industrial might.

MIKE DUNN
Santa Barbara, Calif.

Christian Charity v. Altruism

With the indulgence of the editor of *Libertarian Review,* I should like to inquire of Mr. Riggenbach where in the works of C.S. Lewis one finds a defense–shrill, mellifluous, or otherwise–of altruism? [See Riggenbach's "Introduction to Imaginative Literature," *LR,* Jul.-Aug. '76.–*Ed.*] From his attacks on it in *The Screwtape Letters, The Great Di-*

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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.*

Cross-Currents— *(Continued from page 19)*

vinced that it is probably a short-run strategic disaster. One needs not only a steel will based on solid libertarian premises to accept Professor Block's message, but one needs a cast-iron stomach as well. Those whom Professor Block defends are often, if not usually, the dregs of society; we could even say the very scum of the earth. Admittedly, Block is defending functions, but obviously he is by implication defending something more, for a function cannot possibly be heroic, only the person fulfilling that function can be so. But just here is the rub. Those who usually fill such functions as pimp, prostitute *et al.* can almost always be counted on to be low-character, high-risk people who would likely fill any nonlegal and high-risk, lucrative and easy-life professions in *any* social setting. It is true, the professions defended by Block do increase utility and hence social welfare, and it is true that those who fill those positions are "heroic" only when placed in unfair confrontation with the State. But, is the general laymen—the person for whom the book was written—capable of or willing to make such fine distinctions?

I seriously doubt it. Is not one who is placed in the position of defending this book always going to end up having to defend these dregs to the satisfaction of the listener rather than defending the principle of nonaggressive socio-legal rationships? This seems to me to be an absolutely mad way of introducing someone to libertarianism. It is what one libertarian wag calls the "dare principle." The dare principle can be summed up as follows: One picks out the most extreme and outlandish illustration of the logic of the libertarian ethic and then goes to the unsuspecting layman and says, "I dare you to believe that we libertarians really believe this position." In many ways Professor Block's book is archetype of the dare principle—all of the various dare positions wrapped up into one mega-dare package.

It is easy to engage in Monday morning quarterbacking, but I genuinely think that this is the wrong book at the wrong time. (In saying this I realize that I am placing myself in opposition to numerous people whose judgement I value highly, viz. Professors Hayek, Rothbard, Nozick, Szasz, Messrs. Kephart and MacBride, and others.) Had Professor Block written a scholarly work complete with documentation and much legal precedent, surely the cause of liberty would have been better served.

I am, however, only short-run gloomy. I see the book as one step back and two steps forward. It will not play well in Peoria, but it will surely lead other scholars to take up each point raised by Block and set it into legal and historical perspective. In the years to come I foresee literally dozens of books and articles issuing forth because of the seminal work of Dr. Block. In the meantime, I suggest that every libertarian read and thoroughly digest the thesis of this important book (but please don't introduce your friends to libertarianism via this vehicle) and then develop that necessary cast-iron stomach to live with its basic truth. Accepting Block's thesis is going to be a major part of being a libertarian far into the foreseeable future.

•If the powers that be are interested in stopping inflation they should read *Choice in Currency: A Way to Stop Inflation* by **F.A. Hayek** (Institute of Economic Affairs, 2 Lord North Street, Westminster, London SW1P 3LB, £1). "The only hope for stable money and resistance to inflation is to protect money from politics by removing the power of government to require its citizens to use its money as the *only* legal tender." Such a move would likely usher back in the gold standard, balanced budgets, and fixed exchanges.

•Thanks to the energetic work of Harvard Law School student **Randy E. Barnett,** one of the great works of legal philosophy has been rediscovered by a growing number of libertarians. *The Morality of Law* by Harvard's Professor of Jurisprudence **Lon Fuller** (Yale University Press, paperback) is a must work for those interested in libertarian-anarchist legal systems. It outlines a concept of law which can be applied to a libertarian legal system. Fuller explicitly legitimizes "multiple legal systems" as law. Fuller stands in opposition to legal positivism (the law is what the State says it is). Also see Randy E. Barnett's "Fuller, Law and Anarchism," in *Libertarian Forum,* February 1976. In Barnett's review he brilliantly shows how Fuller's own valid principles lead to a happy conclusion that the State *qua* State is *illegal.*

•Often Austrian economists are unjustly accused of basing their argument for utility on the principles of psychology (von Wieser sometimes actually did, but he

Afterword—*(Continued from page 19)*

vorce, The Weight of Glory, Mere Christianity, and other works, I had rather thought that he opposed it.

I suspect Mr. Riggenbach, as so many others influenced by Ayn Rand, has confused Christian charity—which Lewis does champion—with altruism—which he does not champion. It is true that many Christian writers have not been altogether clear on this difference, but when an important Christian thinker such as C.S. Lewis does make the effort to explain the difference, it behooves intellectuals—whose task it is to make distinctions—to take note of the effort.

RONN NEFF
Alexandria, Va.

Riggenbach Replies

It is cheering to learn that Lewis was an advocate of Christian charity and not of altruism. But, as Mr. Neff acknowledges, the distinction is left rather to the imagination in many Christian works—including, I would say certain of Lewis' (see The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe, *the first of his Narnia books). If, in other of his works, Lewis clarifies his general approach to this distinction, that fact does not render the distinction clear in those of his works in which it is* not *so clarified. It is not possible to make book A clearer by writing another book, B, to explain its obscurities. Book A remains unclear; book B remains clear. And, unfortunately for writers who publish before troubling to learn how to say what they mean, the two books do not somehow become one. If the Christian charity exhibited in Lewis' Narnia books is indistinguishable* in those books *from altruism, I see no grounds for insisting that it is* not *altruism but instead Christian charity.*

JEFF RIGGENBACH
Los Angeles, Calif.

Authority v. Autonomy

George von Hilsheimer raises many interesting points in his review of Joel Spring's *Primer of Libertarian Education* (*LR,* May-June '76).

One of these points, however, conceals more than immediately meets the eye. The paragraph beginning "Pragmatically, libertarians have to face the ugly fact that if you want children who grow into adults who are not xenophobic and who are open to new ideas you get them more consistently from cultures and families that are somewhat oppressive of children and defer their grasp of authority. . . " is the one I refer to. My first reaction was to ask, "Who says so, and why?" Hilsheimer never attributes this "ugly fact" to any other source. Nor do the supporting data he himself presents furnish sufficient evidence for such a startling conclusion.

Certainly this conclusion distrubed me, as it would anyone who values libertarian ideas in education and society. But I am not a xenophobe and, like all new perspectives, I took the idea in to see whether it might not be true, and what its implications were. I had the sense there was some fallacy in the paragraph, though I couldn't think precisely what it was. Five minutes later, it hit me: Hilsheimer neglects to make a distinction between authority and autonomy. Of course, children who are given excessive *authority* when they are young are likely to grow up with authoritarian premises (and perhaps all authority is excessive). But, is this true of children who are allowed a great deal of *autonomy?* I mean real autonomy, not authority disguised by a soft voice and a smile. (Note that authority must be *given,* but autonomy can only be *allowed.*)

Hilsheimer cites the fact that the fully functioning adults studied by Maslow all came from essentially authoritarian (genitally unhealthy) homes. But, who in our culture hasn't? The percentage of parents who are "practicing" libertarians must be infinitesimal. Is he suggesting there is a causal connection between an authoritarian upbringing and an autonomous adulthood? What, then, of the vast majority who had the same sort of conventional upbringing and did *not* grow up autonomous? Most children's wings are clipped so early they have no idea what flight is. Perhaps those few natural "accidents" Maslow studies would not be so rare if education (formal and/or otherwise) were run on truly nonauthoritarian principles.

What we need is not to give authority to children, instead of keeping it for ourselves. We must learn to emerge from these categories entirely. Authority and autonomy lie at the core of polar philosophies, and unfortunately, Gresham's law seems to apply. Authority in education, *anyone's* authority, drives out autonomy. (The student *power* movement is another illustration of this point.) What we are left with is a society largely composed of not-fully-functional cripples.

The problem of raising autonomous children is not a simple one, but perhaps Mr. von Hilsheimer gives up too easily when he calls it "insoluable."

REGINA HUGO
Seattle, Wash.

"Killing Freedom Softly"

Far from being allies of libertarianism, neo-conservatives such as Irving Kristol play a kind of Ellsworth Toohey role, killing freedom softly. I learned this the hard way.

At the height of congressional policy debates about the Railroad Revitalization and Regulatory Reform Act of 1975, Kristol wrote "Some Doubts About Deregulation" for the *Wall Street Journal*'s editorial page. On Capitol Hill, the *WSJ* and Kristol are commonly perceived as free-market advocates, and Kristol presented himself as a historian and sympathizer of the "deregulation fervor." Then he proceeded to scuttle it. Pointing to the Chicago school as the mentor of deregulation, and cleverly spotlighting the Chicagoans' weakness for antitrust, Kristol espoused "the traditional belief that the older regulatory agencies have both the purpose and effect of preserving some competition [which] might otherwise diminish or disappear under the pressure of 'natural' market forces. . . to help save capitalism and 'free enterprise' from 'big business.'" Kristol went on to advocate *reforming* but not abolishing regulatory agencies, especially the newer ones, which "overflow with unfriendly feelings against *all* business."

To those of us on congressional staffs who had labored to inject as much possible deregulation into the sick rail bill as we could, this was quite a blow. I drafted a letter in response to be sent to the *Journal* over the name of my boss, who (because he has since quit Congess) will be remembered as the most forthright advocate of rail deregulation on the House Transportation Subcommittee at the time. A fierce debate ensued between the press secretary and me. No letter should be sent because Kristol "hasn't said anything we can bite into. It's middle-of-the-road and too many people agree with it. We can't go around picking fights when he hasn't criticized the bill. . . ." Needless to say, the letter rests in my files today.

Two days after the letter incident, a lobbyist for a major western railroad—and perpetual advocate of government aid to his line—dropped in for a chat. At one point he asked what I thought of the rail bill, to which I replied that most of its original deregulation aspects had been gutted. "Well, you know," he grinned, "people are having doubts about this deregulation thing." When I countered that I had read the article, too, he opined that Kristol had "hit it right on the nose."

The final lash struck a week later when the *Journal* published a letter by Interstate Commerce Commission Chairman George Stafford complimenting Kristol's "remarkably clear exposition of the economic and practical reasons why continued regulation of certain industries remains essential." Stafford wrote that "we have been making similar arguments for many years, when our role in the American marketplace was questioned" and commended the *WSJ* for encouraging "open public debate on the issue so that everyone will be more informed about the benefits of regulation."

Kristol's "one small voice" striking blows for freedom?

WILLIAM D. BURT
Cuba, N.Y.

Hacks Who Couldn't Hack It?

Regarding your essay review [in the Mar.-Apr. *LR*], I thought Mr. Crane's defense of the Libertarian Party left much to be desired.

The problem with the LP is that Roger MacBride and the LP hierarchy are basically Republicans of the Goldwater/Reagan stripe who turned to the LP only after failing to make waves in the Republican Party. To become big frogs in the little pond of the LP, though, required overcoming two obstacles. First, they had to appear to be significantly more libertarian than someone like Reagan in order to get the support of the hardcore libertarian rank and file. Second, they had to have some sort ot twist or gimmick to make them stand out to the media as more than cut-rate Reagans or poor-man's Goldwaters.

The obstacles were dealt with by adding a soupcon—just a pinch—of libertarianism to their conservative Republicanism. This took two directions: in foreign affairs, a policy of nonintervention (which was MacBride's inclination anyway); and in domestic affairs, a tolerant attitude towards drugs, homosexuality and other "victimless crimes" (which came harder to them, but they bit the bullet with as much grace as could be expected under the circumstances).

This tokenism shouldn't be confused with a serious commitment to noncoercion. For example, MacBride proposes to introduce legislation to cut Federal taxes in half. If he were serious about rolling back taxes, he would announce that in his administration there would be no prosecutions for victimless crimes (including tax evasion) and that those currently imprisoned for such "crimes" would be pardoned. Since this would

was the only Austrian ever to do so). For a great argument against psychologism and a pro-Carl Menger position see the recent translation (by **Louis Schneider**) of Max Weber's famous "Marginal Utility Theory and 'The Fundamental Law of Psychophysics' " in *Social Science Quarterly*, June 1975.

•For a very good intermediate textbook on inflation, its causes and its consequences, see **J. Huston McCulloch**'s *Money and Inflation: A Monetarist Approach* (Academic Press, 1975). Professor McCulloch's position is somewhere between that of the Chicago and Austrian schools, leaning towards the Austrian, pro-gold position. He has a great pro-gold analogy in the book. He likens the pro-paper money argument to a pro-paper bicycle lock argument. How many people are going to rest secure knowing that the authorities think that people will act as though paper bicycle locks will be treated the same as the real thing?

•Word has it that **Murray N. Rothbard**'s long awaited *Ethics of Liberty* has been completed and that the manuscript is being read by several publishing houses. This is an important seminal work that hopefully will soon be in book form.

•The Keynesian foundations continue to crumble. See, **William Fellner**'s "Theoretical Foundations of the Failure of Demand-Management Policies: An Essay," in *The Journal of Economic Literature*, March 1976. Fellner is an old Keynesian, of conservative political persuasion, who is increasingly disenchanted with "demand management" policies. While accepting the need for *some* macro policies, his is a systematic attack on those policies that have been followed. In the course of this attack, he makes a number of "Hayekian" points, and, *mirable dictu*, cites Professor Hayek on a technical point as though he were another mainstream economist! Fellner's piece is evidence that some of Hayek's attacks on Keynesian policy are having an effect on older Keynesians who can no longer overlook the failures of "demand management."

•Among the establishment world of foreign policy experts, the voice of Johns Hopkins Professor of American Foreign Policy, **Earl C. Ravenal** is as fresh and as welcome as it is unexpected. Professor Ravenal has been consistently calling for a redefinition of American national security and has been fighting hard for such in the very highest strata of such important establishment think tanks as the **Council on Foreign Relations** and the **Brookings Institution.** His thoughts and writings are wholly consonant with libertarian, noninterventionist foreign policy prescriptions. I heartily recommend all of his articles in *Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Policy* during the last several years. His most recent contribution is found in a four-way discussion entitled "Soviet Strength and U.S. Purpose" (*Foreign Policy*, Summer 1976). A far more pointed and informative article for libertarians to read and digest, however, is his "After Schlesinger: Something Has To Give," (*Foreign Policy*, Spring 1976).

•Smiling **Jimmy Carter** is looking more and more like a sure thing all of the time, so it seems wise to find out as much as we can about the man who just might be president for the next eight years. For a really detailed look at this Bible-thumping phenomenon from Georgia see "Looking for Jimmy" by Robert Sam Anson (*New Times*, 8 August 1976).

•Amnesty for the Vietnam era draft dodgers and deserters is a question still unresolved. It was not faced squarely by the Democrats and undoubtedly will not be faced by the Republicans. To keep up on the travails of the draft resisters read *Amnesty Update*, National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty (NCUUA), 235 East 49th Street, New York, NY 10017.

•Trying to keep abreast of the swift changes in the international arms races and movements for disarmament is, to say the least, difficult. One way of helping yourself on this matter is by subscribing to the monthly *Disarmament News & International Views*, Council on Religion and International Affairs, 170 East 64th Street, New York, NY 10021, $20 a year.

•One of the very best introductions to libertarianism has been written by Libertarian Party presidential candidate Roger L. MacBride: *A New Dawn for America: The Libertarian Challenge* (Green Hill Publishers, Ottawa, IL 61350). This little book actually serves as campaign literature for the Libertarian Party and can be purchased for only $.95 from MacBride for President Committee, 1516 P Street NW, Washington, DC 20005. [See James Lawson's review on page 3. –*Ed.*]

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cause tax receipts to drop to near zero, government assets involved with activities that are not appropriate functions of government would be sold off. Simultaneously, legislation would be introduced authorizing the sale of such of those assets as the president could not sell on his own authority, and setting a schedule of fees to be charged those choosing to patronize legitimate governmental services (even limited-government libertarians should have no objection to making even sensitive areas like defense optional on at least a state-by-state basis–after all, the Revolutionary War was won this way, and the temptations for states to drop out the common effort and take a "free ride" on the efforts of others were about as large then as they've ever been). MacBride's tax cut proposal is unlikely to get any response from Congress; but if faced with a cutoff of tax revenues due to nonenforcement of the tax evasion statutes, you can be sure they'd act.

Until it adopts policies at least this libertarian, I'll find it difficult to take the LP seriously as anything more than a collection of political hacks who couldn't "hack it" in the mainstream parties.

ERWIN S. ("Filthy Pierre") STRAUSS
Lanham, Md.

Criticizing One's Betters

In the letters column of the January-February issue of *Libertarian Review*, Tibor Machan has once again ventured forth to criticize his betters. Allow me to follow in his footsteps and do the same.

In many ways, the letter was typical Machan; it begins with a moral outburst which ever so slightly misrepresents the facts of the case, proceeds with another outburst, this one more insulting to Walter Grinder, continues with a mystifying and wrongheaded lecture on why Libertarian movements (i.e., classical liberal movements) have failed, and concludes with several twisted assertions and an ad hominem swipe at Grinder.

Professor Machan maintains that *LR* was "wrong" to give space to Walter Grinder so that he could criticize the *Libertarian Scholar* for its undue emphasis on philosophy. Professor Machan maintains that "Grinder's point that 'overweighted concentration of philosophy and the classics has time and again in the past helped to plunge libertarian intellectual movements into a dank moral conservatism' was completely arbitrary, unproven and plainly stupid to boot." He goes on to maintain–arbitrarily and without proof, incidentally–that "Libertarian movements have failed *because* they have had no solid argumentative, philosophical foundations but rested on impressions, sentiments and tradition."

I have often heard this sort of statement from Students of Objectivism and others entranced with philosophy, but I have never seen any proof offered. It is easy to understand why this is so: the statement is nonsense on the face of it, as could be established by the teensyist bit of thought.

Any way the statement is interpreted–and this statement sets the framework for everything else Tibor Machan is maintaining–it seems not to be true. Tibor Machan seems to be holding one of several things.

Let us use *A* to represent those movements which have succeeded in history, *B* to represent movements which rest on a valid philosophical base. Machan maintains that:

> All *A*'s are *B*'s. Or,
> No *A*'s are non-*B*'s. Or, perhaps,
> All *B*'s are *A*'s. Or, finally,
> No *B*'s are non-*A*'s.

Now, Tibor Machan is very clever indeed, but not so clever, I suspect, as to be capable of proving any of these rather silly propositions to be true. They would lead to such conclusions as the belief that *no movements have ever succeeded in history*, since none have rested on really solid argumentative philosophical foundations, or even to the belief that there are indeed movements which have succeeded, and that those which have, including such explicitly irrationalist philosophies as fascism, have indeed rested on such a base. This, I submit, is utterly incoherent. We are left with the negation of the above propositions: not all movements which have succeeded have rested on solid grounds, intellectually speaking (Some *A*'s are non-*B*'s); in fact, very few of them have; similarly, not all ideologies which have, relatively speaking, rested on solid argumentative bases have succeeded. Thus: having rested on solid argumentative, philosophical foundations is neither a necessary nor sufficient condition for the success of any intellectual movement, including our own.

This is not to deny the importance of our position's being true, or the importance of attempts to more firmly argue for that proposition. But what is clear is that what we have in the case of Tibor Machan's strongly worded statement of causality ("*because* . . .") is an instance of an astonishingly naive view of historical causality, trumpeted by someone with either no knowledge of history or no concern to *think about* what is being said about history. I have heard this sentiment expressed in its most extreme form perhaps, by a young friend of potentially great philosophic gifts, who once maintained, in a moment of great passion for his favorite subject, that unless Libertarians developed a rigorous theory of rights which would, presumably, stand up to the best critical attempts to undermine it in this way or that (presumably, the efforts of philosophers), that they were finished as a movement with any future. He came perilously close to offering the view that Libertarianism would collapse like a house of cards, if this lemma or that were successfully criticized ("success" being defined by which group?). Happily, this view was modified rather quickly.

The issues to which Professor Machan alludes–particularly the question of why classical liberalism failed–are of great complexity, not to be taken lightly. But at least one historically informed view holds that the failure of classical liberalism should be in part attributed to the failure or reluctance of classical liberals themselves to adequately grapple with the very real and relevant (at the time) phenomena of nationalism, imperialism, militarism, and war. It is, very interestingly in this regard, World War I, the end result of these, which is widely cited as the real watershed of classical liberalism.

But on these matters, Tibor Machan chooses not to speculate. He wastes no time on such historical questions or, indeed, on any other historical questions. Some people might even go so far as to assert that he is part of the problem, not part of the solution, in many respects. I myself find this view increasingly compelling.

In considering the causes of the triumph of statism, and the eclipse of liberty, we should not be seduced by easy answers. Tough questions deserve careful and informed consideration–or, at the very least, *silence*. It is clear that silence is constitutionally alien to Tibor Machan. I only hope that in the future, careful and informed consideration of significant issues does not prove equally alien to him. Should such consideration come to interest Professor Machan, Walter Grinder is, most assuredly, one of the people he should consult, with all due seriousness and humility.

ROY A. CHILDS, JR.
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Grinder "Off the Mark"?

Walter Ginder in "Libertarian Cross Currents" of December '75 makes some rather severe criticisms of Nozick and most other libertarians which I would like to take issue with. He declares that the libertarian vision is thus far sterile and only concerned with abstract principles which "do not give us content."

Now the first point to be made is that it's not clear what Grinder is talking about! A clue is given to us when he mentions that history, social analysis, and politics do not belong to the domain of "principles," but rather are concerned with the "real world." We may therefore asssume that "principles" are being opposed to facts in the sense that the former specify what in general ought to be, rather than concretely investigating what is. Philosophy, then, would seem to be the discipline concerned with "principles." Now is Grinder seriously suggesting that philosophy gives us *no* content, that it is solely concerned with formal matters? This is so obviously false that it needs no comment.

Perhaps all that Grinder means is that libertarians should take interest in philosophy *and* history, social analysis, etc. Fine–I agree wholeheartedly. But one person cannot specialize in everything; the necessity for the division of labor should not be ignored. To criticize Nozick for only focusing on philosophy would be as wrong as criticizing Rothbard for neglecting philosophy for the sake of economics and history. Nozick *is a philosopher*, and a damn good one at that; to suggest there is something wrong with him for specializing in his field is at best pointless.

Furthermore, Grinder's emphasis is all wrong. Historical, political, or sociological facts *by themselves* are empty; they will never tell you what ought to be done or ought to be the case. *Only* philosophical principles will do this, and contrary to Grinder's belief, *not enough* work is being done in this area. Most libertarians can explicate the nonaggression principle and its implications, but there have been few philosophical investigations on the vital question *why* the nonaggression principle is correct. One would think that the precious few devoted to this task would receive encouragement from Grinder.

It might be the case that I have misunderstood that point of Grinder's critique. If so, I would like him to explicate his ideas fully, for otherwise one must conclude that his comments are far off the mark.

DANNY SHAPIRO
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

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