



# Books for Libertarians

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VOL. III, No. 8

## BASIC PRINCIPLES OF OBJECTIVISM

By Nathaniel Branden

In his essay "The Shaking of the Foundations," reprinted in *On the Democratic Idea in America*, Irving Kristol writes of the contemporary undermining of the foundations of Western Civilization:

All human societies have to respond to two fundamental questions. The first is: "Why?" The second is: "Why Not?" Why behave in such-and-such a way? Why not behave differently or contrarily? A liberal society can rely on a more or less persuasive, as against explicitly authoritative, answer to the first question. But no society can endure speechless before the second.

Kristol points out that, traditionally, religion has been the source for answers to these two questions. Today, with the authority of religion crumbling around us, there seems to be no source, and no answers. "The upshot," writes Kristol, "is that... on an ever larger scale, 'why not' is ceasing to be a question at all. It is becoming a kind of answer."

It is no secret that Western Civilization is today experiencing a crisis of grave proportions—proportions that few thinkers perhaps, have begun to grasp fully. The crisis, at root, is a crisis of values, of the gradual erosion or discrediting of traditional values, which process is leaving nothing in their place. A great many intellectuals have become increasingly concerned with this problem in the last half-dozen years, and they have wrestled with many proposed solutions. But thus far, at least, no solutions have been offered which can stand the test of rational scrutiny and which will answer to the needs of Western Civilization in this particular context.

This crisis of values has a corollary effect that more and more intellectuals are becoming concerned with: the gradual erosion of the legitimacy of bourgeois society and its institutions. Young people are rejecting not merely the reality of Western Civilization and bourgeois values, not merely the existing state of these, but their actual ideals as well. As Kristol further states, in "When Virtue Loses All Her Loveliness," "Our young radicals are far less dismayed at America's failure to become what it ought to be than they are contemptuous of what it thinks it ought to be. For them, as for Oscar Wilde, it is not the average American who is disgusting, it is the ideal American."

Among the ideals being called into question are not merely the virtues furthered by bourgeois society, but the system of capitalism itself, the free-market system of exchange based on private property, the profit motive, individual freedom, and economic growth and progress.

These are being rejected not so much out of any contrived psychological motive, as out of a genuine, albeit confused, concern with justice. While capitalism was, during much of the nineteenth century, at least touted by a great many important thinkers as the epitome of justice—because, in Kristol's words, "it replaced all arbitrary... distributions of power, privi-

lege, and property with a distribution that was directly and intimately linked to personal merit—this latter term being inclusive of both personal abilities and personal virtues"—today it is rarely defended by intellectuals at all, and almost never from the ideal of a system of justice.

Indeed, among the twentieth century's major defenders of capitalism, none of the most widely known—until now, that is—have been concerned with justice. Milton Friedman and the late Ludwig von Mises alike have defended capitalism predominately because of its superior efficacy as an economic system. F. A. von Hayek, whom Kristol considers "the most intelligent defender of capitalism today," goes so far as to defend capitalism as the essence of a free society, but shies away from viewing capitalism as a just system. In fact, Hayek opposes a free society to a just society—he says they are mutually exclusive:

Since they [differentials or inequalities of wealth and income] are not the effect of anyone's design or intentions, it is meaningless to describe the manner in which the market distributed the good things of this world among particular people as just or unjust.... No test or criteria have been found by which such rules of "social justice" can be assessed.... They would have to be determined by the arbitrary will of the holders of power.

This, which Kristol, one of today's leading "neo-conservative" intellectuals, sees as perhaps "the best possible defense that can be made of a free society," is clearly inadequate. Kristol himself makes the point:

But can men live in a free society if they have no reason to believe it is also a just society? I do not think so. My reading of history is that, in the same way as men cannot for long tolerate a sense of spiritual meaninglessness in their individual lives, so they cannot for long accept a society in which power, privilege, and property are not distributed according to some morally meaningful criteria.

Precisely so. And how have modern conservatives attempted to meet this challenge? Through a return to one of the institutions and value-systems which is itself being undermined: religion. Yet this variant of the "noble lie" is clearly not adequate, particularly during a period when people are sick of being lied to. Religion is not enough. Nonetheless, conservative thinkers still cling desperately to religion, believing that they dare not let go of it, that it is the only foundation left—or even possible. This, then, is the alternative they suppose we are faced with: religion or nihilism.

This 20-lecture course provides a different view. In a virtuoso performance, building on the thought and works of Ayn Rand—the only major

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## IS OBJECTIVISM A RELIGION?

By Albert Ellis

One of the greatest attractions of Ayn Rand's philosophy is its defense of personal happiness against the claims of religious duty. Yet those who try to apply the Objectivist system to their lives often find that it becomes a psychological straitjacket almost as paralyzing as religion. How is this possible? Albert Ellis' book, *Is Objectivism a Religion?*, provides some of the answers.

Unfortunately, separating the wheat from the chaff in this book requires considerable patience. Much of Ellis' reasoning rests on confusions and misunderstandings; much of it is downright illogical. His long chapter on economics can only be described as silly. (Consider, for example, this argument: "If capitalism is so uniquely appropriate to the requirements of human survival, why should Ayn Rand and her associates have to keep beating the drum in its favor? Obviously, it should win out completely on its own accord.") He devotes far too much space to purely terminological issues, and his style is often boisterous, sensational, and unserious. For these reasons, one can understand why libertarians have not paid much attention to Ellis' criticisms of Objectivism.

Yet he does make some deeply insightful points. Particularly devastating are his comments on the Objectivist theory of self-esteem.

A human being can... fully accept his existence and the desirability of his finding happiness and freedom from anxiety without his giving himself any rating whatever. He will still have to rate his performances—since if he doesn't, for example, acknowledge the fact that he is a poor automobile driver, he will very likely kill himself. But he doesn't have to rate, evaluate, or esteem his self.... [T]he usual kind of self-rating which virtually all humans—unfortunately!—do... almost invariably leads to conscious or underlying anxiety.

Thus Ellis emphatically rejects Miss Rand's dictum that "one must earn the right to hold oneself as one's own value by achieving one's own moral perfection."

Similar considerations apply to Objectivist views on justice, moral judgment, and punishment. Judging other people's actions, Ellis argues, is useful and necessary, but the Objectivist practice of passing judgment on people themselves is invalid and destructive.

Throughout the book, Ellis criticizes the absolutistic manner in which morality is discussed in Objectivist literature. He points out numerous passages in which it is flatly asserted that man "must" live by moral principles, "must" avoid contradictions, "must" respect others' rights, et

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## Branden—(Continued from page 1)

defender of capitalism outside of Murray N. Rothbard who is concerned with justice—Nathaniel Branden attempts to give us, in *The Basic Principles of Objectivism*, an alternative code of values which, far from undermining Western Civilization, may turn out to be the best defense yet of those unnamed and undefended premises on which the best of Western Civilization has been built. Originated more than 15 years ago, the course is now available to the general public, and it is an invaluable source of arguments promoting not merely capitalism and Western Civilization, but human happiness and life itself. It is a comprehensive, well-reasoned answer to Kristol's questions: "Why behave in such and such a way? Why not behave differently?..."

Branden's answer is: You should act rationally, you should act to achieve your own rational self-interest, you should act to gain and keep the values of reason, purpose and self-esteem, and you should act this way in order to promote your own life, your own happiness, and your own liberty. To act contrary to these principles is to act self-destructively, to cause misery and suffering, and to destroy the best within yourself and the best of which mankind is capable. In these lectures, he advances steadily toward the goal of demonstrating this; the momentum builds, the arguments snowball and interlock, until the point has been made in exhaustive, exhilarating detail.

The 20 lectures cover these general topics: The Role of Philosophy—What is Reason?—Logic and Mysticism—The Concept of God—Free Will—Efficient Thinking—Self-Esteem—The Psychology of Dependence—The Objectivist Ethics—Reason and Virtue—Justice vs. Mercy—The Evil of Self-Sacrifice—Government and the Individual—The Economics of a Free Society—Common Fallacies About Capitalism—The Psychology of Sex—Romanticism, Naturalism and the Novels of Ayn Rand—The Nature of Evil—The Benevolent Sense of Life.

Listening to these lectures now, for the first time, I am more than impressed. The ideologies of Rand and Rothbard have always seemed to me to be the completion of the philosophy of the enlightenment, the philosophy behind the American Revolution. Now I am even more sure of this.

Branden begins the lectures by discussing the role of philosophy in human life and society, and moves on to consider some of the most fundamental questions of metaphysics and the nature of axioms. Most importantly, he shows why human knowledge must rest on axioms, that these axioms are existence, consciousness and identity, and that any attempt to deny them involves the speaker in interminable self-contradictions. His discussion is much more detailed than the Objectivist discussions I have seen in print, and he makes his case solidly.

He then takes up the fundamental principles of Objectivism's theory of knowledge, discussing the validity of the senses, the formation of concepts, the natures of reason and logic, and the fallacies involved in upholding mysticism and faith as foundations for knowledge. The Objectivist concept of reason is in the Aristotelian-Thomistic tradition but has, I think, corrected many of that tradition's errors and confusions, resulting in a solid case for the view that reason can identify facts about reality, and the view that the only way to be practical is through thinking. Objectivism's theory of knowledge transcends such classical dichotomies as rationalism and empiricism, and it eliminates many of the conceptual confusions which these dichotomies have produced.

Branden then considers the concept of God and the view that "the Universe is a haunted house." This is a classic, justly famous lecture which caused a greater rate of attrition at Nathaniel Branden Institute lectures than any other. But Branden pulls no punches and refuses to compromise his logic.

He next turns to the concepts of free will and determinism, laying bare the inevitable contradictions in determinism. Branden shows that once we hold any theory to be true, we are logically committed to free will, and he goes on to show in what free will consists, how it operates, and why it does not contradict a purely "scientific" view of man and nature. Here, then, is a "naturalistic" view of free will, resting neither on a variant of Heisenberg's uncertainty principle nor on religion. Free will is seen as the choice to think or not to think—to regulate, within limits, the operations of one's own mind—and thus to choose both theories and values and to act according to them. This is the basis of the Objectivist theory of ethics.

"Efficient Thinking" is a guest lecture by Barbara Branden, and it is a brilliant lecture indeed. Ms. Branden demonstrates the crucially important role of purpose in thinking—something that "value-free" scientists might consider—and discusses the nature and role of definitions and a great many other issues of a "how-to" variety.

"Self-Esteem" and "The Psychology of Dependence" are discussions of intellectual independence and related issues, showing the importance of self-esteem and independence to happiness and achievement.

The next four lectures are among the most important in the series: they are considerations of the foundations of the Objectivist ethics, man's life as the standard of value, and the virtues of rationality, independence, integrity, honesty, justice, productiveness, and pride—all in much greater detail than has been done so far in print. These are crucial: they define a

purely naturalistic standard of value which is not arbitrary, not unscientific, and not religious. The "Death-of-God"-people say, in effect—and religionists take them at their word—without God anything goes. Branden shows that without God one must take one's life on earth much more seriously. Thus, while Kristol and others sense some innate conflict between the pursuit of well-being and the requirements of Western Civilization, Branden shows that it is precisely self-interest which requires taking principles seriously. The virtues which are deontological and duty-centered in most ethical systems are presented here as, again, naturalistic in the best sense: as a means to an end, to a good life. Man's life is the standard; all which furthers and sustains man's life is the good; all which destroys it is the evil.

And the virtues? They are philosophically derived by looking at the relationships between consciousness and existence, between the nature of reality and the nature of human life. One follows certain principles, then, in order to further one's life and happiness on earth. Justice, for example, is seen as the application of rationality to social relationships, as the recognition of facts about individual character and achievements.

The next three lectures deal with social, political, and economic arguments and issues. "Government and the Individual" is a generally excellent discussion of the benefits of living in society on conditions which are shown to logically imply a certain type of political system. Branden makes a case for limited government which is seriously flawed, in part because it was written before limited government came under comprehensive attack by libertarian anarchists. But it is still an excellent statement of an Objectivist variant on classical "constitutionalism," answering a great many questions about political systems that are being asked in a great many quarters today without receiving adequate responses.

In any case, what is, perhaps, most important is that here Branden discusses his political principles in the critical context of Objectivist epistemology, metaphysics, and ethics. In the opening lectures, for example, he discusses the fallacy of attempting to prove a negative for which no positive exists; here he shows how this implies that a man must be considered innocent until proved guilty. This is but one case among many. In "The Economics of a Free Society," Branden presents one of the best discussions of economics I have ever come across; his concern is not "value-free"; the real focus is precisely on the justification for the profit motive (an economic corollary of rational self-interest), for free trade, for competition, for profits, and so on. This is a superb antidote to "value-free" economics and a much-needed moral defense of economic activities which are axiomatically despised by today's lumpenintelligentsia. "Common Fallacies About Capitalism" is a capsule discussion of such issues as monopoly, unemployment, and depressions, and it is a generally worthwhile summary of the work of the Austrians and others.

The next three lectures deal with Branden's theory of sex—which I think he would now want to seriously revise—and a discussion of aesthetics, "naturalism," "romanticism," and the aesthetics of Rand's novels.

The final two lectures, "The Nature of Evil," and "The Benevolent Sense of Life" provide a superb climax for a generally excellent series of lectures. Branden shows how evil is inherently parasitical on the good and discusses why men repress and drive underground not the worst within them, but the best. This last is a dramatic tour de force and profoundly moving.

While *The Basic Principles of Objectivism* does not say everything, it does say a good deal, and it answers most of the objections to Objectivism that I have heard during the last ten years. I had not expected to be as impressed with the course as I am.

But most importantly, it is a necessary—but not sufficient—framework for the libertarian ideology. It requires a great deal of reading, thinking, and questioning on the part of listeners. One cannot—as many "Students of Objectivism" once attempted to do—go into the course *tabula rasa* and come out omniscient. Nonetheless, it is the most serious and systematic attempt so far to present a comprehensive antidote to the poisons in the intellectual cultural life destroying Western Civilization. It is an antidote, too, for the cult of boredom and despair. It is an answer to the value-free technicians of economic efficiency. It is a defense of moral values and of capitalism, of egoism and humanism, of liberty, industrialization, and economic progress. It is an answer to the questions "Why?" and "Why not?"

If Western Civilization is facing a crisis of values, if bourgeois society is under attack, if defenses of capitalism have been found wanting, then the answers to these problems which Objectivism provides should be taken seriously: for the most part, they are true, notwithstanding numerous reservations which I have about the details of the philosophy. The rebuilding of the Aristotelian tradition is no mean feat, but I think that is what this course helps to accomplish. Yes, Objectivism has produced fanatics, but as Robert Hessen once wrote to me, quoting Nietzsche, "One should not judge a philosophy by the first generation of its adherents."

Flawless? No. But indispensable it may very well be. REVIEWED BY R. A. CHILDS, Jr. / **Cassette Recordings** / (Tapes 561-580, 24 hrs.) / **BFL Price \$135, or \$150 in 4 installments of \$37.50 each.**



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

By John Hospers

## PART II: CHAMBER MUSIC OF THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Chopin, and Brahms were all first and foremost composers of chamber music. Not only did they compose more chamber music than any other kind, but the majority of their most memorable works, in the opinion of most critics and musicologists, was done in this medium—although in the popular mind all are best known for their orchestral works, especially their symphonies.

Ludwig von Beethoven (1770-1827) wrote 16 string quartets, in three distinct periods. The early period is represented by the Opus 18 quartets, which are sometimes difficult to distinguish from late Mozart. They all exhibit a fully achieved mastery of the medium, and Op. 18 no. 5, especially, is pure delight. But it is in the great middle-period quartets that we find qualities of feeling emerging which are unique to Beethoven: "classical in form, romantic in content" is one cliché which might be used to describe them. The Quartet no. 7 (Op. 59 no. 1), with the vigorous thrust of its opening movement, is one of the most cherished quartets in musical literature and a "must" for every record library. Great in a quite different way are the no. 8 (Op. 59 no. 2) and the lyrical and pensive no. 9 (Op. 59 no. 3) with its famous passage for plucked cello. The no. 10 (Op. 74, "Harp") has a haunting ethereal beauty in every one of its four movements. And then there is the shorter and more acerbic no. 11 (Op. 95), the transitional piece to the late quartets. Each of these works is so distinctively unique, that one is reminded that if one great work of art were to be lost, not all the other works of art in the world would adequately substitute for it.

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Finally we come to the quartets of Beethoven's late period—the last works he ever wrote—his farewell to the world, transcending by far in depth and profundity any of his symphonies or concertos. Far from being "the ravings of a deaf man" (he had become totally deaf before creating them), they have a mysterious otherworldly quality, which to some listeners is merely strange and eerie, but to others is the ultimate in sublimity and exaltation. Following upon the no. 12 (Op. 127), there is the haunting and unfathomable no. 13 (Op. 130), containing one of the most unforgettable movements in music, the mysterious "Kavatina," which figures prominently in the last chapter of Aldous Huxley's novel *Point Counter Point*. The "Grosse Fugue," which Beethoven composed as the final movement to the no. 13, should be played as such rather than the one which he later substituted because of the difficulty of playing the "Grosse Fugue." On some recordings of the no. 13, the "Grosse Fugue" is happily included.

Next, listen to the no. 15 (Op. 132), haunting, bitter, mad, and ethereal by turns. All of the above quartets are more immediately intelligible to the listener, at least after the first few times, than the profoundly disturbing no. 14 (Op. 131), which many consider Beethoven's greatest contribution to quartet literature. Finally, listen to the last work Beethoven wrote, the no. 16 (Op. 135), with its stunning slow movement—"sadness too deep for tears."

The playing of Beethoven's quartets involves very special requirements, particularly an attunement to the deeply philosophical character of those of the late period which not every ensemble is up to. Of the many recordings available, the one to get on the middle-period quartets is a four record set by the fine Guarneri Quartet, "Beethoven: The Middle Quartets" (available from BFL). But on the profound late quartets, get either the Quartetto Italiano on Philips records or the Yale Quartet on Vanguard. For the Op. 127 I suggest the Yale Quartet on Vanguard 10054;

for Op. 130, the Quartetto Italiano on Philips 839795; for Op. 131, the Yale Quartet on Vanguard 10062; for Op. 132, the Yale Quartet on Vanguard 10005; and for Op. 135, the Quartetto Italiano on Philips 83975.

Almost as great as Beethoven's legacy of string quartets is that of his 32 piano sonatas. The most famous one, no. 14 ("Moonlight"), is at the moment available on over 30 recordings. I suggest that you skip this in favor of some of the great sonatas of his middle period. The marvelous no. 21 ("Waldstein") and no. 23 ("Appassionata") both are excellently performed by Horowitz on Columbia M-31371. Cliburn also is especially good on these, as he is on the Op. 81a ("Les Adieux"), available on RCA LSC-4013 and 2931.

It is only after hearing Beethoven's middle-period sonatas that one is in a position to appreciate the grandeur of the late ones. The immense "Hammerklavier Sonata" (Op. 106, and best played by Askenazy on London 6563) far transcends the piano medium. Much more accessible to the listener, and easier on the ear, are the three consecutive late sonatas, Op. 109, 110, and 111. The second of the two movements of the Op. 111 (Sonata no. 32) is in my opinion the finest movement in the whole of piano literature. It moves step by step to such a height of serene exaltation that the listener feels himself levitated, remaining on the heights long after the performance has been concluded. Now that the most "spiritual" of the performances (by Artur Schnabel) is no longer available, I suggest the performance by Brendel on Turnabout 34391, where it is coupled with the Op. 110 Sonata.

Beethoven wrote many other masterpieces of chamber music. But the finest of them all, and among all of Beethoven's chamber works the one which the listener will probably want to return to most often, is the magnificent "Archduke Trio" (Op. 97); it has not only the energy and nobility of Beethoven's middle and late work, but it is very tuneful and easily accessible to the beginning listener. I would invite the reader to begin his exposure to Beethoven's chamber music with this work. It should certainly be heard several times before turning to the late quartets and sonatas. It is contained in the excellent three-record chamber-music sampler, "Four Favorite Trios." [Ed. Note: Reviewed last month and available from BFL.]

I discussed Schubert's chamber music last month. Of Mendelssohn I would recommend only the Octet (Op. 20). Almost all the great music of Schumann and Chopin is for the piano—the solo piano, not the piano concertos or other orchestral works. These have already been discussed by other BFL reviewers, so I shall stop only long enough to recommend the recording of Schumann piano works on Turnabout 34438. An undeservedly neglected composer in the same vein is the Irishman, John Field (1782-1837). Hear his Nocturnes on Nonesuch 71195.

Brahms (1833-1897), too, was primarily a composer of chamber works. He is much less direct, more involuted, than Schubert, yet as anyone who has heard his symphonies already knows, there is a quality of high drama and tension that is unique to Brahms. Many of his chamber works are too "cerebral" (ingenious but not moving) for most tastes. Accordingly, I recommend the following as the most accessible and also among the finest of his chamber music: (1) the marvelous Trio for Piano, Violin, and Horn, Op. 40 (Boston Symphony Chamber Players on RCA LSC-6184); (2) the early piano quartet (piano plus three strings), Op. 25; (3) the famous Quintet for Piano and String Quartet, Op. 115, with the long lingering "October Melancholy" of the slow movement; (4) and the solo piano music which was Brahms' last work, Op. 448 (Rubenstein on RCA LSC 2450). Op. 40 and Op. 115, together with the Trio for Clarinet, Cello, and Piano (Op. 114), are available from BFL on a three-record set, "Brahms' Chamber Music for Winds," for only \$7.50 (list price is \$9.95).

Another great composer of chamber music who is apt to be overlooked because he wrote fewer orchestral compositions (which seems to be what makes composers famous with the general public) is the French master, Gabriel Faure (1845-1924). I recommend particularly his tuneful Piano Quartet no. 1 in C-minor. If you can get hold of the recording on Capitol SP-8558, I recommend doing so; otherwise get it on Oiseau S-289, where it is coupled with Faure's fine piano trio.

Less of a creative genius than Faure, but more famous because of his symphonic work, is Caesar Franck (1822-1890). His Sonata in A for Violin and Piano is his most famous chamber work, and it is one of the most resplendent violin-and-piano sonatas in the entire literature. There are several excellent recordings of it currently available. Almost as memorable is the String Quartet in D, available in a three-record set of French quartets (Faure, Franck, Debussy, Ravel, Roussel) on Vox SVBX-570. And

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not to be forgotten is his great piano work, the Prelude, Chorale and Fugue (coupled with Debussy piano preludes on Seraphim S-60103).

The highly original founder of impressionistic music, Erik Satie (1866-1925), was influential far out of proportion to his small output. His work for solo piano is his best, including the famous "Trois Gymnopédies," which I recommend as performed by Ciccolini on Angel 25442.

The most famous musical impressionist, Claude Debussy (1862-1918), wrote many chamber works, of which the most memorable are for solo piano. Get Columbia MS-6567, containing Entremont's performances of both books of "Images," "Pour le Piano," and the "Children's Corner Suite." The one other great chamber work by Debussy is the justly famous Quartet, Op. 10, haunting in its interweaving melodies and radiant subtle harmonies.

Debussy wrote one string quartet, as did Maurice Ravel (1875-1937), and although I think Debussy's is far superior, both are well worth having, and they are almost invariably paired on a single record. At the moment there are nine performances of them available. But amidst the plethora of orchestral and chamber works that Ravel wrote, I recommend most highly a real gem, the "Introduction and Allegro for Harp, Flute, Clarinet and String Quartet," of which there are many good performances available.

The greatest genius of Russian music, Modest Mussorgsky (1839-1881), was a first-rate composer of piano music, particularly the famous "Pictures at an Exhibition." Almost everyone knows this in the orchestral transcription by Mussorgsky's disciple, Rimsky-Korsakov. But it was written for piano, where its clarity, precision, and power distinctly emerge. You can compare the piano version (played by Richter) and the orchestral transcription (done by Szell) for yourself on Odyssey Y-32223, which has both of them together.

Turning from Russia to what is now Czechoslovakia, we have one of the greatest chamber works in the entire repertoire, written by the greatest of Czech composers, Bedrich Smetana (1824-1884): the Quartet no. 1 (Op. 10), "From My Life." It is a totally unique work, clearly nineteenth century and yet different from anything else written in that century. It is a powerfully integrated work of tremendous emotional intensity, from the forced gaiety of the scherzo movement to the desolating sadness of the adagio. By the time we get to the resumé of all the earlier themes at the end of the final movement (and of his life?), in which the tension becomes almost unbearable and the loneliness too much to be borne, we have something analogous to, and not a whit inferior to, the great quartets of Beethoven. Once you have heard this work a few times, it will be a lifetime companion. Try it for yourself in the fine performance by the Juilliard Quartet

available from BFL.

Smetana's fellow Bohemian, Antonin Dvořák (1841-1904), wrote a considerable number of chamber works, some of which are quite worth hearing repeatedly, particularly the Quartet in E-flat (Op. 51) and the "American Quartet" (Op. 96), which is usually paired on the same record with the Smetana quartet (as it is on the Juilliard Quartet recording recommended above). Dvořák's chamber works are highly melodic and lyrical, but they are water unto wine compared with the one work by Smetana.

One would never imagine that Richard Strauss (1864-1949), the composer of famous operas and tone-poems, would go in for chamber music; but one of his youthful works, the Sonata for Violin and Piano (Op. 18), is one of the most exquisite works of chamber music in existence. Perhaps nowhere is the contrast and dialog between the mellifluous violin and the more staccato piano better illustrated. It is always full of driving energy. Sometimes it is pensive and even sad, sometimes happy and even positively ecstatic, but everywhere its melodies, and the marvelous interplay of the two instruments, are irresistible to anyone who has acclimated himself at all to chamber music. It is available on Nonesuch 71205.

Ernest Bloch (1880-1959) is a prominent twentieth-century composer whose works are already (unfortunately) going out of fashion. He wrote many good chamber works, but there is one special gem that deserves special mention: the Quintet for Piano and String Quartet (1923), on Concert Disc 252. It is surely one of the finest chamber works of this century.

Finally, among the moderns, Bela Bartok (1881-1945) and Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971) are among the most famous composers of chamber music. Each of them is richly inventive, highly ingenious, undeniably imaginative. But their chamber works represent, like very sharp cheeses, an acquired taste, and a taste in some cases never acquired even in the face of valiant efforts: they are simply too "astringent." But if you want to try a bit of Stravinsky's chamber work, get the Octet for Wind Instruments on Columbia M-30579 (which includes other interesting Stravinsky chamber works). As for Bartok, his six string quartets have been compared with Beethoven's. I do not think they deserve this appellation, but if you want to delve into music that becomes progressively more atonal (or tonal in strange ways), but at the same time increasingly profound, stirring strange and untapped depths within the soul, listen to his string quartets in order, from no. 1 to no. 6. You will be either bored, bothered, and bewildered, or moved to the depths. I cannot claim to have risen to this last stage, but the strata of feeling Bartok taps are sufficiently analogous to those of the late Beethoven quartets to keep me at it—and, every once in a while, in the quiet of the wee hours of the morning, deeply moved without knowing exactly why. (Next month: *Orchestral Music Through the Eighteenth Century*.)

## INTELLECTUAL SKYWRITING: LITERARY POLITICS AND THE NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS

By Phillip Nobile

Before commenting on the worth of this book, let me give you a couple of points of reference by which you can judge my comments. First of all, I do not agree with Barry Goldwater that the northeastern habitat of the Cultural Mafia should be sawed off and towed out to sea; anything that unwieldy, drifting free, would be a serious hazard to navigation. Secondly, although my reading experiences with *The New York Review of Books* have been replete with tedium, I still have some faith in the magazine; any editorial staff that hates Norman Podhoretz as much as the NYR's staff hates him must be putting out a product of integrity.

Now you know my biases and you will know what weight to put on my admiration for *Intellectual Skywriting*. Since the New York literary harem does exist, and since it does have a heavy influence on all our lives, whether we want it that way or not, we should know something about those people: the Guelphs of *Commentary* and the Ghibellines of NYR, and all the other warring tribes of Medieval Manhattan. Nobile, a contributing editor of *Esquire* magazine, offers the wittiest, least turgid, least self-conscious, and least belchable introduction to the circle that you are likely to find.

Admittedly, I do not find it all pleasant. I finally do get a bit tired being told where various literary bigshots rate on the scales of Zionism, radicalism, and chicism. But that is not Nobile's fault; the New York book circle, I gather, really thinks that that sort of thing matters. What I do fault Nobile personally for is his implied, if not stated, criticism of the NYR as narrow-minded because it does not use writers who disagree with the NYR's ideological positions. But is that not the way things are done at all opinion journals?

What is especially useful in *Intellectual Skywriting* is the honest portrayal of dishonesty, or underhandedness, or slipperiness among reviewers; of intellectual gangsterism and intellectual hucksterism; of gutting

foes and puffing allies—with little regard for accurate appraisal of books. Nobile does not faint from asking the hard questions and giving the hard answers himself, to wit:

Should a writer be asked or permitted to review the book of his ideological foe? No, if it means NYR board member Jason Epstein is going to review Tom Wolfe's *Radical Chic and Mau-Mauing the Flak Catchers*, which bad-mouths NYR and pokes fun at Murray Kempton and the Panthers (when Kempton was doing a book on the Panther 21 for Epstein at the time).

Epstein is both a founder of NYR and a vice president at Random House. Kempton writes for NYR and Random House. The point is obvious, and, being obvious, not made often enough.

The book is also useful because Nobile occasionally meets someone of candor, although not often; sharing the same racket, the New York book elite, despite their feuding, are usually protective of each other. I. F. Stone talks to Nobile only off the record, but Richard Rovere talks to Nobile on the record when he discusses Stone:

If Izzy says on page 537 of such and such a book you'll learn that so and so... I won't believe it. I'll check myself. I don't think he's an honest controversialist. We had to check him every inch of the way when I was at New Masses in 1938-39, and just because of the Soviet-Nazi pact. He was more indignant about that pact than anyone I knew. His indignation didn't last long. He was a Stalinist—a loose and nasty term—but by my lights he was. It's not so much being a Stalinist as using their polemical techniques.... Izzy's scholarship is impeccable, but based on a load of crap.

Fight on. Fight on. There is something healthy and regenerative in the airing of such opinions, and one of the attractive things about Nobile's book is that those of us on the outside, who must deal with pettiness and shoddiness all the time, are permitted to see that in the glamorous inner circle of the literati, life is not much different. The insults are simply punctuated and parsed more accurately. REVIEWED BY ROBERT SHERRILL / 312 pages / BFL Price \$7.95



# AN INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE WESTERN WORLD

By Harry Elmer Barnes

Of the dozens of books and hundreds of articles that Harry Elmer Barnes wrote in his long and productive lifetime, this is in many ways his masterpiece. Though Barnes was skilled in such diverse disciplines as sociology, literature, political science, economics, and criminology, it was as historian that his genius was most evident. And nowhere was that genius more on display than in the nearly 1,400 pages of his intellectual and cultural history.

The history was originally published as a single volume in 1937, and a second edition was issued in 1941. The present three-volume edition is a revised and enlarged one, brought out in 1965. Specialists from many of the natural and social sciences, arts, and humanities served as contributing authors in order to bring the work up to date and to correct it in light of their latest research.

Unlike his other great survey—*History of Western Civilization*—Barnes here concentrates not on the traditional political, economic, and diplomatic aspects of history, but rather on far wider territory. By intellectual and cultural, Barnes means the important ideas and developments in the fields of philosophy, art, literature, music, medicine, science, law, and religion.

Part of the Barnes genius is the way he relates and ties together ideas from all of these fields through his theory of historical development. For Barnes is no mere recorder of facts, figures, names, and dates (though there are plenty of each in all three volumes). He explains, reveals, expounds, speculates, recaptures, traces, and shapes in always relevant and eloquent language. There is sense and meaning to history as written by Harry Elmer Barnes. In addition, he is not afraid to write with purpose, as if it mattered (as indeed it does). He is not afraid to state opinion, when to refrain from doing so could result in confusion and loss of meaning. The important thing is that Barnes' opinions are always carefully reasoned ones.

An especially worthwhile factor in this history is the space and detail it gives to the contributions of the Arabs and other Semitic peoples to Western Civilization. This is often a deleted chapter in so many "world" histories.

Volume One covers the period from the earliest times through the Middle Ages and contains fascinating discussions of primitive thought and culture, Greek and Roman intellectual life, culture in the Dark Ages (there was some), the medieval synthesis (with sections on "Abelard and

the Enthronement of Logic" and "The Ascendancy of Aristotle in Medieval Thought"), and medieval science from Bacon to Copernicus.

Volume Two covers the years from the Renaissance through the eighteenth century. Its important sections include: "The Humanist Temper," "Political Theory Under the Spell of Humanism," and the pertinent, "Hangover of Medieval Intellectual Interests in Modern Times." Other sections are: "Intellectual Effects of the Expansion of Europe"—"Intellectual and Cultural Trends Encouraging and Accompanying the Progress in Scientific Research"—"The Growth of Tolerance and The Case for Freethought"—"The Struggle for Civil Liberties"—"The Course of Deism"—"The Secularization of Ethics"—"The Age of Rationalism"—and "Ideas of Progress and Growth."

Volume Three covers the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The whole of it is important, but especially the parts on "Outstanding Achievements of the 19th Century"—"19th Century Philosophy"—"Literature: Romanticism & Realism"—"The Triumph of Romantic Ideals in Music"—"Developments in Psychology Since 1900" (by Richard D. Walk)—and "Progress in the Social Sciences." This volume also contains the index to the entire study.

Barnes is probably best known to most libertarians for his path-breaking work in historical revisionism of both world wars. Although the present work does not include such topics specifically, the final chapter, "A Glimpse of the Future," does contain some typically Barnesian insights on the world view of his revisionism. Here Barnes deals with such subjects as the human quest for mastery, cultural lag as an obstacle to human well-being, Orwell's 1984 and the Cold War system, and theories of why civilizations perish.

Barnes' three volumes are filled with discussions of people and their ideas, since in reality the two are not separated. And, whether he is discussing Aristotle or Aquinas, Bach or Beethoven, Caesar or Chekhov, Zeno or Zola, Barnes always breathes life into both the ideas and the person.

Libertarian students often ask for the names of respected scholars outside libertarian ranks who have enough productive competence to offer useful material to the libertarian. Near the top of the list should be the "learned crusader"—Harry Elmer Barnes. REVIEWED BY WILLIAM DANKS / *Intellectual History* (3 volumes, 1,381 pages) / BFL Price \$10.50

## IDEOLOGIES AND UTOPIAS: THE IMPACT OF THE NEW DEAL ON AMERICAN THOUGHT

By Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr.

Arthur Ekirch's *Ideologies and Utopias* is a fascinating and informative survey of American intellectual reactions to the Great Depression. In a scholarly, objective fashion, Ekirch provides the reader with the depressing story of the thinking behind the repudiation of individualism by almost an entire intellectual generation.

The economic collapse at the beginning of the Hoover administration led, Ekirch shows, to a period of pessimism and disillusionment coupled with a search for new solutions to the nation's problems. The severity of the crash and the fact that all classes were hit by it led to a general acceptance of the need for radical approaches to recovery. As Ekirch points out:

Characteristic of almost all levels of social and political thought was the conviction that drastic changes had to be made in the American economic and business system.... Significantly, no important economic interest group or social class appeared willing to let natural forces take their way.

The author emphasizes the impact on New Deal thinking the U.S. experience with government regulation during World War I. In addition to this familiarity with federal mobilization of human and economic resources under Wilson, many liberal intellectuals of the 1930s still held a self-deceiving view of the Russian communist experiment and considered it worthy of at least partial emulation. Stuart Chase summed up this attitude in his remark: "Why should Russians have all the fun of remaking a world?" Another important influence on early New Deal policies, of course, was Herbert Hoover's own meddling in the economy.

In a work of this sort, the author obviously cannot present an in-depth analysis of each individual discussed, and Ekirch does not. But his commentary and the substantial number of direct quotations used throughout the book do give one a remarkable insight into the thinking of most of the intellectuals cited. Ekirch does examine in some detail such figures as FDR, Hoover, Charles Beard, John Dewey, Henry Wallace, Walter Lipp-

mann, and Oswald Garrison Villard. The author's perspective on Roosevelt is interesting and far more balance than, say, John T. Flynn's in *The Roosevelt Myth*.

One of the most informative chapters is devoted to the federal arts project and the Federal Theatre. The arts project, Ekirch explains, never really suited many artists since it steered clear of most radicals in the field and ignored specialists in abstract work. Its system of allocating contracts came under attack on the grounds that the feds had attempted to apply "grocer's standards to painting," with judgment of quality tending "toward the mean and mediocre." A perfect example of how subsidies breed controls and how controls impose conformity.

The chapter dealing with the response of New Deal-era intellectuals to war and foreign policy is the only really disappointing one in the book: Ekirch's analysis of this subject seems somewhat hasty and superficial, although sections such as the one describing the flip-flop of Archibald MacLeish on the war question are quite amusing. One would also expect to find in a work of this sort a more thorough examination of why so many old progressives turned against FDR as the New Deal evolved. It must also be noted that Ekirch's perspective is not strictly a libertarian one.

"Whatever the final verdict of history," Ekirch concludes in his preface, "it seems likely that the New Deal will rank, and be remembered, as a revolutionary era in American thinking." The revolution he refers to constituted the abandonment of the old individualism and the substitution, in the Beards' phrase, of "an interlaced system of exchange and mutuality correctly described as collectivism." *Ideologies and Utopias* provides valuable insight into the thinking of the "intellectuals" who helped bring about this change during the New Deal era, who helped create the policies of government which still afflict the United States. REVIEWED BY SCOTT ROYCE / *Intellectual History* (307 pages) / BFL Price \$2.95



# HOW TO START YOUR OWN SCHOOL

By Robert Love

## HOW TO START YOUR OWN PRIVATE SCHOOL

By Samuel L. Blumenfeld

In his analysis of university education in America as a unique industry, economist James Buchanan succinctly noted the following characteristics: "Those who consume its product do not purchase it; those who produce it do not sell it, and those who finance it do not control it." Buchanan then concluded that it was not surprising that such extreme deviations from normal business procedure resulted in similarly extreme deviations from the functional order and efficiency produced by such procedure.

The same holds true of course for all other areas of public education—from kindergarten to senior high school. People with no children are forced to pay for the education of others' children. Parents with many children pay no more (actually less, of course, due to tax advantages) than those with few or the childless—yet all their kids get a full "education." Teachers and administrators perform their services either totally exempt from the control and choice of parents and children, or subject to the control of some *faction* at the expense of everyone else. In neither case is there justice or efficiency.

This has nothing to do with a lack of good intentions, dedication, integrity, or any other good personal quality—which, admittedly, are not entirely absent from the public school establishment. The problem lies in the political nature of the educational system itself. Real reform must confront the most fundamental question of all: should there be a public (i.e., tax-supported) school system at all?

For libertarians, of course, there is no question at all. There simply should not be tax-supported anything, since there shouldn't be any taxes! But for more "conservative" (right or left) educators, it is a very radical question, one which has only recently been considered seriously. People like Ivan Illich and other anti-"schooling" advocates (such as the late Paul Goodman, and sometimes, John Holt) seem to solve the problem quite handily by rejecting schools themselves, but they actually retain the root of the problem because of faulty political-economic thinking which allows for tax-supported "non-schools," "anti-schools," "learning places," or whatever. But a school by any other name to those forced to pay for it, is still a coercive institution, no matter how freely structured it may be for students. Truly radical school reform must consider parents, teachers, and administrators, as well as children. The truly radical direction in reform must be towards voluntary (market) relationships between these actors. Everything else has been tried, and, no matter how "radical," is now simply part of the problem.

Parents must have at least the choice and power available to them in buying any other commodity or service. Teachers must learn that they are not divinely ordained to be classroom dictators, but rather that they are sellers of a service that customers have a right to bargain for, and even reject.

Over a decade ago, Nathaniel Branden most neatly and accurately reworded the question of "public education" as follows:

Should the government be permitted to remove children forcibly from their homes, with or without their parents' consent, and subject the children to educational training and procedures of which the parents may or may not approve? Should citizens have their wealth expropriated to support an educational system which they may or may not sanction, and to pay for the education of children not their own?

Robert Love's book is subtitled: "A Guide for the Radical Right, the Radical Left, and Everybody In-Between Who's Fed Up With Public Education." It is an apt description. Although Love states at the beginning that the book is a guide to alternatives rather than a critique of existing public education, he implicitly develops such a critique along the way. As a guide the book is especially useful since it has grown out of and describes in some detail, the development of an actual private-school success story—the Wichita Collegiate School.

Love is a libertarian and fully recognizes the inherent advantages of a market approach to education over a political approach. He convincingly describes the reasons why private education, based on a proprietary model, is the only way in which parents and children can have real control over their schools.

The presentation of Wichita's market philosophy and the ways in which that philosophy was employed in dealing with such problems as tuition, accreditation, faculty, and relations with parents, makes for inspiring reading.

Blumenfeld's book is somewhat different in approach. The subtitle of his *How to Start Your Own Private School* is "And Why You Need One." Starting with a frightening (and saddening) account of his own experiences as a substitute teacher in the public schools of a Boston suburb, he moves on to develop his own analysis of why the public school system has failed. Included in this analysis is a detailed history of compulsory attendance laws and other chilling aspects of the public school tradition.

Blumenfeld describes the whole movement for independent schools, the success of proprietary education, Southern schools, and—most importantly—detailed instructions on getting started, financing, curriculum, faculty, management, and accreditation. In many of these areas there is even more length (and depth) than in the Love book. In addition, seven appendices are included, covering such subjects as: independent school accrediting agencies, other relevant organizations, teacher placement agencies, insurance companies that handle independent schools, a select bibliography, books specifically on reading problems, and recommended periodicals. All in all, a most useful and informative reference.

Despite the close similarity of titles and subject matter, these two works reinforce and complement each other with surprisingly little duplication. This is obviously the result of the originality and independence of their respective authors. Highly recommended as a set. REVIEWED BY WILLIAM DANKS / *Education* / Love (172 pages) / BFL Price \$5.95 / Blumenfeld (381 pages) / BFL Price \$9.95

## THE DEVIL'S DICTIONARY

By Ambrose Bierce

Ambrose Bierce was, among other things, a legend in his own time. And his fame derived largely from his uniquely brilliant satirical writings. Even 60 years after his presumed death, Bierce must be counted among the great American satirists.

Bierce's satirical masterpiece was *The Devil's Dictionary*. As H. L. Mencken said, it contains "some of the most gorgeous witticisms of the English language."

*The Devil's Dictionary* expresses a thoroughly cynical, pessimistic view of life. But it is not depressing or dispiriting. On the contrary, it is great fun! Walter Lippman aptly described Mencken as "a writer who denounces life and makes you want to live." This description fits Bierce as well. However, whereas Mencken was unquestionably an atheist and a libertarian, Bierce's religious and political beliefs are not clear. But Bierce was, at least, thoroughly cynical regarding the frauds perpetrated by pastors and politicians.

Here is a sampling of the Biercean lexicon:

COMPROMISE, n. Such an adjustment of conflicting interests as gives each adversary the satisfaction of thinking he has got what he ought not to have, and is deprived of nothing except what was justly his due....

EGOTIST, n. A person of low taste, more interested in himself than in me....

FAITH, n. Belief without evidence in what is told by one who speaks without knowledge, of things without parallel....

FEMALE, n. One of the opposing, or unfair, sex....

LIFE, n. A spiritual pickle preserving the body from decay....

MAGIC, n. An art of converting superstition into coin....

PRAY, v. To ask that the laws of the universe be annulled in behalf of a single petitioner confessedly unworthy....

PRESIDENT, n. The leading figure in a small group of men of whom—and of whom only—it is positively known that immense numbers of their countrymen did not want any of them for President....

REVERENCE, n. The spiritual attitude of a man to a god and a dog to a man....

REVOLUTION, n. In politics, an abrupt change in the form of misgovernment....

TARIFF, n. A scale of taxes on imports, designed to protect the domestic producer against the greed of his consumer....

WAR, n. A by-product of the arts of peace....

If you have savored the satire of Mark Twain or Mencken, or if you have been delighted by the aphorisms of Thomas Szasz, then you owe yourself the pleasure of reading Bierce. And *The Devil's Dictionary* is the perfect place to start. REVIEWED BY L. A. ROLLINS / 145 pages / BFL Price \$1.25



# TWENTIETH CENTURY AMERICAN ECONOMIC HISTORY

By Murray N. Rothbard

Murray N. Rothbard is well-known among intellectuals as an economist and libertarian theorist, but in terms of sheer bulk, by far the greatest amount of his writing has been in history, even though most of it has not yet been published. This new and perhaps even most impressive aspect of Rothbard's versatility will soon burst upon the public consciousness, however, and in a most impressive manner, for within the next year, the first three volumes of his multi-volume history of America are scheduled to be published. Totalling nearly 4000 manuscript pages, the finished portion carries the history of America only up to the adoption of the Constitution!

Whether Rothbard—an indefatigable scholar if ever there was one—decides to press on with this project remains to be seen. But for 10 days last summer, at Cornell University, 40 people (including myself), were privileged to hear Rothbard deliver a series of lectures on American economic history since the progressive era. For many years, some of us who have been interested in American history have wondered what an integrated history of that period would look like, if it were written by a libertarian with full knowledge of free market economic theory and libertarian political theory. At these lectures, we found out.

For nine days, Rothbard delivered lecture after lecture, speaking nearly impromptu for hours on end. The pace was dizzying: facts, names, dates, theories, connections flew by at a dazzling rate of speed. Digressions, scholarly references to obscure books and articles, evaluations, causal connections all hit the ecstatic audience one after another, producing the most intellectually exciting 10 days many of us had ever experienced. Forrest MacDonald delivered a daily lecture paralleling Rothbard, but from a different perspective. Nights we spent picking each others' minds—particularly Rothbard's—until the wee hours of the morning. When it was over, we all knew we had had an experience we would never forget.

Part of that intellectual excitement is captured here. For the lectures, and portions of the lengthy question-and-answer periods, were taped and are now available from BFL as six lectures (on 10 cassettes).

The lectures cover a vast range of territory, and any attempt to summarize the content would be superficial. Rothbard begins by discussing "Economic Determinism and the Conspiracy Theory of History," and ends with a discussion of the prospects for liberty given our present historical context.

But in between are many hours of Rothbard discussing everything from "The Rise of Big Business: The Failure of Trusts and Cartels" to "The New Deal and the Post-War International Monetary System." Rothbard surveys the rise on Big Business following on the heels of the Civil War and shows how big business—helped by the Civil War to gain its size and dominance—began to crumble under the onslaught of competition. Faced with competition, big business first turned to voluntary cartel agreements, which could not hold up. Failing that, spurred on by the "Progressive" ideology—taken from the Weltanschauung of Bismarck's Germany—big businessmen turned to mergers, trusts and, eventually, to State regulation. But Rothbard's economic history is not concerned with

business alone. Following his own "methodologically individualistic" variant of class analysis to the letter, he shows how religious groups, labor unions, intellectuals, corporate lawyers, and politicians all united with big businessmen to produce a system of "corporate statism" which thrived on war and peace alike. The Wilson regime and those of the Republicans during the 1920s are seen as fully continuous with the framework set down by a "ruling class" in the progressive era—a framework which was fully articulated and rationalized by intellectuals and religious leaders alike.

## ECONOMIC DETERMINISM AND THE CONSPIRATORIAL THEORY OF HISTORY, Tape 211/145 Min., \$14.95

## THE RISE OF BIG BUSINESS: THE FAILURE OF TRUSTS AND CARTELS, Tape 212/110 Min., \$14.95

## THE PROGRESSIVE ERA TRIPLE ALLIANCE: GOVERNMENT AS CARTELIZER, Tape 213/156 Min., \$15.95

## THE INFLATIONARY BOOM OF THE 1920s, Tape 214/132 Min., \$14.95

## THE NEW DEAL AND POST-WAR INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM, Tape 215/85 Min., \$9.95

## THE FUTURE OF LIBERTARIANISM, Tape 216/85 Min., \$9.95

While the Great Depression resulted in the partial collapse of the system articulated during this period, the New Deal was its total victory—and participation in World War II its partial result. The collapse of the international monetary system and of free trade produced the conflict leading up to the war. And even then, many people learned to profit from the consequences of statism.

In broadest outlines, this is what is covered here: the nature and structure of the evolution of our present political system. But "broadest outlines" are not enough. For the true hallmark of these lectures is their wealth—a really staggering wealth—of detail. This is no "overview" or abstract discussion; it is a condensation of details upon details and an integration of facts according to Rothbard's individualist-free-market perspective and methodological precepts. "Business" is not treated as a monolith or as an abstraction. The most exciting feature of the lectures is that Rothbard focuses on *who* and *why*.

In a century or so, Murray N. Rothbard may well be recognized as one of the greatest historians of the twentieth century. This series of lectures is thus a multiple bonus: a historic document, a vast contribution to the libertarian ideology, a detailed representation of how our present system evolved, a brilliantly integrated compendium of facts, and a milestone in contemporary historiography. Don't miss it! REVIEWED BY R.A. CHILDS, JR. / *Cassette Recordings* / Entire Set \$69.50

## REBELS AGAINST WAR: THE AMERICAN PEACE MOVEMENT, 1941-1960

By Lawrence S. Wittner

In 1842 Richard Cobden wrote to a friend that free trade and the peace movement were "one and the same cause." Libertarians ought to evaluate recent American pacifism in this spirit. *Rebels Against War* gives us the opportunity for sympathetic and critical reflection. It is a thorough study of the peace movement and its unavailing struggle against war and militarism.

World War II crippled pacifism politically; at the same time it enlarged the pacifist hard core by forcing men to take a stand on military service. Mostly leftists, the pacifists were ill disposed to work with isolationists, and Wittner shares their bias. His account of A. J. Muste's vendetta against "right-wing" George Hartmann's Peace Now Movement—which sought to end terror bombing—nonetheless illustrates the futility of such sectarianism. This narrow purism was compensated for by the heroism of the radical pacifists in the C.O. camps and federal prisons. Seeing they were slave laborers, they engaged in Gandhian resistance, striking, fasting, and refusing all cooperation with the authorities. Wittner's account of this provides inspiring reading for libertarians. An equally interesting anarcho-pacifist tendency also emerged during the war, centering around *Politics*, which published Paul Goodman, Milton Mayer, C. Wright Mills, Simone Weil, and editor Dwight MacDonald. Weil denounced "the Apparatus... that calls itself our protector and makes us its slaves."

Libertarians who, like this reviewer, doubt that World War II was the One Just War, will welcome Wittner's acid presentation of that crusade as the brutal and racist bloodbath it was. He unveils skeletons in the patriotic

closet from Admiral Halsey's charming advice, "Kill Japs," to polls revealing surprising support for genocide against Japan. Equally startling is the enthusiasm for Stalin displayed by right-wing industrialists. Wittner sees as the chief result of the war faith in American power and virtue buttressing our government's self-appointed role of world policeman.

Wittner traces the course of the draft and tax refusal undertaken by the Peacemakers, War Resisters League, the *Alternative*, and the Catholic Worker anarchists in the face of Cold War mobilization and bipartisan "McCarthyism." Quaker groups criticized U.S. imperialism, Muste announced a "Third Camp," and others applied Gandhian tactics to the civil-rights struggle. Finally, *Liberation* was founded in 1956 and expressed the humanism and broad (noneconomic) libertarianism of radical pacifists.

The atrocities at Hiroshima and Nagasaki brought into peace circles many shallow "nuclear pacifists" and universal-statists. The author probably gives too much space to such "friends" of peace, many of whom fell for Truman's "police action" in Korea. By 1957 real pacifists coalesced with such liberals in SANE, thereby bringing the first pacifist successes in postwar politics. Wittner treats atom-test and civil-rights protests at length, and discusses the rise of the New Left in an epilogue. He notes that preoccupation with nuclear weapons left many pacifists unprepared for Vietnam. Even so, he concludes that pacifism was more deeply realistic than the supposed "realism" of American foreign policy makers. REVIEWED BY JOSEPH R. STROMBERG / *History* (339 pages) / BFL Price \$2.95



## Ellis—(Continued from page 1)

cetera., as if these were categorical imperatives. There are no policies one "must" follow, Ellis insists; there are only guidelines that help one to increase one's chances for happiness. (Probably Ayn Rand would agree with him on this; he is probably criticizing only her formulations, not the substance of her actual views. Still, the formulations are dangerously misleading.)

Also of interest are Ellis' comments on ritualism, unrealism, intolerance of opposing views, "antibiological" attitudes, deification, and anti-empiricism in Objectivist theory. All these discussions are of a very mixed nature, but they all include useful insights. Documentation is always provided.

## CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

By Fyodor Dostoyevsky

Usually, it seems that if a novel deals with philosophical issues, then it is, too often, an excellent nonprescriptive remedy for insomnia. On the other side of the coin, there are those novels that are exciting enough, but end up being devoid of any philosophical significance. Occasionally, though, one does have that heady experience of reading a novel that combines important ideas with an exciting, dramatic story, and it becomes achingly apparent how vast is the yet unmeasured potential of fiction. Such a novel is *Crime and Punishment*.

Fyodor Dostoyevsky was a novelist who took ideas seriously, so seriously that much of his major work was devoted to exposing the immorality of ideas he considered dangerous. It is such ideas, made manifest through the central character, Raskolnikov, that Dostoyevsky deals with in this great novel. In doing so, he gives us an intense dramatization of the importance of philosophy and ideas and their practical application. Not only does Dostoyevsky make philosophy real and alive for the reader, but philosophy is vitally important—and of personal value—to his characters, as well.

Raskolnikov, a young student, suffers under the grinding burden of poverty and debt. To escape his intolerable condition, he murders a greedy old woman for her money.

Now, murder is hardly a new topic in the annals of literature, nor is it a particularly rare subject today. Any paperback counter shows the continuing popularity of murder stories. But what sets Dostoyevsky—and

Ellis' final chapter, an account of a 1967 debate between himself and Nathaniel Branden on "Rational-Emotive Psychotherapy vs. Objectivist Psychology," provides a dramatic concretization of his whole case. The Objectivists who attended that debate, Ellis states, exhibited such a degree of dogmatism and moralistic intolerance as to prove themselves "one of the most irrational, unscientific, puerile, people-condemning, and devoutly religious groups that now exist."

Here, as in the rest of the book, Ellis surely exaggerates. *Is Objectivism a Religion?* cannot be taken as a balanced, or even particularly accurate, critique of Ayn Rand's philosophy. Read critically, however, it can be of considerable value. REVIEWED BY ROBERT MASTERS / *Psychology* (319 pages) / BFL Price \$5.95

*Crime and Punishment*—apart is that he is not satisfied with the surface details of the crime. He plumbs the criminal mind, searching and examining every motive, scrutinizing and illuminating the philosophical basis by which Raskolnikov attempts to justify the taking of another human being's life.

Raskolnikov does indeed compile an impressive list of justifications for the murder, and for each one there is a corresponding philosophical position. Society will be better off—he rationalizes—without the grasping greed of the woman; there is no such thing as morality, neither right nor wrong; this will be his only crime—once he has money he will be benevolent and good and kind and generous; on and on he goes. Just as surely, though, it is Raskolnikov himself who demolishes every excuse he can fabricate, every reason he can find, until at last he must confront the stark, harrowing reality of his crime.

However, to speak only of the ideas in the novel does not do justice to the superlative story in which Dostoyevsky encased his philosophical and moral considerations. Dostoyevsky's forte was plot, and *Crime and Punishment* shows what a master he was—undoubtedly one of the greatest. There are enough twists and turns and surprises to keep even the most astute reader in suspense. Everything else becomes secondary before the sweep of his narrative skill.

*Crime and Punishment* is the kind of novel you will not only want to read, but reread again and again. REVIEWED BY JESSE F. KNIGHT/ *Fiction* (492 pages) / BFL Price \$1.95

## AN AFTERWORD FROM READERS,

### Nazi Laissez-Faire?

John Hospers writes in his review of Quigley's *Tragedy and Hope* (BFL, June 1974) that he "had not known, for example, that in its earlier years Hitler's regime was almost laissez-faire, and that Hitler left big business pretty much alone, at least well into World War II." Neither had I! I cannot permit such a morally subversive statement to go unchallenged.

Even a cursory reading of the section on the economy of the Third Reich in Chapter 8 of Shirer's popular *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* should dispel any doubts about the nature of the pre-war Nazi economy; it was statist to the core from its very inception.

Shirer informs us quite directly that the real basis of Germany's economic recovery was rearmament, and that Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, Nazi minister of economics, submitted a report to the Fuehrer as early as 1934 on "the State of Work for War-Economic Mobilization." In 1935 Schacht also told Hitler that "since 'armament had to be camouflaged completely until March 16, 1935 (when Hitler announced conscription for an army of thirty-six divisions), it was necessary to use the printing press' to finance the first stages. He also pointed out with some glee that the funds confiscated from the enemies of the state (mostly Jews) and others taken from blocked foreign accounts had helped pay for Hitler's guns."

Furthermore, Shirer informs us that, in order to organize the economy to suit the purposes of the war-

effort to come, the Nazis compelled by decree in 1933 the organization of all industry into cartels under the Ministry of Economics, and decreed in 1937 the dissolution of all corporations of less than a certain size.

A full reading of this section and a study of the source material to which Shirer makes reference should suffice to clear this matter for anyone who cares to make the effort.

WALTER J. ZIOBRO, JR.  
Fall River, Mass.

### Hummm . . .

I found it disturbing that Dr. Hospers, in his unprecedented (for BFL) three-page review of Quigley's and Allen's books, neglected to quote some of the passages from Quigley that Allen has made justly famous. That omission is the more extraordinary when one reads that (1) "... the recital of facts [by Quigley] is detailed and—as far as one can tell from sample comparisons—accurate. It [the History] is obviously a work of tremendous labor and careful scholarship"; and (2) "If all this [the conspiracy theory] is true, it should be shouted from every housetop in the world. . . ." For the benefit of your readers, here are a few of the statements Quigley makes:

There does exist, and has existed for a generation, an international Anglophile network which operates, to some extent, in the way the radical right believes the Communists act. In fact, this network which we may identify as the Round Table Groups, has no aversion to cooperating with the Communists, or any other groups, and frequently does so. I know of the operations of this network because I have studied it for twenty years and was permitted for two years, in the early 1960's, to examine its papers and secret records. I have no aversion to it or to most of its aims and have, for

much of my life, been close to it and to many of its instruments. I have objected both in the past and recently, to a few of its policies. . . but in general my chief difference of opinion is that it wishes to remain unknown, and I believe its role in history is significant enough to be known.

There are, of course, many other more detailed statements which do add up to more than a "few paragraphs," contrary to Dr. Hospers. Nevertheless he is correct in implying that the Quigley discussion of this "network" does not occupy half the book. So what? Is the importance of a statement deducible from the frequency of its utterance? I fear not. Hospers should recognize (1) Quigley's courage (if it be such) in exposing, however briefly, an "international network," that "wishes to remain unknown"; and (2) that Quigley is favorably disposed to the conspiracy and therefore feels no need to shout warnings from rooftops. The difference in emphasis in Quigley and Allen has nothing to do with the existence and importance of the conspiracy, but depends upon their differing views of the threat (or promise) of the conspiracy.

I do hope that the example of Dr. Antony Sutton being removed from his position at the Hoover Institution upon publication of his *National Suicide*, which contains a very cautious suggestion that there might be a conspiracy involved in America's national suicide, has not influenced Dr. Hospers in his conclusion.

If the good doctor is genuinely interested (genuine interest is so rare—most people regard interest in conspiracy as evidence of "paranoia," thus neatly evading the argument by an *ad hominem* thrust) in "further evidence," then his inquiries ought to be directed not only to the John Birch Society, but also to Dr. Quigley, who "has studied it for twenty years and was permitted for two years. . . to examine its papers and secret records."

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



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(Continued on page 14)

## AUTHORS, AND REVIEWERS

I hold Allen's book as conjecture—but a conjecture based upon evidence that other conjectures willfully and aprioristically refuse to take into consideration. The illogic of the anti-conspiracy theorists is nowhere better exemplified than in *For the New Intellectual*: "There is no diabolical conspiracy to destroy it [America]; no conspiracy could be big enough and strong enough." It is such "deduction" of "facts" from opinions that is the trademark of all those who have decided a priori that there is not, nor can be, a conspiracy.

JOHN W. ROBBINS  
 Washington, D.C.

### The Great Testosterone Debate

I can't speak for the other letter writers but I can tell [Murray Rothbard] why I didn't mention the testosterone argument. I didn't mention it because it's a ridiculous bit of equivocation, and Goldberg's labeling it "scientific" doesn't make it so, or even true!

To the extent animal studies of testosterone level vs. aggression are cited, sociologist Goldberg's conclusions regarding "status drive" are unjustified. When biologists talk about aggression they mean it in the dictionary sense—disposed to attack or encroach or behave in a hostile manner. To initiate the use of force, as libertarians would say. Sure, it's a very behaviorist approach but there's not much else they can do—they can't ask a nonverbal animal why it did something.

So when biologists say monkeys that have more testosterone are more aggressive they mean that those monkeys get in fights more. They don't mean that these monkeys necessarily get to the top spot in the pack, or are trying to get to the top spot—or that such a correlation is applicable to all species in all contexts, and certainly not that the correlation is applicable to the self-conscious and self-controlling human animal.

However, if you [Dr. Rothbard] want to talk strictly

on the basis of biology, then it would seem that the existence of testosterone—"crazed" males in this world makes the possibility of a libertarian society highly problematical—you fellows are "naturally" nonlibertarian. (The Victorians knew this—that's why women were revered for their superior moral qualities!) So it's not feminists who are ignoring biology—it's male libertarians who are denying their own natures!...

But, [it may be answered], Goldberg defined aggression as "status drive." May be—but then he can't rely on the biological data and is in the position of any other social philosopher making a priori statements about human nature.

In fact, I'm surprised at [Murray Rothbard] being so glib as to believe Goldberg when he says there is such a thing as "status drive" or "initiative" able to be defined precisely and measured in such a way that a sociologist can say this person has more of it than that person does or that this group has more of it than that group does—and that it can be shown to correlate with one and only one physical attribute. (And a nondichotomous one at that: both sexes produce both estrogen and testosterone with levels being roughly equal until puberty, and most men only draw slightly ahead of most women in testosterone production after age 18 or so!)

[Rothbard's] faith in sociology is touching, but misplaced—it's a shame [he] didn't get hold of Stanislaw Andreski's *Social Science as Sorcery* when BFL carried it a while back! Sociology deals with all sorts of fascinating problems and I'm enjoying my graduate study in the field, but I'll let you in on a professional secret—mainstream positivist sociology (of which Goldberg is a not too illustrious example) is in epistemological shambles and is receiving increasing criticism from within the field. So it's not only a case that Goldberg switches the definition of aggression when going from animal studies into human social studies, but that the

concepts he employs, such as "male dominance," "status drive," "initiative," etc. are operationally meaningless. (Every society known has been male dominated? What is dominance? How do you define and measure it such that all observers in all cultures armed with your definition will come to the same conclusion about some behavior they observe?) *Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes*, by Robinson and Shaver... [is] a state-of-the-art compilation of all of the survey instruments extant which "measure" attitudes such as "alienation," "anomie," "authoritarianism," "drive," "self-esteem" etc.—read it and [then see if there's any reason to agree with Rothbard]... that "Professor Goldberg... rests on the high ground of scientific truth." My answer, as a former medicinal chemist and current student of sociology, is: NO WAY!

LYNN KINSKY  
 Executive Editor, Reason  
 Santa Barbara, Calif.

I'm not sure how relevant this is, but here it goes anyway: An old sociology professor of mine once told me that the difference between a sociologist and an ordinary fellow is that a sociologist will spend \$5,000 in federal funds to find a town's red-light district whereas Joe Average accomplishes the same thing by giving a cabby five bucks.—KTP

### "Perceptive and Helpful Review"

Very many thanks for your kindness in forwarding me a copy of the May number of *Books for Libertarians*, and for including in it a review of my book *Knowing and the Function of Reason*.

Would you please express my thanks also to Mr. Rollins for a very perceptive and helpful review.

The best of good wishes to the managing editor, his staff and his journal.

RICHARD AARON  
 Aberystwyth, Wales, UK



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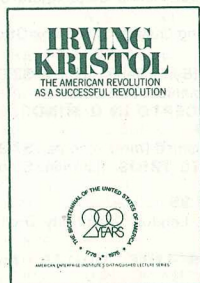


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By Irving Kristol

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■ The *Inflation Survival Letter* (published by BLF's Robert Kephart) in conjunction with International Economics Consultants, is sponsoring the 1974 Wealth Protection Seminars in Los Angeles on August 24 and New York City on September 7. The eight-hour intensive seminar will cover all aspects of hard money economics: gold, silver, foreign currencies, etc. in addition to all aspects of personal retreat-havens. Speakers include Jerome Smith, Anthony T. Easton, James P. McKeever, Don Stephens and James Cawdrey. Admission \$120 per person, \$160 per couple. Checks payable to International Economics Consultants c/o BFL. Respondents will be advised of location, time, and other details.

■ A seminar on World War II and Cold War Historical Revisionism will be conducted by Dr. James J. Martin, leading revisionist historian, at Claremont Men's College. Registration for the seminar will be held at 8:30 p.m. August 30, and the seminar days are August 31, September 1, and the morning of September 2. Tuition cost is \$35 per person. Some dormitory space is available for out-of-town seminar attendees; for reservations for the seminar as well as dormitory information write to: Revisionist Seminar, P.O. Box 2001, Ventura, Ca. 93001.

**REVIEWERS FOR THIS ISSUE:** R. A. Childs, Jr. is an associate editor of BFL. William Danks has taught at a private elementary school for the past six years and is a fellow of the University of Hawaii's Faculty Institute on Earth 2020. H. Y. Eysenck is director of the Institute of Psychiatry and professor of psychology at the University of London. His many works include *The I.Q. Argument* and *Uses and Abuses of Psychology*. A longer version of his review of *Race* appeared in the British journal *Books and Bookmen*. John Hospers is professor of philosophy at the University of Southern California, where, among other subjects, he teaches aesthetics. In his spare time he is running for the governorship of California on the Libertarian Party ticket. Jesse F. Knight is a free-lance writer, "currently starving in Fargo, North Dakota." His fiction, literary articles, and reviews have been published in many magazines. Tibor Machan is assistant professor of philosophy at S.U.N.Y., Fredonia, an editor of *Reason* magazine, and a recently appointed associate editor of BFL. Robert Masters is a graduate student in economics at Columbia University. Robert Sherrill is Washington correspondent of the *Nation* magazine and a prolific writer on American politics. Adam V. Reed is a Ph.D. candidate in psychology at the University of Oregon. L. A. Rollins is managing editor of *Invictus* and a free-lance comedy writer. Scott Royce was recently elected an at-large member of the Libertarian Party National Executive Committee and is the Executive Director of the Virginia Libertarian Party. Joseph R. Stromberg holds a masters degree in history from Florida Atlantic University and is active in the Libertarian Party.



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