

The Humane Studies Review: A Research and Study Guide

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Introduction

We have deliberately called our study guide *The Humane Studies Review* because we believe the phrase, "Humane Studies," best describes the field of our interest. Our concern is with all those disciplines which deal with human action and with the moral and economic choices people make in their everyday lives. They include not only the traditional social sciences of law, political science, economics and sociology, but also the "*sciences humaines*"—those more broadly conceived investigations into human nature and history which are normally made by the students of moral philosophy, intellectual and the more traditional forms of history. We believe the libertarian or Real Liberal (throughout this guide, the terms libertarian, Classical and Real Liberal will be used synonymously) approach to the "*sciences humaines*" can offer profound and original insights into the problems of human conflict and association. Thus, it will be an unashamedly Liberal perspective which will be taken in all our essays.

We should also be explicit about what we mean by the term "Real Liberalism." Fundamentally, we are concerned with the dignity, worth and sanctity of the individual. We hold that all individuals are unique and that their uniqueness and differences are the source from which their various, different values flow. From this difference in values and interest comes, in turn, the need to engage in exchanges, to trade peacefully, and to form voluntary associations to satisfy the human need for companionship, security and culture.

We also believe that each individual human being is morally autonomous and should be held fully responsible for his or her actions, if and when they impinge upon the rights of others. Only when human uniqueness and autonomy are respected (by respecting others' privacy and tolerating their differences) can the individual achieve self-actualisation and develop his or her potential to the full.

The means by which the privacy and autonomy of the individual are defined is property. Each person has an imprescriptible right of ownership in his or her own body as well as in all objects into which the individual's labor has been mixed. The right of property defines an inviolable space around the individual and thus protects him or her from the invasions of others. When property rights are respected the individual can develop as he or she thinks fit.

Rights also provide a sound method by which social conflicts can be avoided or, if necessary, resolved. To respect property rights one needs a legal system whose function it is to enforce individual property rights. Traditionally it has been the task of private or common

law to do this and to adjudicate the conflicting claims to property which are the inevitable result of well-intentioned human interaction.

Central to the Classical Liberal philosophy is the principle of justice. By this we mean that each person should do, towards every other person, all that justice requires him or her to do (i.e., return stolen property, pay restitution for damages to person or property) and that each person should abstain from doing to another, anything that justice forbids him or her to do (i.e., any act of robbery, arson, murder or any other crime against the person or property of another). When individual personal and property rights are respected, the unmolested free exchange of property titles between individuals can take place. The freedom to trade is a fundamental tenet of Real Liberalism and extends to both the domestic and the foreign sphere of human action. It is merely the application of the principle of voluntarism to economic matters. When the interests of the interacting parties are rightly understood, there is complete harmony of interests. On an international plane, this harmony of interests results in peace—the most important policy implication of Classical Liberalism.

The result of innumerable voluntary exchanges and interactions is a spontaneous order. Being neither the planned outcome or the desire of any one person or group of people, it is rather the unintended consequence of free people going about their rightful business. If the original property rights are just, then the result of this dynamic and constantly adjusting socio-economic constellation will be a just social order. By using our reason we can investigate and understand the social universe around us. We can determine when a claim to property is just and when it is not. Reason is the tool we use to arbitrate disputes and resolve the conflicts between human beings. Force is eschewed as a means of solving disputes and is resorted to only as a last resort to defend personal and property rights, when all other means of solving the dispute have failed. To the Classical Liberals, war was essentially a criminal activity which was undertaken by governments in the interest of vested interests and at the tremendous expense of the individual.

If war and other forms of violent activity can be reduced to their absolute minimum and the peaceful effects of trade and voluntary association are permitted to be felt, then there are some grounds for optimism. The market is the best means we have for improving the material and spiritual condition of the broad mass of the people. Only if people are allowed to

pursue their own interests free of supervision and the forceful intervention of governments, churches or political parties can we achieve the high level of prosperity and progress which the market promises us.

These are the basic principles of Real Liberalism and we intend discussing them more fully in both their historical and theoretical forms. Future review essays will discuss the historical development of the ideas which form our intellectual liberal heritage. We will also discuss these ideas in their modern theoretical form in an attempt to flesh out a consistent and comprehensive Real Liberal world view.

This brings us to the aims of this study guide.

The primary aim of this study guide is to help students learn about the complexities of the liberal world view in the most efficient and pleasurable way possible and, at the same time, to inform them of what is going on in libertarian and traditional scholarly circles. We intend writing and editing bibliographic review essays on topics of interest to students of liberty, which will cover political philosophy, economics, history, the history of ideas (especially the history of Real Liberal thought), law and jurisprudence, moral philosophy, and the humane sciences in general. Many of these bibliographies will be written by libertarian experts who have written on or who are working on these topics. Our intention is to present the most important books and articles, both modern and hard to find classics, with a critical commentary so that the reader can quickly find which book or article to read first, in order to begin his or her reading in that subject area. Most importantly, we also hope to show how a particular author approaches his subject and how his ideological perspective can distort or lead to misunderstandings. By critically assessing each author's contribution, it is hoped that a truly liberal perspective will emerge.

A second aim of this newsletter is to help libertarians regain their intellectual heritage. From what one learns in political science and history classes it would be easy to reach the conclusion that no credible alternative to statism, in its various guises, has ever been developed. This is a completely erroneous conclusion to draw and we hope to demonstrate by means of our bibliographical review essays on the history of liberal ideas that libertarians can proudly claim a long and distinguished tradition which stretches back at least as far as the 16th century—if not right back to the Roman Republic. It is important to realize that the ideological struggle between State Power and Liberty is probably as old as human society itself, and that we can learn much from studying the efforts of others to understand and oppose the intruding and disruptive activities of the state and other organized coercive groups. The study of our libertarian heritage is instructive for its philosophical and historical insights into the nature of individual rights and the power of the state. On a more personal level, it is often profoundly moving and inspiring to read of partially successful attempts to remove the shackles of state power, or of the courageous—though often futile—opposition of particular individuals to the grossest excesses of state power throughout the centuries. However, given the direction of world history since the late 19th century, the occasions for optimism and inspiration have considerably diminished; this can only strengthen our de-

termination to understand the past. For it is only by understanding the past that we can begin to understand the present, and thereby take steps to change our present condition.

The third aim of this newsletter is to help students arm themselves with the intellectual tools necessary to oppose the idea of the State in the often unfriendly environment of a university or college. Many libertarians find themselves isolated on campus far from centers of libertarian activity. They are faced with the choice of hiding their political views under a bushel or making their views known, thereby having to answer the criticism of faculty and other students who share the dominant political faith. If the former choice is made, the cause of liberty is not advanced and others cannot learn of the libertarian alternative. If the latter course is our choice, we must be sure we understand the paradigm of liberty and can ably defend it in the face of opposition. It is hoped that this newsletter will assist those who choose the difficult, but ultimately rewarding task of offering others a well-thought-out, radically different view of the social universe.

To do this requires knowledge and the confidence which knowledge brings. By suggesting important books to read, by reviewing articles and books around a particular theme and, perhaps most importantly, by attempting to show how various and varied ideas interconnect and relate to a unified libertarian world-view, we will be able to assist this process of learning in some way. Of course, given the limitations of space, we cannot hope to include every book and article on any given topic. All we are trying to do is to provide a starting point for your own further reading and research (perhaps for a term paper or honor's thesis).

We hope you will find this newsletter a useful tool, something which may lead you to something new and which will save you valuable time in searching for material. Above all, we hope you will be stimulated to learn more about our great libertarian heritage and the exciting and rapidly growing body of thought which goes by the collective name of Libertarianism.

An Outline of the History of Libertarian Thought

Part 1. From Radical Calvinism to the American Revolution

Although it is impossible to give a complete history of libertarian thought in a couple of pages, the aim of this introductory review essay is to sketch a very rough outline of such a history. Later reviews will deal with each major period and topic in greater depth. Here, however, we are only concerned with giving the reader some feeling for the rich heritage and varied origins of modern libertarian thought. With a reading of the classic texts and the recommended secondary literature, we can begin to appreciate the importance of understanding libertarian ideas in their historical context and their uneven development over the centuries.

It must be remembered that only very recently has a comprehensive libertarian world-view, encompassing a belief in natural rights, the free and unhampered market economy, methodological individualism,

anti-war and anti-imperialism and radical anti-statism, been developed.

Many people are aware of the contributions to liberal thought made by Ludwig von Mises, Ayn Rand, Murray Rothbard and Robert Nozick, but it should be remembered that libertarianism did not begin with these thinkers nor can it end with them. It has taken considerable time to reach the present stage in the development of libertarian thought and it would be a mistake to ignore the people and movements which have contributed to its formulation. Our interest in the history of Real Liberal thought is no mere antiquarian interest but rather a recognition that the concerns which preoccupied great libertarians of the past are still timely. The great historical struggle between Liberty and Power (see the essay on this subject by Roy Childs, "The Permanent Revolution: Liberty Against Power," Laissez Faire Books, New York, 1975) is still with us and is far from over. We can learn much from previous efforts to come to terms with and understand State Power and it is for this reason we consider a study of the history of Libertarian ideas important.

To assist you in learning about the great libertarian movements of the past we will list some journal articles or chapters from books at the end of Part One. We feel these books and articles would be a useful way of introducing you to these ideas and could serve as basic reading for a study group or a weekly seminar.

I. Radical Calvinism and the Reformation

One should begin a history of Libertarian or Real Liberal thought with the Radical Calvinists of the 16th century Reformation. Out of the religious wars between the Protestants and the Catholic Church emerged a surprisingly modern theory of individual natural rights and justified violent resistance to authority. Using ancient Roman private law concepts to justify rebellion against tyrants, Radical Calvinists such as John Ponet, Christopher Goodman, George Buchanan in Scotland and England, and Francois Hotman, Theodore Beza and Mornay in France, transformed an essentially religious *duty* to resist into a secular, moral, and even natural, *right* of resistance. The best general introduction to the political thought of the Radical Calvinists is Quentin Skinner's *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, Volume II: *The Age of Reformation* (Cambridge University Press, 1978), especially Part III: "Calvinism and the Theory of Revolution." On the classical and medieval origins of tyrannicide see the older work by Oscar Jászi and John D. Lewis, *Against the Tyrant: The Tradition and Theory of Tyrannicide* (Glencoe, Ill., 1957). To read the original texts, see John Ponet's *A Short Treatise of Politic Power*, reprinted in W. S. Hudson, *John Ponet 1516-1556. Advocate of Limited Monarchy* (Chicago, 1942); Christopher Goodman's "How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed of Their Subjects. . ." in *Puritan Political Ideas 1558-1794*, ed. Edmund S. Morgan (Indianapolis, 1965), pp. 1-14; George Buchanan, *The Powers of the Crown in Scotland*, translated and edited by Charles Flinn Arrowood (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1949) and also the recent biography by I.D. McFarlane, *Buchanan* (Duckworth, 1981); Francois Hotman, *Francogallia*, translated by J. H. M. Salmon, ed. R. E. Giesey (Cambridge 1972); Theodore Beza, "The Right of Magistrates over Their Sub-

jects," in J. H. Franklin, *Constitutionalism and Resistance in the 16th Century* (N.Y., 1969); see especially the almost anarchic anonymous pamphlet in French, "Political Discourses on the Various Forms of Power Established by God in the World," in Simon Goulart, *Mémoires de d'état de France sous Charles neuvième* (Geneva, 1578); and Mornay, *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* (Edinburgh, 1579).

One of the best examples of the abstract, universal, and secular reasoning of the 16th century monarchomachs comes from the young Catholic Étienne de la Boétie. His famous and influential *Discourse of Voluntary Servitude* (1548) was a spirited call for widespread civil disobedience. Boétie made two very profound insights into the nature of the State, viz., that all states are in essence a hierarchy of privilege which benefits a limited minority and that all states, including tyrannous ones, are based upon general popular acceptance. He concluded that tyranny can only be overthrown when the majority of the ruled withdraws its consent and thereby deprives the ruling minority of its support and grudging acceptance. The best modern edition is that introduced by Murray N. Rothbard, *The Politics of Obedience* (Free Life Editions, N.Y., 1975). For those who wish to view the original French alongside a 1735 English translation see *The Will to Bondage*, Libertarian Broadides no. 6, ed. William Flygare (Ralph Myles Pub., Colorado Springs, 1974). For a discussion of Boétie's views see Rothbard's introduction and the essay by Nannerl O. Keohane, "The Radical Humanism of Etienne de la Boétie," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 38, 1977, pp. 119-130.

II. The Levellers and the English Revolution

The next major period of libertarian activity took place during the English Civil War (1642-1647), when a colossal outpouring of self-consciously libertarian pamphlets, speeches, and debates by the Levellers accompanied the Parliamentarians' challenge to the Crown. The Levellers are crucially important in the history of libertarian thought because they mark the beginning of the Radical Liberal tradition in England. They were the first to argue for a natural right to property which was prior to and independent of any political or social structure. They should also be remembered for their formulation of the concept of "self-proprietty," or self-ownership, as well as for their uncompromising opposition to political and economic privilege in all its forms. The best way to learn about Leveller political theory is to read the collection of speeches, debates, and pamphlets from the turbulent 1640s, especially those by the most consistent and radical Levellers, Richard Overton, William Walwyn and John Lilburne. See C. H. Firth (ed.) *The Clarke Papers* (1891-1901 Camden Series, 4 vols.); W. Haller (ed.) *Tracts on Liberty on the Puritan Revolution 1638-1647* (N.Y., 1934) 3 vols.; A. S. P. Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty* (London, 1974); Don M. Wolfe (ed.) *Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution* (N.Y., 1944); W. Haller and G. Davies (eds.) *The Leveller Tracts 1647-1653* (N.Y., 1944); two smaller but valuable collections are those edited by G. E. Aylmer, *The Levellers in the English Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975) and A. L. Morton, *Freedom in Arms* (N.Y., 1975). Useful secondary works include

T. C. Pease, *The Leveller Movement* (Washington, DC, 1910); Joseph Frank, *The Levellers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955); W. Haller, *Liberty and Reformation in the Puritan Revolution* (N.Y., 1955) and the books by H. N. Brailsford, *The Levellers and the English Revolution*, ed. Christopher Hill (Manchester, 1976); the very important work by C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford, 1964); and Christopher Hill's stimulating and rich *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (Harmondsworth, 1974); as well as his recent biography of Milton, *Milton and the English Revolution* (Harmondsworth, 1979). All three authors should be used carefully because of their Marxist perspectives. Many authors cannot decide whether the Levellers are radical democrats or possessive individualists. Most importantly for libertarians, however, are their ideas on property rights, self-ownership, free trade, and their profound influence on the history of Classical liberal thought. The extent to which they wanted to extend the franchise is only of secondary importance. On Richard Overton see the essay by Carl Watner, "'Come What, Come Will!' Richard Overton, Libertarian Leveller," *Journal of Libertarian Studies*, IV, Fall 1980, pp. 405-432.

III. The Glorious Revolution and the Commonwealthman Tradition

Before leaving the 17th century, mention must be made of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the two libertarian authors working at that time whose political theories were to be so influential in the 18th century: John Locke and Algernon Sidney.

The importance of John Locke rests on his theories of property rights, justified revolution, and limited and constitutional government. Locke wrote his first draft of the *Second Treatise of Government* during the period 1679-1683 to provide a theoretical justification for resistance to the sovereign. Later, during his exile in Holland, the draft was completed and published in 1690. Locke's theory of the individual's natural right to property and his "homestead" principle for acquiring previously unowned property by "mixing one's labor" with it, provided the basis for his theory of the *limited* and *revocable* powers of any government. When the state overstepped its bounds and violated the natural rights of its subjects, it was the state, rather than the citizens, which was guilty of rebellion and must therefore be resisted by force. Locke's ideas were to provide a fundamental justification for the American colonists' revolt against the British empire and they remain a classic formulation of libertarian political theory.

The definitive edition of Locke's *Two Treatises* is Locke's *Two Treatises of Government, A Critical Edition with an Introduction and Apparatus Criticus*, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge University Press, 1965) whose introduction is important for having proved that the draft of the *Treatises* was written *before* the Revolution and was not an *ex post facto* justification. As a reminder that Locke was not a thoroughgoing libertarian see J. W. Gough's Introduction to John Locke, *Epistola de Tolerantia. A Letter on Toleration*, ed. R. Klibansky (Oxford, 1968), where it is shown that Locke did not believe in complete toleration, espe-

cially for atheists. Important secondary works on Locke include Maurice Cranston's definitive *John Locke, A Biography* (London, 1957); Richard Cox, *Locke on War and Peace* (Oxford, 1960); John Dunn, *The Political Thought of John Locke* (Cambridge, 1969); Julian H. Franklin, *John Locke and the Theory of Sovereignty* (Cambridge, 1978) and C. B. Macpherson's *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford, 1977). See also the bibliographical review essay by Karen Vaughn, "John Locke's Theory of Property," in *Literature of Liberty*, (Spring, 1980) and her *John Locke: Economist and Social Scientist*, (Chicago, 1980). A very useful collection of essays on Locke has been edited by Gordon J. Schochet, *Life, Liberty and Property: Essays on Locke's Political Ideas*, (Belmont, Calif., 1971).

As important as Locke is, one should not forget Algernon Sidney, whose *Discourses Concerning Government* (1698), justifying rebellion against the king and the primacy of parliament, became a virtual "textbook of Revolution" in the 18th century. Sidney influenced Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Jonathan Mayhew and even William Lloyd Garrison in America. The English Radical Whigs, Robert Molesworth, John Toland, Thomas Gordon, John Trenchard, and Thomas Hollis considered themselves part of the tradition begun by Sidney, Milton, Harrington, Marchmont Needham and Henry Neville. Fortunately, the *Discourses* have been reprinted by the Arno Press in their *European Political Thought: Traditions and Endurance* series (1979). Caroline Robbins's article is also useful, "Algernon Sidney's *Discourses Concerning Government*: Textbook of Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series vol. IV, no. 3, 1947, pp. 267-296. On the 17th-century origins of the Commonwealthman and Radical Whig tradition see the important work by Caroline Robbins, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman* (Harvard University Press, 1959), Chapters II and III.

A lesser known figure in the Commonwealthman tradition is William Wollaston, whose essay *The Religion of Nature Delineated* (originally published in 1722, but reissued by Stanley Tweyman, N.Y., 1974) George Smith has called "one of the finest essays on property rights ever penned." (See Smith's essay, "William Wollaston on Property Rights," *Journal of Libertarian Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3, Fall 1978, pp. 217-224.) Wollaston's essay is important because of its more radical defense of property rights than even Locke achieved. Wollaston stresses the right of "prime occupancy," the right to transfer property "by compact or donation," the absolute right to defend with force one's person and property from aggression, and the crucial importance of restitution in remedying rights' violations.

Introductory Readings.

1. Radical Calvinism.

Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 1978); Volume II, "The Age of Reformation", Part III "Calvinism and the Theory of Revolution," chapters 7,8,9.

Étienne de la Boétie, *The Politics of Obedience*, Murray N. Rothbard (ed.), (Free Life Editions, N.Y., 1975).

2. The Levellers.

C.B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford, 1964). Part three deals with the Levellers.

G.E. Aylmer (ed.), *The Levellers in the English Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975). The Introduction and Overton's great "An Arrow against all Tyrants", pp. 68f.

3. The Commonwealthmen.

John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government* (any edition.)

John Dunn, "Consent in the Political Theory of John Locke", in G.J. Schochet (ed.) *Life, Liberty and Property. Essays on Locke's Political Ideas* (Belmont, Calif., 1971), pp.129-161.

Crosscurrents

Many of our bibliographies and review essays will deal with Classical Liberal classics which are often extremely hard to find and have been long out of print. Some have been found covered in dust on library shelves, obviously never touched, with their pages uncut since the time they were bound. However, when important *recent* books and articles come to our attention and which have not yet been mentioned in our bibliographies, we will briefly review them here. As the name "Crosscurrents" suggests, these books and articles will not necessarily be explicitly libertarian but will contain insights and important information of interest to students of liberty and which, with critical awareness and care, can be integrated into the Real Liberal corpus.

Natural Rights

A very important book by the Cambridge historian Richard Tuck, *Natural Rights Theories: Their Origin and Development* (Cambridge University Press, 1979), attempts to deal with the difficulties which 20th-century philosophers have had in writing about rights by undertaking an historical investigation of natural rights theories, in particular, the two main periods in which natural rights were discussed (1350-1450 and 1590-1670). The key figure for the revival of natural rights theories was Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) whose writings, especially his *Introduction to the Jurisprudence of Holland*, trans. and ed. R. W. Lee (Oxford, 1926), provided justification for both conservative authoritarian and radical libertarian theories of natural rights. The latter tradition developed Grotius's ideas on the individual's inalienable rights during the 17th century and Tuck, interestingly enough, sees continuity between the Levellers and less radical Independents and the radical Whigs of the post-Restoration period (e.g. James Tyrrell's *Patriarcha non Monarchia* (1681) and John Locke). Tuck's book is particularly useful and important in showing the constant tension within natural rights theories between their conservative and their revolutionary political implications. The most developed Leveller statement on inalienable individual property rights was put forward by Richard Overton in his 1646 and 1647 pamphlets (especially *An Appeale*, July 17, 1647, reprinted in Don M. Wolfe (ed.), *Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution* (New York, 1967 (1944), pp. 157-188,

particularly p. 162) and represents, along with John Locke's *Second Treatise*, the most revolutionary aspect of natural rights theory before the 18th century. Tuck should be read alongside Quentin Skinner's *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 1979, 2 vols.) in order to understand the development of modern radical liberal thought.

English Anti-Militarism

Lois G. Schwoerer, "No Standing Armies!": *The Antiarmy Ideology in 17th-Century England* (John Hopkins University Press, 1974): A common theme of 17th and 18th-century liberal thought was a thoroughgoing anti-militarism. Standing armies were seen as the tools of absolutist and imperial monarchs, to be used to crush internal opposition to tyranny or to impose the imperial yoke upon other peoples. Schwoerer examines the 17th-century English opposition to standing armies (and hence, opposition to the powers of the crown) in order to appreciate the results of the Revolution of 1688 and the Bill of Rights, as well as to trace English influence on the American Revolution. Of particular interest is the Leveller agitation within the New Model Army for civil control of military matters and popular election of officers, restrictions upon the demands of the state for military service and for an end to the practice of imposing martial law in peacetime. Also of interest is the pamphlet war against standing armies initiated in October 1697 by John Trenchard with *An Argument Showing that a Standing Army is Inconsistent with a Free Government and Absolutely Destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy* and his later *A Short History of Standing Armies in England* (November 1698). John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon were to exert a considerable influence on the American Revolution with these pamphlets as well as with their widely circulated and read *Cato's Letters, or Essays on Liberty, Civil and Religious* (London, 1733) reprinted in two volumes by Da Capo Press, New York, 1971. See in particular Nos. 25, 33, 59, 62, 63, 64, 65, 94 and 98 for their views on political power, liberty and armies. Schwoerer's book is important in showing the 17th-century origins of liberal anti-military sentiment, a theme which was to recur in the thought of the 19th-century classical economists. See Edmund Silberner, *The Problem of War in the 19th-Century Economic Thought* (Princeton University Press, 1946), reprinted by Garland, New York, 1972.

Class Analysis

Other books which have recently come of our attention include the following:

Alexander Rüstow, *Freedom and Domination: A Historical Critique of Civilization* (Princeton University Press, 1980), ed. Dankwart A. Rustow, translated by Salvator Attanasio. A brilliant classical liberal interpretation of western civilization which uses a sophisticated class analysis. The book is marred by its "abbreviation," i.e., chapters are left out and the all-important footnotes have been removed. The only remedy is to return to the original, *Ortbestimmung der Gegenwart*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1950, 1952, 1957).

From another perspective, class analysis is used effectively by Arno J. Mayer in his *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War* (Pantheon, New York, 1981). Mayer has annoyed Marxists by ar-

guing that the *ancien régime* in pre-World War One Europe was essentially feudal rather than industrial and, through its control of the state apparatus, was able to protect its privileged position in a time of rapid economic change and to "set the terms for the implantation of manufactural and industrial capitalism, thereby making it serve their own purposes." Mayer sees the Two World Wars of this century as elements of a general crisis and Thirty Years War, similar to that of the 17th century, and with equally revolutionary implications.

Liberal Classics in Reprint

Liberty Press/Liberty Classics, 7440 North Shadeland, Indianapolis, Indiana 46250, is currently reprinting some important libertarian classics. Not only are the books well-bound and presented, they are extremely cheap. A catalog is available on request. Some of my favorites include: Lecky's *Democracy and Liberty*; Mises' *The Theory of Money and Credit* and *Socialism*; the *New Individualist Review*, which contains important essays edited by the University of Chicago chapter of the *Intercollegiate Society of Individualists* in the 1960s, including essays by Milton Friedman, Ronald Hamowy, Israel Kirzner, Leonard Liggio, Ralph Raico, Murray Rothbard (especially his "H. L. Mencken: The Joyous Libertarian," Summer 1962, vol. 2, no. 2, p. 253); Hayek's *The Counter-Revolution of Science: Studies on the Abuse of Reason*, which demonstrates the absurdities resulting from transferring the methodology of the "hard" sciences to the "humane" sciences; Frank Chodorov's *Fugitive Essays*, written by one of the great libertarians of the 20th century and a forefather of the modern libertarian movement; and Auberon Herbert's *The Right and Wrong of Compulsion by the State, and Other Essays*, a collection of essays by an almost forgotten English Individualist and "Voluntaryist" of the late 19th century.

Critiques of Socialism

The latest issue of the *Journal of Libertarian Studies* (vol. 5, no. 1, Winter 1981) is devoted to "An Economic Critique of Socialism," with five important and stimulating essays edited by Don Lavoie of George Mason University. The purpose of these papers is to reassess the famous "calculation debate" of the 1930s in which Mises and Hayek raised devastating criticisms of the possibility and efficiency of "collectivist economic planning." The common theme connecting these papers by David Ramsay Steele, Robert Bradley, Jr., Don Lavoie and Sheldon Richman is "that the notion of planning an entire economy from the center is an utter sham both theoretically and practically." Only the spontaneous order of the free market can supply the information necessary to sustain a complex industrial economic system.

One of the persistent yet perplexing questions in social and economic theory is how does a socialist society function, or better yet, why do they function as poorly as they do? Given the current volatility in Eastern Europe, the timeliness of two recent reprints by the Liberty Fund couldn't be better. *Socialism. An Economic and Sociological Analysis*, by Ludwig von Mises remains the classic social, historical and economic analysis of all aspects of socialism. This book

has also been reissued, in German, by the Philosophia Verlag in Munich as part of their Carl Menger Library series. (Their first volume was the original German edition of *Human Action*, *Die Nationalökonomie* (1940).) The second volume on socialism published by the Liberty Fund is Trygve J.B. Hoff's *Economic Calculation in the Socialist Society*, which is a lesser known but penetrating analysis of the theoretical economic aspects of socialism. Both Mises and Hoff should be read in conjunction with the special issue of the *Journal of Libertarian Studies* on socialism (see above).

Transfer Society

The post-civil war period was witness to numerous interventions by the American government into social and economic affairs. The practice was to take from some people and give to others. The result was what Terry Anderson and Peter J. Hill entitle their recent book-essay, *The Birth of the Transfer Society*, (Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 1980). The authors trace this trend through the First World War up to the present day and show that when the government intervenes in economic matters, the transfers do not just "wash out," but create instead a negative-sum game.

Hayek

Except for the important book by Gerald P. O'Driscoll, Jr., *Economics as a Coordination Problem: The Contributions of Friedrich A. Hayek* (Sheed Andrews and MacMeel, Kansas City, 1977), in which the author integrates the economic contributions of F.A. Hayek into a comprehensive whole, no one has attempted to integrate the other aspects of Hayek's social thinking on law, philosophy, history, the history of ideas, as well as economics into a systematic *Weltanschauung*. Norman P. Barry's *Hayek's Social and Economic Philosophy* (Macmillan, London, 1979) is a provisional attempt to do just that. Although Barry does not deal with Hayek's important contributions to the history of ideas, especially on John Stuart Mill, it is a valuable aid to the study of one of the truly great Liberals of the twentieth century.

About the Editor

David M. Hart, the editor of the *Humane Studies Review*, is Academic Programs Assistant at the Institute for Humane Studies. He is presently a graduate student in Modern European history at Stanford University. Hart came to the U.S. in June 1981 after completing an Honours Degree in History at Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia and studying in Germany at the Johannes Gutenberg University in Mainz. His academic interests include the history of French Classical Liberal thought and the origins of the First World War.

An offer to members

The Institute is pleased to offer a classic collection of essays by Ludwig von Mises—*Epistemological Problems of Economics*, first published in 1933. Members of the Institute (contributors of \$25 or more annually) or Student Members (contributors of \$10 annually) may order all books, monographs, and photocopies offered at 50% off the list price and *Literature of Liberty* at \$8 per year.

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