OMNIPOTENT GOVERNMENT
THEORY AND HISTORY
Both by Ludwig von Mises

Ludwig von Mises' Omnipotent Government and Theory and History are the great laissez-faire economist's most neglected books, neglected even during the notable revival of the Austrian school in the last few years. Though the books are very different, there is one common denominator that may explain much of the neglect: neither work is, strictly speaking, "economic." In both books, Mises shows his breadth and depth as a social scientist by expanding into political science (Omnipotent Government) and the philosophy and methodology of the social sciences (Theory and History). Yet it would do economists—notoriously, the narrowest of scholars—an enormous amount of good to read these works, and philosophically-minded readers will benefit even more.

Omnipotent Government was published during World War II and was one of Mises' first books written in English. It is essentially an analysis of the basic nature of the Nazi and Fascist states. At the time it was published, it was read widely in political-science circles as the major antithesis to the then prevalent Marxist analysis of fascism and nazism: namely, that they were the "last stage" of capitalism—in which the "capitalist class" called on the State to maximize its regression in order to terrorize Marxists and the "working class" movement. Mises was one of the first analysts to attack this concept, and to show that nazism and fascism were totalitarian collectivist systems which had far more in common with communism than with free-market capitalism. And, what is more, they were the logical outcome of the galloping statist and militarism of the pre-Fascist societies. Mises' linkage of fascism with Marxist socialism was a shocker in the Marx-Lenin intellectual world of the 1940s, and it paved the way for the Arendt-Friedrich conception of "totalitarianism" as the common linkage of the three great statisms of the twentieth century.

There is an inevitable, though unfortunate, war-time flavor to the work, and Mises' occasional dicta on European foreign policy have been outmoded by the later findings of revisionist historians. But his linkage of the totalitarian countries as common examples of aggravated statist remains, of course, perfectly sound, as does his insight that the only viable alternative to the interventionist-collectivist path is laissez-faire capitalism, the free-market economy and free society.

While Omnipotent Government remains highly useful to the present-day reader, Theory and History is more than useful; it is one of Mises' greatest works, and indeed one of the great works in this century on the philosophy and methodology of the social sciences. Its neglect is no less than an intellectual tragedy. The central theme of the work is the proper relationship between "theory" and "history" in economics and in all the other social sciences. Implicitly refuting all of modern determinist (including mathematical) economics and other social sciences, Mises shows that each event resulting from the action of individual human beings is necessarily unique. Each event of human history, while of course similar and related to other events, is the unique resultant of the changing and differing values and ideas of myriad individuals, each person having his own knowledge and motivations. Hence, these events cannot be treated as homogeneous, random units which can be classified and manipulated to arrive at quantitative laws of history or of social science. Therefore, the applied social theorist is not a "scientist" who can precisely forecast the future; the best he can do is explain and weigh events as an "artist" and make tentative qualitative, rather than quantitative, predictions. Adherents of the Austrian school of economics have been accused of being antiempirical, mystical a priorists, divorced from economic reality. But a thorough reading of Theory and History reveals quite the opposite; it is the Misesians—the奥地利s—who have the proper respect for the unique, empirical events of human history, whereas it is the pretentious quantitative "economic scientists" who necessarily abuse and distort the rich empirical facts of history in order to arrive at their allegedly "scientific" quantitative "laws" and (invariably wrong) forecasts of the future.

But this bald statement can scarcely convey the richness, the brilliance, the insight with which Mises establishes his view of the proper relation between theory and history, and with which he demolishes the various schools of spurious "scientists" of human history. In the course of the work, Mises sets forth devastating critiques of the historicists, the positivists, the Marxists, and determinists generally, and counters with an excellent defense of freedom of the will in human action. The only weak part of the book is Mises' defense of subjectivist ethics, a position stemming from his utilitarian approach to ethics. But this is the only weak spot in a glorious and highly significant work. It is vitally important that Theory and History take a place in renown and influence with Mises' other great masterpieces, Socialism and Human Action. The full force of Mises' great contributions to human knowledge—and to libertarianism—cannot be understood without immersion into Theory and History. Reviewed by Murray N. Rothbard / Political Philosophy / Omnipotent Government (291 pages) / LR Price $8. / Theory and History (584 pages) / LR Price $10

TIME ON THE CROSS
By Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman

This is a book for many readers, not the least those of us who enjoy seeing the validity and persuasiveness of rigorous economic theory justified and proved in unexpected ways. For, while Time on the Cross debunks and disproves almost the entire set of myths and invented beliefs about the history of American black slavery, it is also quite significant for its proof of the power of economic logic. A brief review of the principal concerns of the work includes, to mention a few of the more salient issues, such (still) popular beliefs as the systematic, brutal mistreatment of slaves; their relegation to the most menial, onerous, and dangerous jobs; indiscriminate tearing apart of slave family units; the unprofitability of the slave-plantation system; sexual abuses by white slave owners of female slaves; and the existence of "breeding farms" to mass produce slaves for the market. In the authors' words, "It is widely assumed that the plantation regime under which most slaves lived was so cruel, the exploitation so severe, the repression so complete, that blacks were thoroughly demoralized by it. In this view, blacks were virtually cultural ciphers until they obtained their freedom in 1865."

The evidence, however, is very much to the contrary. Twenty-five percent of male slaves were managers, craftsmen, or semiskilled workers; the treatment of slaves was precisely what any economist would assume (and should long ago have been suggesting) for a valuable piece of capital equipment, i.e., solicits concern not to injure or abuse the asset while maintaining it in good working order; families and close family ties were strongly encouraged and preserved and the stories of sexual abuse can only be described as a rather obscene form of pure propaganda.

The energy value of the diet of the slave population was, on average, 10 percent higher than that of all United States whites; they lived overwhelmingly in single-family dwellings; they received, for their day, above average medical care and clothing; and less than 2 percent of all sales of slaves represented anything other than the breaking up of plantation establishments.

These then are some of the principal propositions advanced by Fogel and Engerman that have caused emotional arguments, abusive name-calling, a few pushes and shoves, and other unkindly things to occur in the

(Continued on page 2)
FAIR ENOUGH: THE LIFE OF WESTBROOK PEGLER

By Finis Farr

To him, John F. Kennedy was a “low-browed donkey with the honor of a pickpocket.” Of Bobby Kennedy, he prayed that “some white patriot of the Southern tier will spatter his spoonful of brains in public premises before the snow flies.” He loathed Jews. But he was satisfied with the meat-and-potato West. With Pegler at the bitter, bitter end, when the once-grand old phrase-maker, who could perform frontal lobotomies on political big shots without their even knowing it, was reduced to mean, fearless in the face of mob fancies, wary, oh, so wary of generals and never satisfactory word, the last word.

One of the most fascinating points we learn about slavery is one that has recently been made about modern prison societies as well (again predictable by a priori economics). Rarely is anyone completely enslaved or made a “complete” prisoner. The costs of doing so are usually too high for the “policers.” Prisoners are in a position, by virtue of promises to be released in certain manners, to negotiate “laws” or agreements with their guards in exchange for some leniency. And so it was with slaves and their masters. As economics would imply, to the extent that these policing costs can more cheaply be privatized or internalized, as with slave owners or prison guards, the harshness of the restraint system will be lessened. The greater harshness generally accorded prisoners today compared to ante-bellum slaves is merely additional evidence that government operation of any system makes it more costly to internalize costs and therefore to reach more optimal arrangements. Who would have thought that we could add to that great truth, “the market will provide,” an epilogue: “even something for slaves”?

The authors are at their weakest when they attempt to explain the failure of blacks or whites to organize and administer large-scale, profitable, non-slave farms after the Civil War. Having demonstrated that the plantation, gang-labor, slave system was profitable, they offer us no very convincing reason why the market should have failed to function just as efficiently to produce agricultural commodities profitably on a voluntary basis. The authors seem almost content with the conclusionary statement that economies of scale could only be achieved with slave labor and that “free labor was a very poor substitute for slave labor.” This would seem to be inconsistent with their findings of the amount of expropriation of slave labor by owners, and would suggest that they were using, at best, a misleading measure that omitted a significant additional cost of slavery as measured by its victims.

Again, however, there is an alternative explanation consistent with the authors’ statistical findings and based on a point merely alluded to without much emphasis. There are strong hints of interventionist state laws that can explain the apparent anomaly. First, as the authors note, the alternative to slavery in the ante-bellum North and South was not freedom in any full libertarian sense of the term, but rather a “quasi-freedom,” where governmental restrictions on activities abounded and where governmental protection of blacks from civil harm was almost nonexistent. Thus the slave system may have been economically successful compared to its poor slave-counterpart not because the slave system was inherently more productive, as the authors suggest, but rather because state governments simply would not provide the necessary conditions of freedom under which ex-slaves might have flourished at least as well as they had under private ownership of themselves by others. Again we see the moral that might be drawn from this work: if you have to be a slave, it is probably better to be the slave of an individual than of a State.

Time on the Cross is rich in intellectually stimulating fare for libertarians and non-libertarians alike. It is a truly significant piece of scholarship appearing at a most propitious moment, for it may be a good time for all of us to be learning more about the “peculiar institution” of slavery. Time on the Cross gives any thoughtful person cause to consider whether we are not all now being herded into the sort of impoverishing “quasi-free” system that blacks faced in 1865. The picture is not a pretty one from any angle.

Reviewed by Henry G. Manne / History (304 pages) / LR Price $4.95

"It was sobering to live among people for whom an important part of life had come loose from its moorings and disappeared, like a barn ripped from a low-lying field by a Mississippi flood. The more I thought of it, the less funny it became [that is, Nixon's betrayal of the people who believed in him]. For I realized that something had happened to me, too: the belief in the future had been vanquished.

When Farr wrote that, I knew he would not disappoint me; and he didn't. Pegler would surely have considered Farr perfect as his biographer, and so, I dare say, will you. REVIEWED BY ROBERT SHERRELL / 236 pages / LR Price $8.95

Fogel/Engerman (Continued from page 1)

"scholarly discussions" of this seminal work. Many conventional historians who neither understand nor appreciate objective economic studies have felt personally betrayed by interloping economists (whether they were also historians or not) who threatened their intellectual security. The professional apologists for the intransigence of black economic recovery are dismayed at the loss of the principal foundation for their "sociological" rationalizations, and just about everyone (including me) has more or less reservations about the statistical techniques of the new breed of historians called "cliometricians."

I include myself in the last group because it seems to me that in many respects the work would have been stronger, not weaker, if the authors relied more on offers of nonstatistical economic proof of many of their propositions. For while I must admit that I often delight in (and generally only trust) statistical studies consistent with what I view as sound economics, in this case the authors apparently intentionally chose to avoid most nonempirical proofs. A nice opportunity was lost to teach historians some basic economic theory. Certainly, however, that is a sign of the times, and the market works as much for economic styles as for styles of dress. De gustibus, perhaps? At any rate, the hard data and the econometric details are all relegated to a second volume, which is not being directly reviewed here.

The absence of a more a priori approach to their subject may, however, have prevented the authors from noting some intensely interesting points about their own findings. For example, the authors conclude that "the average rate of the exporation of slave income was about 10%". Imagine, only a 10 percent tax rate on income; and that was slavery! But let me not be misunderstood; few of us would trade our 72 percent marginal rates and those rights we still retain for a 10 percent rate and the life of an ante-bellum black slave. But what is clear from the book, without the authors ever articulating the point, is that if state governments had not strictly enforced rules against such contracts, slaves could have purchased their own freedom in fairly short order. There is no obvious reason to believe that such contracts would not have been frequently entered into, since slaves could and frequently did simply work harder or longer to earn extra pay at the free-market price. Thus they could have increased the present wealth position of their owners while gaining their own freedom. Government interference with voluntary agreements that slaves and slave-owners would otherwise have entered into seems to have been a fundamental basis for the perpetuation of the odious slave system. But the story has come down to us through traditional intellectual channels with the capitalist owners as villains and the state not credited with playing more than a minor policing role in the whole mess.

Fogel and Engerman for their part seem a bit too quick (with less evidence or logic than they must elsewhere) to conclude that the problem with both abolitionist and pro-slavery writers alike was that they suffered a deep and abiding sense of black racial inferiority. That this belief was endemic in the nineteenth century is hardly news, but perhaps the authors were attempting to legitimate the force to this belief and too little to the effects of government intervention.

One of the most fascinating points we learn about slavery is one that...
INTRODUCTION TO MUSICAL LISTENING: A GUIDE TO RECORDED CLASSICAL MUSIC

By John Hosphers

PART XII: CHORAL MUSIC OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

We begin this month with a conclusion—the wrap-up of our chronological survey of recordings of the works of individual composers. First, let me commend to your attention the Danish composer Dietrich Buxtehude (1637-1707). Buxtehude was primarily a composer of organ music, but his final choral work, "Magnificat," is available on Turnabout 34173 (with Bach’s "Magnificat" on the other side), and some of his sacred cantatas are on Nonesuch 71258.

We have already considered instrumental works by Lalande (1657-1726), but nothing in his instrumental work prepares us for his one choral work available on records, the "De Profundis." It is an expression of religious faith with all the high spirituality of Palestrina and a work of devastating emotional intensity. I would not say it is greater than the choral music of Victoria, but because it is a work of the eighteenth century rather than the sixteenth, it is written in a musical language more easily understood by us. I have seldom played it for others without the listeners feeling that they had been the beneficiaries of a great experience. This record is a must.

Music IN REVIEW

BACH: CHRISTMAS ORATORIO (3 records) / LR Price $13.95 (List $15.95)

BACH: MESSE IN H-MOLL (3 records) / LR Price $19.95 (List $21.95)

BACH: SAINT MATTHEW PASSION (3 records) / LR Price $15.95 (List $16.95)

BACH: SUITEN FÜR VIOLONCELLO SOLO / LR Price $6.95 (List $7.98)

LALANDE: DE PROFUNDIS / LR Price $2.95 (List $3.95)

We return again to the great English composer Purcell. We have already examined his music under other categories, but he wrote choral music as well, music pristine and pure, like pellucid water. I suggest in particular two fine records: Argo ZRG-724, which contains his "Te Deum" and "Jubilate," with the "Funeral Music" [on the death of Queen Anne] on the other side, and Telefunken S-9558, which contains some of his psalms and sacred songs.

Vivaldi, whose chamber and orchestral works we have already examined, wrote choral music too great to be ignored. I shall not sing the praises of Vivaldi over again, but only recommend four records that together include the greatest of his choral music: his gloriously happy "Gloria" and "Kyrie" (religious music, yet light-years away from Victoria) conducted by Carboz. The entire mass in this performance, as Richard Freed has written, "from beginning to end, is alive with a radiant, dancing quality that makes it a sustained and convincing paean of joy. It sounds as if every singer and instrumentalist is in love with the music and exhilarated by the discovery of its wonders." The old Robert Shaw recording is still crisp and clean and full of fire (RCA LSC 6157), but

We have discussed the music of Handel under various categories, but there remain a few choral works not connected with the oratorios discussed earlier. My favorite Handel composition is the "Dettingen Te Deum," a dramatically exciting work full of instrumental fanfares and exulting choruses. For some reason, this work, so full of boundless energy and high drama, is comparatively little known. Only slightly less memorable than the Dettingen is the "Utrecht Te Deum" (DG-ARC 198008).

Next, listen a few times or more to Bach’s "Christmas Oratorio," preferably with Munchinger and the Stuttgart Orchestra on the three-record set available from LR. You will be not only impressed by Bach’s endless musical ingenuity, but uplifted and inspired by the choral climaxes, the powerful and inexorable rhythms, and the endless outpouring of melodies.

And now you are ready for the highest heights of all. The Bach Messe In H-Moll is a Bach experience of sustained exaltation; chorus follows chorus, from the "Kyrie" to the "Sanctus" to the "Hosanna"—with each section carrying you to such a height that you are sure you must be in for a letdown afterward, yet the next section always sustains the sense of spiritual levitation and carries you still further upward. It is, in my opinion, the greatest work of music ever written by anyone. Fortunately there are many excellent recordings of it. Best of all, I think, is the new one conducted by Carboz. The entire mass in this performance, as Richard Freed has written, "from beginning to end, is alive with a radiant, dancing quality that makes it a sustained and convincing paean of joy. It sounds as if every singer and instrumentalist is in love with the music and exhilarated by the discovery of its wonders." The old Robert Shaw recording is still crisp and clean and full of fire (RCA LSC 6157), but it is about 15 years old, and to those interested in sonic excellence it must give way for that reason only.

Where do we go from here? Many find the "St. Matthew Passion" to be the equal of the Messe In H-Moll; I do not, simply because the solo narratives are more frequent and the great choruses less so. But what cho­

Having listed so many great works, I am still most aware of the many I have omitted. And after all these, is not what follows anticlimactic? I

We have discussed the music of Handel under all the previous categories, but there remain a few choral works not connected with the orato­

(Continued on page 4)
Hospers—(Continued from page 3)

We turn once more to Haydn. Haydn is best known for his symphonies. I think he should be known primarily for his quartets and his masses. The masses are much lighter in touch than Bach’s, and the music is often jolly and energetic even when the words are not. But there is marvelous music in them. They lack the spiritual elevation of Bach but they are beautifully melodic, often quite happy, and the sad passages are seldom more than mildly melancholy. Haydn wrote 14 masses. My favorite among them is the early “St. Cecilia Mass,” which is no longer listed in Schwann, but you might still be able to find it on Haydn Society HS-2028. Very charming indeed is the no. 5, “Little Organ Mass,” on Turnabout 34132. Deservingly popular is the no. 7 (“Mass in Time of War”), best performed by Bernstein on Columbia M-32196. The gently sad no. 10 (“Theresien-messe”) is on Argo 5500; the no. 11 (“The Creation”) is on Argo ZRG-598; and the reflective no. 12 (“Harmonie-messe”) is on Argo A-515. For a reason unknown to me, the no. 9 (“Lord Nelson Mass”) is the most popular, with a choice of four current recordings. There are several good recordings of Haydn’s oratorio “The Creation” (not to be confused with his mass by the same name), of which I recommend the one by Horenstein on Turnabout 34184/5 (2 records).

Mozart was as perfect a master of choral music as of anything to which he turned his hand. In my opinion his operas and his chamber music are his highest achievements, but with Mozart (as with Bach) this does not mean that his other music is second-rate. His most inspiring choral works, I think, are the “Coronation Mass” (K. 317), “The Great Mass” (K. 427), and the famous “Requiem” (K. 626). I suggest getting them all together on four records, superbly conducted by Colin Davis (Philips 6707/0106), which also give you the “Exsultate” and the very short choral work “Ave Verum Corpus” (K. 618) with one of the simplest and loveliest melodies in the world. Hat is too much to buy, get the “Coronation Mass” (K. 317), the “Missa Brevis” (K. 220), and the “Ave Verum Corpus” (K. 618) all on one record, DG 2530356. [Next month: Choral Music of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.]

CRIMES WITHOUT VICTIMS

By Edwin M. Schur

Schur’s Crimes Without Victims is a sociological exploration of three consensual acts proscribed by the state: abortion, homosexuality, and drug use. These proscribed acts have in common the fact that they involve a “willing and private exchange of strongly demanded yet officially proscribed goods and services.” In his discussion of each, “deviance,” Schur provides an overview of what each involves, refutes commonly held myths, discusses the philosophy and methodology of law enforcement, proposes ameliorations of legal repression (“policy reform”), and deals with commonly voiced objections to such ameliorations.

Schur addresses a host of interesting topics in his discussion of victimless crimes: Does the availability of abortion encourage “promiscuity”? Are drug addicts inherently violent? Why are homosexual relationships generally transient? What is the best form of treatment for drug addicts? How safe are hospital abortions? And many more. In refuting many myths associated with these victimless crimes, Schur provides a valuable service.

Unfortunately his analysis is liberal rather than libertarian. Thus, while he consistently supports reform and liberalization of existing laws, he stops far short of advocating outright repeal. In fact, Schur rather strongly opposes repeal. “Legalization,” he states, “is not automatically or invariably to be preferred to criminalization.” As in much liberal analysis, Schur’s position is basically social utilitarian: what matters most is the social good, which is never defined. “Repression” is opposed, but the importance of individual liberty is given only passing deference, and rights as a moral concept are never mentioned at all.

Schur also contributes to the stigmatization of homosexuals, drug addicts, and women who abort, whom he deems by continually calling their actions “deviances,” “problems,” et cetera. Never does he seriously consider the possibility that these actions may be entirely good and proper. After all, they threaten the status quo, which Schur seems to equate in general with the “social good.”

Another fault of this book is that the material is now rather dated. Crimes Without Victims was published in 1965, and all of the material in it is at least 10 years old. Many studies cited are now 20 years old. The law has since changed significantly, particularly in regard to abortion and homosexuality. Abortion laws have been much liberalized, and legal restrictions on homosexuals have been considerably eased. Also, the outpatient treatment of drug addicts, which at the time the book was published was a new and relatively radical idea, has become commonplace. The initial highly positive results of England’s drug maintenance program for addicts now have been somewhat compromised by a sharp rise in drug addiction there and increased abuses. The very fact that Schur’s analysis is “pragmatic” rather than ethical makes the material much more dated than it would otherwise have been.

The greatest value of Crimes Without Victims lies in its exposure of the myths and hypocrisy which surround the proscribing of consensual acts. Schur convincingly demonstrates that laws against abortion, homosexuality, and drug use are unenforceable by their very nature, that the proscription of these acts serves to maintain social norms by creating a class of psychological scapegoats, and that repressive policies seem aimed at affecting the allocation of proscribed goods rather than eliminating them entirely. Quoting Paul Reiwald, Schur leaves us with this paradoxical question: “Is the contention exaggerated, or does it not rather state the simple truth, that man has contrived his institutions for the combat of crime so that he may in fact maintain it?” REVIEWED BY JARRET B. WOLLSTEIN / 180 pages / LR Price $2.45

THE ROAD TO SERFDOM

By F. A. von Hayek

I found The Road To Serfdom to be a fascinating and unusually valuable book—as well as a remarkably irritating and frustrating one.

Its values outweigh its limitations by intellectual light years. The purpose of eminent economist Hayek is to show the process through which Welfare State policies destroy the market economy and the free choice of the individual citizen, and lead—however much its proponents may not wish it, whatever noble motives or good intentions they may have—inevitably to a fascist-nazi form of totalitarianism. Collectivism in any form cannot be combined with freedom, he maintains; to strive to combine them is to end with totalitarianism. Evasion of that which others regard as infinitely superior to the aberrations of nazism and sincerely hate all its associated with these victimless crimes, Schur provides a valuable service.

Unfortunately his analysis is liberal rather than libertarian. Thus, while he consistently supports reform and liberalization of existing laws, he stops far short of advocating outright repeal. In fact, Schur rather strongly opposes repeal. “Legalization,” he states, “is not automatically or invariably to be preferred to criminalization.” As in much liberal analysis, Schur’s position is basically social utilitarian: what matters most is the social good, which is never defined. “Repression” is opposed, but the importance of individual liberty is given only passing deference, and rights as a moral concept are never mentioned at all.

Schur also contributes to the stigmatization of homosexuals, drug addicts, and women who abort, whom he deems by continually calling their actions “deviances,” “problems,” et cetera. Never does he seriously consider the possibility that these actions may be entirely good and proper. After all, they threaten the status quo, which Schur seems to equate in general with the “social good.”

Another fault of this book is that the material is now rather dated. Crimes Without Victims was published in 1965, and all of the material in it is at least 10 years old. Many studies cited are now 20 years old. The law has since changed significantly, particularly in regard to abortion and homosexuality. Abortion laws have been much liberalized, and legal restrictions on homosexuals have been considerably eased. Also, the outpatient treatment of drug addicts, which at the time the book was published was a new and relatively radical idea, has become commonplace. The initial highly positive results of England’s drug maintenance program for addicts now have been somewhat compromised by a sharp rise in drug addiction there and increased abuses. The very fact that Schur’s analysis is “pragmatic” rather than ethical makes the material much more dated than it would otherwise have been.

The greatest value of Crimes Without Victims lies in its exposure of the myths and hypocrisy which surround the proscribing of consensual acts. Schur convincingly demonstrates that laws against abortion, homosexuality, and drug use are unenforceable by their very nature, that the proscription of these acts serves to maintain social norms by creating a class of psychological scapegoats, and that repressive policies seem aimed at affecting the allocation of proscribed goods rather than eliminating them entirely. Quoting Paul Reiwald, Schur leaves us with this paradoxical question: “Is the contention exaggerated, or does it not rather state the simple truth, that man has contrived his institutions for the combat of crime so that he may in fact maintain it?” REVIEWED BY JARRET B. WOLLSTEIN / 180 pages / LR Price $2.45

THE ROAD TO SERFDOM

By F. A. von Hayek

I found The Road To Serfdom to be a fascinating and unusually valuable book—as well as a remarkably irritating and frustrating one.

Its values outweigh its limitations by intellectual light years. The purpose of eminent economist Hayek is to show the process through which Welfare State policies destroy the market economy and the free choice of the individual citizen, and lead—however much its proponents may not wish it, whatever noble motives or good intentions they may have—inevitably to a fascist-nazi form of totalitarianism. Collectivism in any form cannot be combined with freedom, he maintains; to strive to combine them is to end with totalitarianism. Evasion of that which others regard as infinitely superior to the aberrations of nazism and sincerely hate all its manifestations, work at the same time for ideals whose realization would lead straight to the abhorred tyranny.

The great value of this book is not merely that it proclaims the above—much as it desperately needs to be proclaimed—but that, with many examples and from many different aspects, it explains why and how this must happen.

In a chapter entitled “Planning and Democracy,” Hayek carefully outlines the process by which, step by inexorable step, “a democracy which embodies on planning progressively relinquishes its powers.” In “Planning and the Rule of Law,” he shows how and why the rule of law necessarily must be abandoned in a collectivist society, to be replaced by unpredictable, unjust and discretionary rules of the moment.

In “Economic Control and Totalitarianism,” he shows why there is no such thing as “merely” control over the economic life of a society, that to be controlled in economic matters is to be controlled in everything: “Economic control is not merely control of a sector of human life which can be separated from the rest; it is the control of the means for all our ends. And whoever has sole control of the means must also determine which ends are to be served, which values are to be rated higher and which lower—in short, what men should believe and strive for.”

In a chilling chapter entitled “The End of Truth,” Hayek shows why central planners must, ultimately, strive to undermine in the citizens the sense of and respect for truth. The decisions of the planners have to be rationalized and justified, so that people will accept the validity of the values they must serve. What results is a giant propaganda machine, the perversion of language, the prohibiting of the search for truth, the silencing of all alternative thinking minority.

Because of the importance of this book, it is all the more disconcerting that Hayek seems so wary of laissez-faire capitalism, so willing to accept certain elements of the very danger about which he eloquently warns us. He is quick to make it clear that he is not in favor of laissez-faire; he gives his sanction to such Welfare State ideals as a guaranteed minimum standard of living for all, state medical insurance, large scale public works. However, the contradictions in The Road To Serfdom are the problem of the author, not the reader. Hayek’s overall case is of the most urgent importance and relevance to all defenders of freedom. REVIEWED BY BARBARA BRANDEN / Political Philosophy / (248 pages) / LR Price $7 (cloth) / $2.95 (paper)
How can I describe the music of Alexander Scriabin?

Since I am reviewing his last symphonies, I could begin by discussing their purely musical uniqueness, citing Scriabin's development and use of his own distinctive chord (C F sharp B flat E A D), a chord around which his entire Fifth Symphony is built, with the result that it possesses a truly extraordinary coherence and unity, a unity which had become gradually established, in the wrong quantity, and with no (or inappropriate) quality differentiation. In contrast to this dismal picture, Mushkin states, "Prices will provide correct signals to indicate the quantity and quality of services citizens desire, and help bring about the proper balance between public and production of these things. . . . Price signals also offer a method for trying out and responding to the public's desire for quality changes in public services," that is, more frequent trash collection, more (or fewer) police patrols, new kinds of schooling, etc.

The book therefore sets forth the state of the art on pricing public services—both in practice and in theory. As Mushkin points out, pricing is already used extensively for such municipal services as water, sewers, electricity (often government-provided), airports, mass transit, and garbage collection. Even police, public hospitals, and recreation departments charge for certain services, though they are largely supported by tax revenues. On the average, 13 percent of municipal revenues were derived from user charges in 1969-70; if water and other utility charges are included, the figure increases to 34 percent.

Following an overview of the current extent of pricing, Part I of Public Prices presents four articles on the theory of public prices, including "Economic Efficiency and Pricing" by William S. Vickrey of Columbia, an economist well known for his ideas on pricing urban roadway use for maximum efficiency. These essays, as well as those in Part II, look at pricing pragmatically, not ideologically, pointing out its advantages in many cases, as well as the difficult problems involved in cases of "public goods" (those services which cannot be readily divided into purchasable units, and from which, therefore, nonpayers cannot be excluded). The various authors disagree on the seriousness of the public-goods problem, with several pointing out that very few services are truly public goods. Most alleged public goods have identifiable beneficiaries, and the problem is to develop imaginative enough marketing and pricing schemes. Clearly, here is an area in need of work by libertarians.

Part II provides a number of applications-oriented chapters, applying pricing concepts to such services as solid-waste handling, public transit, fire protection, recreation services, municipal hospitals, and primary and secondary education. Also included are two chapters on effluent charges as an alternative to antipollution regulations. The final two chapters provide additional food for thought. In one, Mushkin proposes that, despite the enumerated benefits of pricing, the poor should still receive certain basic services without paying. How strong it is that liberals remain so paternalistic that they must give the poor the services rather than (as Milton Friedman has suggested) giving them money and letting them make the choices (and in the process preserving all the demand-revealing benefits of pricing that Mushkin has earlier set forth! The last chapter lays out an agenda of unanswered questions about pricing urban services. Libertarian students of economics and urban problems will find here a wealth of ideas for thesis topics and other research projects.

Obviously, Public Prices is not a libertarian book. Its authors are reformist liberals in search of marginal improvements in the provision of public goods within the framework of existing municipal governments and taxation. Nonetheless, it is an important book for libertarians to be aware of and for students of economics and urban problems to own. For by providing legitimacy to the concept of user charges, the book helps prepare the way for those libertarian scholars who will demolish once and for all the case for taxation in a municipal setting. REVIEWED BY ROBERT POOLE, JR. / Economics (460 pages) / LR Price $6.50

It isSpirit's great self-assertion. Ye es'm or 'I am,' reached after a gamut of emotions and experiences—delicious excitement followed by soothing languor, terror, doubt, 'the maggot of sateiy...the bite of hyenas . . . sting of serpent,' intoxication, burning kisses, spiritual and temporal love-making and, ultimately, ecstasy.

The Fifth Symphony is titled "Prometheus, The Poem of Fire." It is a free fantasia on the myth of Prometheus, the demigod who defied Olympus and gave Man the gift of fire. The work is highly programmatic, introducing eleven different themes in succession, to represent Original Chaos, the Creative Principle, Will, the Dawn of Human Consciousness (Reason), the Joy of Life (Self-discovery), the Play of Creative Spirit, and Self-affirmation. But even though Scriabin's programs cast light on his music, they are words, not periodic tones. And they cannot convey the nearly indescribable experience of listening to these symphonic poems.

If any single word can encapsulate that experience, it is: passion. Scriabin's music is above all passionate, whether it sings of a passionate desire for freedom, as in the "Divine Poem," or of passionate love, as in the "Poem of Ecstasy," or of passion for life, as in "Prometheus," or of passionate self-affirmation, as in all of his later music.

In the end, though, words, one or several, can never do the trick. Writing about music must always be a more-or-less doomed attempt to translate the untranslatable. In the case of Alexander Scriabin, they can at best be used with indirection—to suggest, if not actually to convey, the almost unbelievably intense, heroism and purely musical innovativeness of his achievement. REVIEWED BY JEFF RIGGENBACH / Classical Recordings / Third Symphony / LR Price $4.95 (List price $6.98) / Fourth and Fifth Symphonies / LR Price $4.95 (List price $6.98)
LIBERTY AND THE GREAT LIBERTARIANS
Edited by Charles T. Sprading

Students of liberty can justifiably rejoice at the republishing of this collection of essays gathered by Charles T. Sprading. The original 1913 compilation reissued in 1972 without an alteration is a classic and a must.

Those who are serious in their pursuit of understanding within the libertarian/individualist framework would do well to begin their perusal with Sprading's excellent introduction to his own gleanings from the individualist vineyard. Without this guide, it might be difficult to justify some of his selections as indicative of the thinking of the great libertarians. What Sprading has done is to set down his own particular viewpoint and then choose essays by more than two-score writers which help to sustain and flesh out his position.

Within the opening years of the twentieth century, Sprading is filled with optimism concerning the inevitable triumph of libertarian principles. He sees the nineteenth century as a time of struggle and anticipates the twentieth as one of peace and fulfillment. The collection, published a year before the opening guns of World War I, is filled with bright promise, on the assumption that the logic and rightness of individualism and liberty will inevitably pervade the minds of thinking men and that we are (circa 1913) on the threshold of a libertarian century. Ironically, one is reminded that libertarians, however right they may be in principle, have been but indifferent seers. To date, this century has been the bloodiest and perhaps the costliest in terms of lost liberty of all the centuries for which records have been compiled.

Sprading makes another sweeping assumption. It is that by common consent all "economists are agreed that there are four methods by which wealth is acquired by those who do not produce it. These are interest, profit, rent, and taxes, each of which is based upon special privilege, and all are gross violations of the principle of equal liberty."

Modern scholars are not so certain that economists have agreed in this case or, for that matter, in any other. There are a number of libertarian scholars who see taxes as a privilege but who recognize profits, rents, and interest as arising from the voluntary actions of customers or those who enter into contracts volitionally.

If the reader will hurdle the misplaced optimism which haloes the twentieth century and the bland agreement with Marx concerning the villainy of those who accept profits, rents, and interest, he will find a rich harvest of ideas and arguments useful to the libertarian position as it seems presently to be.

Consider these splendid examples:

“An appeal to the majority is a resort to force and not an appeal to intelligence; the majority is always ignorant and by increasing the majority, we multiply ignorance....” “Liberty leads to peace, while authority necessarily leads to war.” (Sprading)

“Liberty for the few is not liberty. Liberty for me and slavery for you means slavery for both.” (Samuel M. Jones)

“We never can be the interest of a trading nation any more than quarreling can be profitable to a man in business. But to make war with those who trade is like setting a bulldog upon a customer at the shop-door.”

“Society in every state is a blessing, but government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state, an intolerable one.” (Thomas Paine)

“General concurrence of opinion seems to authorize us to say it [the Constitution] has some defects. I am one of those who think it a defect, that the important rights not placed in security by the frame of the Constitution itself were not explicitly secured by a supplementary declaration.”

“Every constitution, then, and every law, naturally expires at the end of thirty-four years [the average life].” (Thomas Jefferson)

“Our judgment will always suspect those weapons that can be used with equal chance of success on both sides. Therefore we should regard all force with aversion.” (William Godwin)

“Society everywhere is in conspiracy against the manhood of every one of its members.” (Ralph Waldo Emerson)

“When I look at these crowded thousands, and see them trample on their consciences and the rights of their fellowmen at the bidding of a piece of parchment, I say, my curse be on the Constitution of the United States.” (William Lloyd Garrison)

“How does it become a man to behave toward this American government today? I answer, that he cannot without disgrace be associated with it.” (Henry David Thoreau)

There is much, much more here, from the pens of Herbert Spencer, Stephen Pearl Andrews, Lysander Spooner, Robert G. Ingersoll, Benjamin Tucker, Auberon Herbert, Maria Montessori, and more than twice that number, which sustains the individualist or libertarian position in one or another manner.

Liberty and the Great Libertarians is a pivotal book; it belongs in every free man’s library. In the attractive hardcover edition now available, those who cherish liberty can find courage as well as ably turned phrases by means of which to advance their cause. REVIEWED BY ROBERT LEFEVRE / Political Philosophy—Libertarianism [540 pages] / LR Price $23

INSIGHTS AND ILLUSIONS OF PHILOSOPHY
By Jean Piaget

Let me confess of my own inner conflicts from the start. After putting down what struck me as the most important volume 1 had run into in the past year or so, I was tempted to urge every one I know to buy a copy of Piaget’s Insights and Illusions of Philosophy. In terms of its application to a question which has not yet been given sufficient serious scientific reflection by libertarians—I refer here to the very “nature of man’s consciousness”—the book is an absolute must.

Yet I must in all truth confess, my didacticism crumbling before a fundamental sense of honesty, that Piaget is not for the general reader. Wolfe Mays’ translation from the French is quite readable, but it does not lessen the impact of the Swiss psychologist’s style, which is replete with technical terminology borrowed from a number of disciplines. This is not to say that Piaget is writing in “fifty-cent word academic” prose. Quite the contrary. The absence of the author’s skilled usage of philosophical and psychological jargon would double the length of the book.

If you enjoy having ideas handed to you by authors who do not expect you to bring to your reading a knowledge of the fundamentals of their subject matter, then this book is not for you.

If, on the other hand, you are interested in obtaining an introduction to a comprehensive epistemology from a writer who will not leave you hanging on the edge of rationality, ready to topple into a metaphysical pit as soon as the nature of knowledge proceeds from a discussion of stage A (the organisation of perceptions) to something more worthy of a twentieth-century mind, then you owe yourself the delightful frustration it takes to grasp Piaget.

Insights and Illusions of Philosophy is a multifaceted volume, part intellectual autobiography, part reportage of the author’s own research into the cognitive processes of children, and part well-reasoned disgust with the vogue enjoyed by phenomenology and existentialism in contemporary philosophy. But the volume centers primarily on the limited usefulness of speculative philosophy. As the author notes, speculative reflection “can only lead to the elaboration of hypotheses,” for without “verification by a group of facts established experimentally or by a deduction conforming to an exact algorithm...the criterion of truth can only remain subjective.”

Piaget brilliantly cites twentieth-century developments in all areas of science and in mathematics to argue that investigations to determine the validity of propositions in all branches of science, save metaphysics, are more properly done by the scientific researcher. Whereas at the turn of the century we did not have the tools given us by the physics of relativity and by the discipline of cybernetics, thus causing us to see man as either an automaton a la mechanism or else a free-willed creature endowed with some metaphysically-based dlan vital, these developments have led us to treat epistemology as a science.

The founder of an interdisciplinary research group devoted to studying epistemology in a scientific fashion, Piaget essentially views free will as a function of man’s nature as a highly developed autoregulatory mechanism. Without going into more detail, suffice it to say that he is far from being a behaviorist, and at the same time, far from being a metaphysician.

Piaget’s example of Bergson, lacking training in science, struggling to defeat Einstein’s spatio-temporal models, might well serve as a warning for some libertarians who persist in being ostrich-headed armchair speculators. For those who have become increasingly uncomfortable with pie-in-the-sky epistemological speculation, Piaget offers a charming, tasty morsel. REVIEWED BY C. RONALD KIMBERLING / Philosophy [232 pages] / LR Price $3.95
DEPRESSION-INFLATION SURVIVAL PLAN

The fundamental business of the country... is on a sound and prosperous basis... to any lack of confidence in the economic future or the basic strength of business in the United States is foolish.

The Speaker: President Herbert Hoover. The year: 1939.

In a matter of days the stock market would crash and the world would be plunged into a disastrous depression, which could be lost by many who mistakenly placed their faith in the soothing reassurances of political leaders. But while many fortunes were being lost, others were being made. A few thousand farsighted men and women were guided by the self-serving statements of politicians. They did their own thinking and carefully prepared for what lay ahead. And many made fortunes because of it. Men like Joseph Kennedy, Bernard Baruch. And thousands of others who did not wait until the crisis was upon them to act.

Now, the cycle of economic crisis is upon us again. President Ford and his economic spokesmen are, of course, trying to hold back the swelling inflationary tide with optimistic forecasts of prosperity. But among the most brilliant of the world's free-market economists, the facts are known to be otherwise.

To Prof. Hans F. Sennholz, quoted recently in the Wall Street Journal:

"... Two digit inflation must rage on. The purchasing power of the dollar must fall even faster... and it is now up to us to understand that nothing short of a full understanding of the crisis of the classic boom and bust. We face periodic declines in production and increases in bankruptcy and unemployment but along with continuing inflation... there is nothing more certain in this world than the prospect of continuing inflation in the short-term and the long.

Or, listen to Prof. Murray N. Rothbard:

"What we face nowadays is a recession of a new type: an inflationary recession or depression, which continues the worst features of the classic boom and bust. We face periodic declines in production and increases in bankruptcy and unemployment. But, along with continuing inflation... there is nothing more certain in this world than the prospect of continuing inflation in the short-term and the long.

WILL YOU BE A SURVIVOR?

With the help and counsel of many of the world's foremost authorities on financial and personal survival, we have put together an absolutely unique and surprisingly inexpensive DEPRESSION-INFLATION SURVIVAL PLAN.

First, we send you our "Inflation Survival Manual," (more fully described below) which gives you the basic outline of your own survival program.

Second, we start your subscription to Inflation Survival Letter, one of America's fastest growing publications. ISL draws on its exclusive sources of confidential information in the highest circles of government, finance and industry to bring you down-to-earth advice about how to protect your assets in today's inflation-recession climate...

ISL shows you how to provide for the safety of your family in the event of a breakdown of the social order.

A SAMPLING FROM ISL

Here, in the form of headlines, is the kind of information packed into articles you will read in every issue of ISL:

- Mexican Banks — Safety With High Yields
- Foods For Storage
- Swiss Life Insurance and Annuities
- Profits In Gold Investments
- Profits In Silver Investments
- Safety And Privacy In Swiss Banks
- High Rewards In Commodities Futures
- Should You Invest In Art, Antiques, Jewelry, Stamps, Diamonds and Other Collectibles?
- How Experts Invest In Foreign Currencies
- Options: A New Road to Profits
- Buying Country Real Estate
- Tax Havens Can Help Small Investors
- Profits In Commodities
- Safe Places to Live in the United States
- Supplementing Your Income at Home
- Churning For Extra Money
- Collecting and Investing in Numismatic Coins
- Safe Places to Conceal Your Valuables

ISL IN A NUTSHELL

Here are some of the good sound reasons why you should join ISL's 70,000 subscribers:

- ISL is fast reading: a one-step reference source that organizes vast amounts of facts, how-to-do-it and where-to-find-it information in a compact, easy-to-read format so that you can understand exactly what is happening on the investment and economic front, what is likely to happen tomorrow and what to do about it.
- An exclusive ISL feature in every issue: Don Stephens' "Personal Survival" column written by America's number one expert on selecting and buying rural property, stock dehydrated and other food supplies, alternate energy and heating sources, and similar topics.
- ISL is inexpensive compared with similar publications.

FREE TO CHARTER SUBSCRIBERS— ISL'S "INFLATION SURVIVAL MANUAL"

This indispensable guide to inflation-depression economics is Oakley R. Bramble's plain-spoken, non-technical introduction to economic survival today. It explains how we have come to the brink of economic catastrophe— and exactly what we can expect will really happen to common stocks, real estate, precious metals, interest rates, U.S. and foreign currencies and the cost of energy.

It lists addresses and prices for dozens of recommended publications, where to write for free catalogs, books and newspapers and catalogs, how to order books and tapes concerning financial survival and a selected bibliography, addresses of Swiss banks, and much, much more.

It clearly describes the four perils that face every person in the world today. It advises how to defend yourself against the possibility of a disaster if you are well-to-do... and how to prepare yourself and your family if you are not. Above all: It tells you exactly what events, news stories and government actions to look for as signals that we are in the final stages of runaway inflation.

UNCONDITIONAL GUARANTEE!

This indispensable manual brings you the kind of advice that would cost you hundreds, perhaps thousands, of dollars if it were given in seminars or in private consultation. I want you to have it FREE as a Charter Subscriber to the INFLATION SURVIVAL LETTER.

If you ever decide to cancel your subscription your full payment of $20 will be immediately refunded and the "Inflation Survival Manual" will be yours to keep for the trouble! We would not make such an iron-clad offer if our experience had not shown that the great majority of those who subscribe to ISL find it indispensable.

So subscribe now and save a full 33% off the regular subscription rate which will soon go into effect.

And remember this: the stakes are very high! A single idea, one bit of information from either the manual or your ISL subscription may very well save (or earn) you thousands—even tens of thousands—of dollars. Even more important you will gain a command of facts and information which, if followed, will give you the kind of peace of mind that comes only with knowing that you are hedged against whatever economic or social chaos looms beyond the horizon. Who can put a price on that?

YOU HAVE EVERYTHING TO GAIN AND NOTHING TO LOSE BY ACTING NOW!

Every day that you try to stand still in this inflation-recession economy you are really moving backwards! Do something about it! Mail the risk free Charter Subscription Order Form today!

INFLATION SURVIVAL LETTER

410 First Street, S.E. • Washington, D.C. 20003


I enclose $20. Please enter my subscription for one full year (26 issues)—a savings of 33% over the regular $30 price. Also send, FREE, my copy of the Inflation Survival Manual.

NAME
ADDRESS
CITY/STATE ZIP

SA700
Symbolic of the decline of American culture, so strongly exemplified by the Nixon presidency, is the rapid change in ideological principles and the formation of new political categories. Of course, in that W. E. B. Du Bois determined the consistency of recognizing libertarianism is manifested. The latest spectacle in the maelstrom is the conservative-chic, New, New Conservatism, huddled around Commentary magazine. A score of years ago, in the midst of political events, the most widely known defense of individualism in the English-speaking world, Lord Acton, A Study of Conscience, was written, and the expression of Nixon-based upon the adherence of American workers to budgets, and high taxes, which were even more destructive of the middle class than the social measures redistributing wealth to the unproductive. As the political base among the huge Catholic ethnic population dissolved, the New, New Conservatism has established a formal ideological denomination around the Commentary set, which includes Gertrude Himmelfarb.

In a sense, what has been attempted by the Nixon strategy was the addition of the Catholic ethnics to the Republican political tradition of a WASP establishment sharing power with the assimilated Negro and German-Jewish leaderships. The Democratic Party had been the home of the urban ethnic constituencies (including the Polish-Lithuanian Jews when they gained autonomy) and the exploited whites of the South, who had fought and spent for Confederate independence. The failure of the Catholic ethnics to sustain the Nixon strategy has left the Republican Party back where it started, with its WASP establishment elites; and the emergence of the New, New Conservatism is an expression of this weakness. Despite its electoral weakness, the New, New Conservatism is important because its constituency is academic. These academics are most open to stupid current liberalism and stupid conservatism. Any argument unfolded in these pages directly converges, is the absolute and essential importance of human development in its richest diversity. Himmelfarb's book, reissued as The Limits of State Action, had been written in 1791-92 under the influence of the French Revolution’s Declaration of the Rights of Man, but had not been published until 1852 and was not translated into English until 1854. Himmelfarb finds it curious that the sole philosopher of the moderns or ancients selected by Mill was the obscure Humboldt. The obvious conclusion—which Himmelfarb does not draw—is that Humboldt, as the author of the most anarchist work then extant, was the one philosopher with ideas nearest to the maturity of Mill’s thought. Mill summarized Humboldt’s thesis as:

That “the end of man, or that which is prescribed by the eternal or immutable dictates of reason, and not suggested by vague and transient desires, is the highest and most harmonious development of his powers to a complete and consistent whole” that, therefore, the headed, common-sense libertarians that are needed today. As a more theoretical book, On Liberty and Liberalism is especially important reading for libertarians.

Himmelfarb has zeroed in on John Stuart Mill’s On Liberty as the most widely known defense of individualism in the English-speaking world. She has determined the consistent liberalism expressed by Mill the philosophical foundations of individualism will receive a major blow and the socialism upon which the New, New Conservatism is founded will have an open field. Himmelfarb uses the “other” Mill, Mill’s earlier writings, in opposition to the mature Mill of On Liberty. Many of the earlier works have drifted to the socialist critics’ negative contributions in reference to the inconsistencies of the utilitarian and Whig philosophies. Mill’s father, James Mill, chief disciple of Bentham and Ricardo, put forward the utilitarian defense of government by majority as the greatest good for the greatest number. Thomas Macaulay responded for the Whigs.

Bentham started with the fact that society or community was a fiction, as it was only a sum of individuals and nothing more. But, by thinking of sums at all, Bentham admitted the majority’s ability to rule as the sum of the most individual goods and wills. Thus Bentham’s hostility to liberty and rights and his ultimate support of power. Indeed, there was an attitude that liberty and rights were evils as they “might provide a sanctuary for individuals or minorities and thus interfere with the operation of the majoritarian principle.” Thus the wrong, Whig, concept of rights (i.e., privileges) led to the opposite, Rousseauian, majoritarian conclusion of utilitarianism. It was the Whig attitude about rights—however inconsistently and wrongly defined—and about liberty that awakened the younger Mill’s doubts about his father’s utilitarianism, while Whig inconsistency caused him to look to the negative contributions of socialist critics. Yet, in the end, Mill came down on the side of extreme individualism; he saw liberty as the resistance to the pressure of the majority, the State, which was tyranny, and as absolute individualism in which the individual is endowed with all positive qualities, excluding any power to society.

JOHN STUART MILL used as the epigraph for On Liberty this quotation from Wilhelm von Humboldt: “The grand, leading principle, towards which every argument unfolded in these pages directly converges, is the absolute and essential importance of human development in its richest diversity.” Humboldt’s book, reissued as The Limits of State Action, had been written in 1791-92 under the influence of the French Revolution’s Declaration of the Rights of Man, but had not been published until 1852 and was not translated into English until 1854. Himmelfarb finds it curious that the sole philosopher of the moderns or ancients selected by Mill was the obscure Humboldt. The obvious conclusion—which Himmelfarb does not draw—is that Humboldt, as the author of the most anarchist work then extant, was the one philosopher with ideas nearest to the maturity of Mill’s thought. Mill summarized Humboldt’s thesis as:

That “the end of man, or that which is prescribed by the eternal or immutable dictates of reason, and not suggested by vague and transient desires, is the highest and most harmonious development of his powers to a complete and consistent whole”; that, therefore, the

BUILDING THE ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIETY

Edited by Jerry Israel

One of the outstanding contributions of New Left scholarship has been its insight into the origin of the present corporate state, beginning in the Progressive period (1900-18), and tightening its grip with the New Deal, Fair Deal, and beyond. Gabriel Kolko, in his brilliant Triumph of Conservatism, demonstrated that certain leading big-business groups, after failing to achieve monopolies on the free market, turned to government control and regulation as a means of cartellizing industry for their benefit. In that way, monopolies were imposed on the economy by government in the name of restricting “big-business monopoly.” In his comprehensive The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State, James Weinstein concentrated on the corporate and statist ideology of those big-business groups centered in the highly influential National Civic Federation, which derided what it called the “anarchism” of the then free-market oriented National Association of Manufacturers. Then, in his Designing the Industrial State, James Gilbert explored the ideology of the collectivist intellectuals of the Progressive era, showing how they wove the apologetics for the corporate state in order to take their place as technocratic planners of the new society.

This collection of essays edited by Professor Israel now becomes one of the most important contributions to this “revisionist” literature. The first group of essays concentrates on various professional associations which
HE CASE OF JOHN STUART MILL

Himmelfarb

object: "towards which every human being must ceaselessly direct his efforts, and on which especially those who design to influence their fellow-men must ever keep their eyes, is the individuality of power and development;" that for this there are two requisites: "freedom and variety of situations" and that from the union of these arose "individual vigour and manifold diversity," which combine themselves in "originality.

Himmelfarb correctly identifies Mill's assumption: "the greater the exercise of spontaneity and individuality, the greater the quantity and intensity of 'desires and impulses,' the greater the variety of situations upon which the individual could freely act, the more probable it was that all of this activity would add up to good rather than bad." Mill's attitude about human nature is manifest in this statement. He totally opposed the concept that human nature was radically corrupt and inclined to evil. Mill denounced the Puritan or Calvinist conception of perfection being achieved only when "human nature is killed within him." Puritanism saw obedience as the path to good through the denial of one's self or denial of other selves. Mill favored a combination of Classical stoicism and pre-Calvinist Christianity as a moral system.

A major necessity which required freedom which was not important to the Calvinist or the utilitarian was the fact that it might at first be used only by a few. But, for Mill, that was an especially important reason to favor liberty, since originality, a major aim of liberty, would come to a wider population only by its exercise by a few. Mill viewed On Liberty as aimed toward making a wider number aware of the foundations of liberty. The greater the amount of nonconformity and eccentricity the greater the possibility of genius. Mill declared, "Eccentricity has always abounded where the strength of character has abounded; and the amount of eccentricity in a society has generally been proportional to the amount of genius, mental vigour, and moral courage it contained." No wonder Mill's On Liberty is not considered fit food by the New, New Conservatives.

Mill's opposition to the majoritarian Rousseauan concepts of the Benthamites is especially upsetting to the New, New Conservatives. A government which was totally reflective of the people's wishes and exercised coercion only in agreement with what the government considered the people's wishes was viewed by Mill as illegitimate and despotic. Mill considered power exercised in cooperation with public opinion as "more noxious" than that in opposition to public opinion: "If all mankind, minus one, were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind." Thus Mill, to the horror of Himmelfarb, rejects all of Auguste Comte, not just what might be considered bad, but what New, New Conservatives think best in Comte—democracy, fraternity, authority, and obedience.

Mill found the argument in favor of bureaucracy, that it was intelligent and efficient, a negation. Not only was that efficiency and intelligence an oppression of the rest of the population, but it was fatal to society the more the efficient and intelligent part of the population was concentrated in bureaucracy rather than in the free part of society. An early problem about bureaucracy centers on children, since schools and protection of children was an early entering wedge of bureaucracy in the nineteenth century. The question of obligation between parent and child was an important
devolved in the Progressive period and which played a leading role in pushing for technocracy and corporatism in their particular areas. Thus, John C. Burnham outlines the drive for social control by physicians and psychotherapists in the Progressive era, and Monte Calvert concentrates on the technocratic role of the burgeoning engineering societies. Particularly important is the essay by David B. Tyack on "City Schools: Centralization of Control at the Turn of the Century." Tyack, himself the leading revisionist historian of the urban public school system, summarizes recent research into the centralizing and dictatorial movement to strengthen the influence of the public school system in this period.

In his essay, Ronald Radosh shows how Herbert Hoover helped to foster trade unionism in the early 1930s, in collaboration with Samuel Gompers and the AFL. Other essays concentrate on the critical role of organized business-oriented policy groups in pushing for expanded government power and control; James J. Lorence describes the influential activities of the American Asiatic Association in pushing the American government into an imperialist stance in the Far East, and Michael L. Lutzker dissects the anomaly of the conservative "peace" organizations before World War I. Most significantly, David W. Eakins gives us the benefit of some of his extensive research into the powerful role of the "corporate liberal policy organizations"; in his essay, he examines the origins of such "scientific" statist groups as the Brookings Institution, the National Municipal League, and the Carnegie Foundation, the National Research Council, and the Twentieth Century Fund.

The final set of essays concentrates on the growth of Progressivism in the various departments of the federal government. Particularly important are Robert D. Cuff's history of the origins of World War I planning in the Council of National Defense, and Peter Karsten's fascinating study of the "Armed Progressives," particularly in the Navy Department.

All in all, this is a gold mine of material on the rise of the corporate state in America. REVIEWED BY MURRAY N. ROTHBAHR / History (341 pages) / LR Price $8.95

Despite Himmelfarb, to the contrary, it is clear that Mill's On Liberty represents a later and more mature development of his thought. Her objection to the absolutism of liberty in Mill's position is that it was based upon his conclusion that women remained unfree in Victorian society. The Women's Convention in Massachusetts in 1850 was the inspiration for Mill's "Enfranchisement of Women." Mill argued that it was in the best interest of men, as well as women, that women be liberated. Thus, the liberty of women required an absolute liberty for mankind. Mill's early interest in socialist writers—especially Fourier, a cooperative rather than a statist socialist—was rooted in their presentation of the nonindividualist position regarding marriage, divorce, and the rights of women. Himmelfarb sees Mill's praise of individuality, creativity, and originality, his distrust of custom, public opinion, and conformity, as parallel to contemporary searches for authenticity and autonomy. Mill's concept went beyond the accepted thought of liberalism—utilitarianism, Unitarianism, evangelicalism, and Whiggism. He extended the principle of freedom to the entire range of opinion and, more radically, to the entire range of action." Himmelfarb finds that the absolutism of Mill's concept of liberty violates all of the other political modes—tradition, prescription, law, interest, utility, and prudence. She views Mill's major contribution to have been an extension of freedom to include the individuality of action.

Himmelfarb, noting that the reaction of modern thinkers to Stalinism has been to posit Mill's absolute liberty, attacks their inclination "to think that only absolute liberty can forestall absolute despotism, that the only corrective to the absolute sovereignty of the state is the absolute sovereignty of the individual." According to her, modern thinkers must reject this because the principle of absolute individuality clashes with their desire for government social and economic legislation. One wonders what it is that Himmelfarb fears from modern thinkers confronting this contradiction in their thought? Some might prefer absolute individuality, despite Commentary's preference for the welfare state. Her fear is best expressed in her reference to Lord Acton, who, her study of his thought has indicated, followed the same route as Mill. Acton's mature thought opted for an absolute liberty and individuality and "turned... bitterly against Burke and the Whig tradition." When the two great English minds of the nineteenth century come down in favor of absolute liberty, defenders of the twentieth-century State must work overtime to try to undermine their decision. It is these issues which make Himmelfarb's book must reading for thoughtful libertarians. REVIEWED BY LEONARD P. LIGGIO / Political Philosophy (345 pages) / LR Price $8.95
ONE FLEW OVER THE CUCKOO’S NEST
By Ken Kesey

If you want to know what it means for psychological growth to begin, read this passage from Ken Kesey’s novel One Flew over the Cuckoo’s Nest:

There was times that week when I’d hear that full-throated laugh, watch him stretching his belly and stretching and yawning and leaning back to wink at whoever he was joking with, everything coming to him just as natural as drawing breath, and . . . I’d think, maybe he truly is something extraordinary. He’s what he is, that’s it. Maybe that makes him strong enough, being what he is.

And later, hiding in the latrine from the black boys, I’d take a look at my own self in the mirror and wonder how it was possible that anybody could manage such an enormous thing as being what he was. . . . I’d think, That ain’t me, that ain’t my face. . . . It don’t seem like I ever been me. How can McMurphy be what he is?

These are the words of a permanent inmate in a mental hospital, a man written off long ago as hopelessly, incurably schizophrenic. McMurphy, the person who inspires these reflections, has been classified by the hospital authorities as a “disruptive influence” and a serious threat to “discipline.” This would be a grimly ironic comment on mental hospitals and on the whole “mental health” ideology—except that Kesey’s style of attack is not ironic, but savage, unrestrained, searing.

People grow from inside, through becoming “what they are,” Kesey insists; the attempt to “adjust” people to external social standards is destructive of any meaningful kind of psychological well-being. To be alive and free psychologically means being both “disruptive.” Kesey expresses this theme not through explicit preaching, but through the events of a tight, skillfully told—and damn good—story.

McMurphy, the protagonist, is a hero, but a tragic one—a man of such strength and autonomy that he cannot understand those around him, cannot fully believe the extent of their weakness. Thus, when he is committed to the mental hospital for “treatment,” he naturally expects the other inmates to join him in his fight against the system. His error (like that of many libertarian activists) is his inability to grasp the fact that most people do not want to be self-assertive and free.

Yet, incredibly, McMurphy does score major victories against the mental-health “combine”; in one respect, his crusade is an unqualified success. Much of this novel will make you want to laugh or cheer out loud. Even its harrowing ending will leave you with a sense of triumph, and of hope. REVIEWED BY ROBERT MASTERS / Fiction (272 pages) / LR Price $1.25

NONE OF YOUR BUSINESS: GOVERNMENT SECRECY IN AMERICA
Edited by Norman Dorsen & Stephen Gillers

“These collected papers, given at a conference held in May 1973, provide an excellent background on a complex issue of increasing concern. The participants included legal scholars, journalists, present and former government officials, and members of Congress. Their individual papers and discussions range over such crucial topics as executive privilege, security classification, the relationship of secrecy to government intelligence activities, the 1966 Freedom of Information Act (the question of freedom of the press generally), and the impact of the computer. . . . This represents almost a ‘state of the art’ report.”—Scott Wright in Library Journal / 416 pages / LR Price $12.50

STATE SECRETS
By Caul Cowan, Nick Egleston, & Nat Hentoff

“The role of political police in the United States since World War I has been confined for broadened and blurred in a ‘New Left’ world of dissidents, militants, radicals, extremists. Politics and public life have a dynamic new look, and the role of the political police has undergone a quantum jump. State Secrets, subtitled “Police Surveillance in America,” is a miscellany of six essays, most of them previously published elsewhere. They examine the investigative techniques used, print a 100-page selection from the FBI papers stolen from its branch office in Media, Pa., in March 1971, and end with a tribute to the Middle American jury that exonerated Berrigan, et al, of conspiracy in the Harrisburg trial. . . .”

“This volume performs a useful service. Not only does it collate the available information on investigation practices, but it also discusses the improper use of grand juries by prosecutors who seek information rather than indictments, and it makes some recommendations on the control of private and public data-banks. In sum, it underlines the need for us all to practice the first rule in an open society: vigilance against over-vigilant public servants.”—Harry A. Rositke in the Washington Star / 333 pages / LR Price $10

THE PHAETON RIDE: THE CRISIS OF AMERICAN SUCCESS
By Forrest McDonald

“Historian Forrest McDonald, author of a dozen books on American history, has come along with a fascinating theory on how the American economy arrived at its present predicament, and along the way he blames practically everybody, from Thomas Jefferson to Ralph Nader. In fact, he does blame everybody, saying that it is part of the American character to ‘accept the irreversibility of history (what’s done is done), avoid fundamental problems, ignore contradictions and go on from there.’ In this thoughtful, provocative, skillfully written book McDonald warns that the fundamental problems and contradictions of our political-economic existence are catching up with us. ‘McDonald is not without bias. He believes that business and profit have been good for America. Socialists will find no friend here. Nor will the fuzzy thinkers among us who enjoy the fruits of a competitive economy but who lose no opportunity to decry the profits of companies that make it possible.’—Richard Goss willer in the Chicago Tribune / History (255 pages) / LR Price $7.95

DON’T PUSH YOUR PRESCHOOLER
By Louise Bates Ames & Joan Ames Chase

“Ames and Chase advise parents of preschoolers to enjoy their children and not worry about their achievements. Emphasizing the role of heredity in children’s capabilities, they attack the theories of environmentalists and of those who advocate teaching babies to read. While they mention ways in which parents can help to develop their children’s capabilities they counsel against expectations which exceed natural limitations. . . . Some will consider these views sexist or racist; some will also question their reliance on Sheldon’s body-type theory of personality. Still, this should be helpful for many parents, and the annotated bibliography enhances its usefulness.”—Carol Eckberg in Library Journal / Education—Psychology (224 pages) / LR Price $6.95

SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS ARE CHRISTIANS
By Paul Blanshard

“The octogenarian ‘dean of American controversy’ discusses how his religious and philosophical views have developed over the last 50 years or so. This book is vintage Blanshard. He says, for example, ‘Today’s remarkable religious liberty in America is based in part on our blessed policy of the separation of church and state. . . . Nothing in our history deserves more praise. When Jefferson and Madison sponsored the First Amendment’s statement on established religion: “Congress shall make no law respecting establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,” few men could have dreamed that this simple pronouncement could become the basis of a broad cultural innovation in Western Society.”—Church & State / 189 pages / LR Price $5.95

DIVORCED IN AMERICA
By Joseph Epstein

“Divorced in America is subtitled: ‘Marriage in an Age of Possibility.’ Epstein heartily endorses the liberalization of divorce laws, so that what is wrong can be achieved with a minimum of additional suffering. He endorses the trend toward positive feelings about sexuality. He respects the growing number of women who no longer find fulfillment in marriage and children alone. Yet, as a man who obviously still believes in the nuclear family and who has not found a satisfactory substitute, the idea of ‘possibility’ upon which we are now adrift where we find the humidum of daily life ever less satisfactory when compared to its billing—sexual revives, dynamic careers, exciting people—poses more threat than promise.”

“As reportage, Divorced in America is straightforward and first-rate. But it’s not that simple. Epstein is on to something: marriage and family cannot compete with the glittering grail of personal liberation and fulfillment we as a society are presently pursuing. The question we must eventually face is—which will it be?”—David Graber in Human Behavior—Psychology (320 pages) / LR Price $10

10
THE CASE FOR CAPITALISM

Hear Ludwig von Mises, Henry Hazlitt, Murray Rothbard, Leonard Read, Milton Friedman and four other laissez-faire economists explain why free market capitalism promotes peace, prosperity and freedom.

The Cassette Library of Free Market Capitalism has brought together nine leading laissez-faire economists, including Ludwig von Mises and Milton Friedman, with handy cassette recordings of speeches, interviews and debates.

- Why laissez-faire economists explain why free market capitalism promotes peace, prosperity and freedom
- Why socialism must lead to poverty, slavery and war
- Why capitalism leads to prosperity, freedom and peace

Announcing a new cassette tape library

Hear Ludwig von Mises, Henry Hazlitt, Murray Rothbard, Leonard Read, Milton Friedman and four other laissez-faire economists explain why free market capitalism promotes peace, prosperity and freedom.

The Cassette Library of Free Market Capitalism has brought together nine leading laissez-faire economists, including Ludwig von Mises and Milton Friedman, with handy cassette recordings of speeches, interviews and debates.

- Why laissez-faire economists explain why free market capitalism promotes peace, prosperity and freedom
- Why socialism must lead to poverty, slavery and war
- Why capitalism leads to prosperity, freedom and peace

Audition These Libertarian Classics

For Up to 14 Days With No Risk

You can audition as many cassettes as you like from the Cassette Library of Free Market Capitalism for up to 14 days. Simply send your check with the coupon below to Audio Forum. If you are not fully satisfied for any reason, just return them. We'll send you a full refund.

Save $21.45

Save $21.45 by ordering all 13 libertarian classics—the entire Cassette Library of Free Market Capitalism—at one time. Your cost: only $97.85—an 18% savings.

Here are the 13 conservative classics in Audio Forum's Cassette Library of FREE MARKET CAPITALISM

THE MAINSPRING OF HUMAN PROGRESS by Henry Grady Weaver: Selections by Leonard Read. Plus—CLEAR PENCIL by Leonard Read / For 6000 years, people everywhere were plagued by famine, disease and squatter. THE MAINSPRING OF HUMAN PROGRESS tells how the discovery of freedom ended all that. You'll want your children and grandchildren to hear this amazing success story of free market capitalism. CLEAR PENCIL is a fact, told by the pen of the immensely complicated division of labor required for its creation.

WHY SOCIALISM MUST FAIL by Ludwig von Mises / The famed laissez-faire economist presents shattering arguments against socialism. This is the only recording authorized by Professor Mises. With it, you can clearly Mises explain why prosperity, freedom and peace cannot last under command planning.

THE CASE AGAINST WAGE-PRICE CONTROLS by Murray N. Rothbard / Professor Murray Rothbard explains why wage-price controls not only disrupt the economy but also rob personal freedom. How, indeed, could they lead to fascism in America.

ECOLOGIES IN ONE LESSON by Henry Hazlitt / Henry Hazlitt explains the basic lesson of economics in clear, simple language. He shows why the failure of bureaucrats to understand this lesson is responsible for most of government's harmful programs—from farm subsidies to wage-price controls. ECONOMICS IN ONE LESSON, the book from which Mr. Hazlitt draws these excerpts, sold more than 400,000 copies and was translated into eight foreign languages.

HOW TO END POVERTY by Dean Russell / Dean Russell explains how free market capitalism makes people far better off in every way. Russell shows why the socialist doctrines of Marx & Engels were wrong; why the industrial revolution produced unprecedented prosperity, cutting infant mortality and increasing the average life-span; and why protecting the laws and bureaucrats, motivate entrepreneurs to improve our way of life.

THE TRUE MONETARY HISTORY OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION by Percy Greaves / Professor Greaves explains how the Federal Reserve, NOT capitalism, caused the Great Depression of the 1930s by inflating the money supply during the 1920s. Greaves explains in easy-to-understand language how the inflationary process works—and why, continued long enough, it must lead to runaway inflation or depression. (12 cassettes.)

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN OUR SOCIETY / A debate between Professor Milton Friedman and Senator Joseph Clark / Milton Friedman single-handedly defends free market capitalism against Senator Joseph Clark and two other hardened New Dealers. Professor Friedman shows why government tends to make people worse off, not better. He explains (1) Why people will benefit from repeal of many popular laws, including social security and the progressive income tax, and (2) How private individuals—pursuing their own self-interests and cooperating voluntarily—make capitalization the most prosperous, free and peaceful economic system ever tried.

PLUS:
- THE ESSENCE OF AMERICANISM: Success Stories of Freedom by Leonard Read
- THE NATURE OF ECONOMICS AND THE THEORY OF VALUE by Percy Greaves
- A CONVERSATION WITH MILTON FRIEDMAN by Dean Russell

Who Are the Economists in This Cassette Library?

Hear these experts in action. Adapt their arguments for your own use—and they will help you persuade your friends and explain the inspiring case for capitalism to your children or grandchildren. Listen to the Cassette Library of Free Market Capitalism, and learn:

- Why wage-price controls lead to shortages, rationing, unemployment and bankruptcies
- The simple idea that lifted the Pilgrims from starvation to prosperity in 1623
- Why government monetary policy, NOT free market capitalism, caused the Great Depression of the 1930s
- Why the division of labor benefits everyone
- Why tariffs and import quotas raise consumer prices
- Why social security is a fraud which steals money from some people and gives it to other people who didn't earn it

Ludwig von Mises is author of HUMAN ACTION, PLANNING FOR FREEDOM, BUREAUCRACY, THE ANTI-CAPITALIST MENTALITY, THE FREE AND PROSPEROUS CONCEPTUALWEALTH and many other books, plus dozens of articles published in scholarly journals, anthologies, popular magazines and newspapers. His works have been translated into eight foreign languages.

Henry Hazlitt is the author of ECONOMICS IN ONE LESSON, THE FAILURE OF THE "NEW ECONOMICS", THE FREE MAN'S LIBRARY, TIME WILL RUN BACK, WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT INFLATION and seven other books. He has contributed articles to the NEW YORK TIMES, THE AMERICAN MERCURY, NATIONAL REVIEW, HUMAN EVENTS, NEWSWEEK and many other publications.

Milton Friedman is author of CAPITALISM AND FREE DOM, A PROGRAM FOR MONEY STABILITY, DOLLARS AND DEFICITS AND A MONETARY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, as well as dozens of articles in scholarly and popular publications around the world. He writes a regular economics column for NEWSWEEK.

Professor Murray Rothbard is a prolific author as well as economic analyst and scholar. His books include AMERICA'S GREAT DEPRESSION, POWER AND MARKET, MAN, ECONOMY AND STATE and WHAT HAS GOVERNMENT DONE TO OUR MONEY? Dr. Rothbard has contributed articles to six other books and to the NEW YORK TIMES, INTELLECTUAL DIET, THE FREEMAN, HUMAN EVENTS, QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS, AMERICAN ECONOMIC REVIEW and dozens of other publications.

Professor Percy Greaves has contributed articles to six books including ON FREEDOM AND FREE ENTERPRISE and ON LIBERTY. He has written for the CHICAGO TRIBUNE, NATIONAL REVIEW, HUMAN EVENTS, THE FREEMAN and numerous other publications.

W.M. Curtiss is author of THE TARIFF IDEA and Executive Secretary of the Foundation for Economic Education.

Paul Portier is author of THE PEN SION IDEA and Editor of THE FREEMAN.

Audio-story is author of THE TVA IDEA, FREDERICK BASTIAT IDEAS AND INFLUENCE, and numerous articles on economics.
TRAGIC SENSE OF LIFE
By Miguel de Unamuno

Immortality is at hand. Sciences such as gerontology, biophysics, and biochemistry promise prolonged life-extension in the near future and a probable “cure” for aging and death within the lifetimes of people alive today.

Research proceeds at a dizzying rate, and whether the most important breakthroughs come first in the area of transplants, cloned or artificial replacement organs, cryonics, anti-aging drugs, or simply improved regimens in diet and exercise, the medical path of the future seems clear. Death and aging will be conquered as surely as so many other diseases of the past.

There exists, however, a peculiar nonscientific problem that may accompany this progress: Many people are philosophically unprepared—even opposed—to the very idea of immortality. Unbelievably, there are living persons who fear not death, but life itself—if it is to be extended beyond some traditional limit. Such a position affects not only those that desire death sometime for themselves, but everyone else as well. For as Alan Harrington has observed:

The attack on death has not been organized properly, for the simple reason that we have no program. Having no word, we have no program. Have no word, we have no program.

There are several books out that present viable cases for eternal life—Ettinger’s Prospect of Immortality, F.M. Esfandiary’s Optimism One, Harrington’s own Immortalist, and Jerome Tuccille’s exuberant Here Comes Immortality. However, one of the most stirring and beautiful arguments on why people should desire immortality comes from a very strange and unusual book, Miguel de Unamuno’s Tragic Sense of Life.

The book is strange in that it was written over 60 years ago—at a time when the state of the bio-medical arts offered no chance for personal survival beyond normally “allotted” life spans. Unusual, in that Unamuno—one of Spain’s greatest philosophers and writers—developed his plea for immortality almost as an aside in the wider context of his overall religious view of life. This broader view is unfortunately filled with a great many errors. Objectivists and other atheists will find little of value in it—though others may enjoy its’ lovely style and wide literary erudition.

Unamuno was professor of Greek at the University of Salamanca and possessed a most profound classical and humanist education. He was a proudly self-proclaimed individualist who set his goals high and thought little of those who did not do the same: “Only the feeble resign themselves to final death and substitute some other desire for the longing for personal immortality.”

Despite his religious orientation, Unamuno felt that “the individual is the end of the Universe,” and, even more startling, felt it important to state in the clearest possible language that:

I do not want to die—no; I neither want to die nor do I want to want to die; I want to live for ever and ever and ever. I want this “I” to live—this “I” that I am and that I feel myself to be here and now. I am the universe... Each man is worth more than the whole of humanity... That which we call egoism is the principal of psychic gravity, the necessary postulate.

Though human freedom is in the final analysis always a volitional matter, always subject to individual choice and action, there have existed external barriers to its achievement. Mortality is the last and greatest of these. It will soon be removed from the human scene. The tragedy of Unamuno’s title need be tragic no more. When science permits human beings to live forever, their sense of life will no longer have any excuse not to be transformed into one of eternal happiness, joy, and triumph. REVIEWED BY WILLIAM DANKS / Philosophy (330 pages) / LR Price $2.50

Groupies?

In his review of Nathaniel Branden’s pamphlet, An Introductory Discussion of Biocentric Therapy [LR, March], David Kantorowitz makes the following comment: “One of the problems in reading or listening to Dr. Branden is believing that behavior and attitudinal change in a biocentric therapy at the rate portrayed.” Mr. Kantorowitz immediately adds, however, that on the basis of personal observation, he believes Branden’s claims are accurate.

This is a rather important point with which is left with is that if Branden’s patients claim to have experienced very rapid “behavioral and attitudinal change” as a result of their therapy, this is evidence of the validity of Branden’s psychological theories.

Further on in the same review, Mr. Kantorowitz unwittingly makes a remark which calls this assumption into question: “Dr. Branden has privately confessed to me that the real reason that people develop psychological problems is in order to meet him.”

Branden, of course, made his comment in jest, and this is also the apparent reason that Kantorowitz saw fit to include it in his review. But remarks made in jest often contain significant truths which the speaker would never admit openly. If we think about it for a moment, how can we avoid noting how very plausible is this idea that many of Branden’s patients manufacture psychological problems purely as an excuse to meet him? Prior to his break with Rand, Branden had achieved a demigod status in the minds of tens of thousands of people—a status second only to that of Rand himself. To a considerable extent, he retains that status to this day. It is by no means implausible that a high proportion of his patients are primarily motivated by a desire to meet him and that they either manufacture or exaggerate problems in order to do so. Since “psychological problems” which the individual has merely decreed into existence can be quickly and easily decreed out of existence again, it is hardly a surprise that Branden’s patients claim to have experienced very rapid behavior and attitude change as a result of their therapy. Such “results,” while they may titillate Mr. Branden’s ego, are neither evidence of the
value of his psychological theories nor of the validity of the idea that meaningful psychological change is something which can be achieved quickly.

MITCHELL JONES
Austin, Texas

While it may be accurate, as Mr. Jones points out, that patients made up of the lauding Shelley's creature in biocentric therapy may be due to clients' manufacturing problems in order to meet Dr. Branden. Once that purpose has been served, the problems may be quickly given up. The irony is that Dr. Branden's jest (clients really develop problems in order to meet him) was actually created by myself and aimed solely at inhibiting humor into a review generally conveyed and written in a light style. While the jest was never made, the point involved remains. Every psychotherapist is aware that a percentage of his clientele are purchasing friendship by entering therapy. This is doubtless true in Branden's case as well. Mr. Jones, however, hints that this is the critical factor in explaining Branden's success.

As many things in life are possible, Mr. Jones' assertions are as well. I doubt, however, the lauding Shelley's creature in biocentric therapy may be due to clients' manufacturing problems in order to meet Dr. Branden. Once that purpose has been served, the problems may be quickly given up. The irony is that Dr. Branden's jest (clients really develop problems in order to meet him) was actually created by myself and aimed solely at inhibiting humor into a review generally conveyed and written in a light style. While the jest was never made, the point involved remains. Every psychotherapist is aware that a percentage of his clientele are purchasing friendship by entering therapy. This is doubtless true in Branden's case as well. Mr. Jones, however, hints that this is the critical factor in explaining Branden's success.

David A. Kantorowitz
Santa Monica, Calif.

Monstrous!
Long a follower of the horror/science-fiction genre, I am disappointed at Robert LeFevre's superficial review of Mary Shelley's Frankenstein. He spends most of his review lauding Shelley's virtues, her fascination with the Prometheus legend, and the novel's purported anti-statist theme; only one sentence is given over to a factual description of the story.

In fact, there is really no parallel between the Prometheus legend and Shelley's novel. Prometheus was moved by compassion to take the responsibility for imparting power to humanity. In contrast, Victor Frankenstein is driven by egotistical motivations in an enterprise whose consequences he cowardly evades. The story of Frankenstein is the story of the hatred and cruelty visited on a benevolent and prodigious creature—who repays its tormentors with bitter revenge. Victor Frankenstein is the moral monster of this classic tale, for he sets the course of his creature's development.

DAVID A. KANTOROWITZ
Santa Monica, Calif.

Unfortunately, most persons are familiar with the tale only through the prostituted mummy of the cinema, thereby associating the horrid machine-running-ekom theme with the novel. I recommend that all persons should read Frankenstein, if only to get the facts straight.

It is not easy reading, however. LeFevre neglects to mention the crucial fact that Mary Shelley was an amateur attempting one of the first experiments in the novel as a literary form. Expectably, the novel suffers from a ponderous plot-line and mannered prose. Although rapid progress in science fiction is not an other, nothing is resolved, and religious notions of "blasphemy" pervade all considerations of Victor's responsibility. Frankenstein is basically an ambitious novel, and if it is read by other, nothing is resolved, and religious notions of "blasphemy" pervade all considerations of Victor's responsibility. Frankenstein is basically an ambitious novel, and if it is

Mike Dunn
Seattle, Wash.

Monster expert Mike Dunn, self-proclaimed horror/science-fiction follower, now finds horror in my review of Mary Shelley's Frankenstein. More wrong from Dunn [Argos Press] is the monster, Mary Shelley not far behind, and most monstrous of all is LeFevre, who fails to see the story as Mike Dunn sees it.

To a monster critic, You have a right to see it through your own horrid point of view. And so do I. And the fact that we disagree may indeed stir a few of the slopes, for they are several of the book reviews where the book is of the type of thoughtful rathenp.
RECORDS

(For foreign readers add $5.00 extra)

Barber, Copland, Gorshin, et al., THE AMERICAN ALBUM, (Bernstein, New York Philharmonic), $6.95
Beethoven, SYMPHONY NO.9 IN D MINOR, "THE CHORAL", (Dali, Chicago Symphony Orchestra and Chorus) (two records), $10.50
Berlioz, ROMEO ET JULIETTE, (Kern, Tarr, Sholley Quirk, soloists; Davis, London Symphony Orchestra) (two records), $4.95
Berlioz, LIES TROYES, Vickers, Vassay/Lindholm, Davis, Royal Opera House Covent Garden Orchestra & Chorus, $36.95
Brabham, BRUNO WALTER'S BRABHAM, (Winter, New York Philharmonic Orchestra), $2.50
Charpentier, TE DEUM, MAGNIFICAT, (Choir of St. John's College, Cambridge; Guest, Director), $2.95
Charpentier, Courpier, Ramuz, Berton, MUSIC AT VERSAILLES AT THE TIME OF LOUIS XIV, (Daedal, Caen Chamber Orchestra), $2.50
Delius, IN A SUMMER GARDEN — MUSIC OF FREDERICK DELIUS, (Barbirolli, Halle Orchestra), $4.95
Dohnanyi, PIANO CONCERTO NO.1, (Balint Vazsonyi, pianist), $2.50
Delius, THE MAGIC FLUTE, (Lorengar, Deutokom, Prey, Burrows, Talvela, Fischer-Dieskau, $5.95
Gesualdo, DON CARLO GESUALDO, PRINCE OF MADRIGALISTS, (Stravinsky and Craft, conductors; Biggs, Verdi, Mahler, SYMPHONY NO.8, (Solti, Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Vienna State Opera Chorus) (two records), $18.65
Gesualdo, SYMPHONY NO.10 (Cooke Version) ; DAS LIED VON DER ERDE, (Ormandy, Philadelphia Orchestra, $17.95
Handel, TWELVE CONCERTI GROSSI, OP. 6, (Mariner, Academy of St. Martin in the Fields) (four records), $17.95
Mozart, THE MAGIC FLUTE, (Lorengar, Deutokom, Prey, Burrows, Talvela, Fischer-Dieskau, $5.95
Mouret, Lalande, Lussy, MUSIQUES ROYALES A NOTRE DAME, (Cochereau, organ; Andre, trumpet; Brass and Wind Ensemble conducted by Birbaum), $2.50
Mozer, THE MAGIC FLUTE, (Lorenz; Davostiak, Prey, Burrows, Tellevia, Fischer-Dieskau; Solis, The Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra) (three records), $17.40
Palestrina, ASSUMPTA EST MARIA; MISSA BREVIS, (Choir of St. John's College, Cambridge; Guest, Director), $2.95
Schoeck, ENVY: A THEORY OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOR, $3.95
Victoria, REQUIEM MASS; FOUR MOTETS, (Chorale des Jeunesse Musicales de France; Martini, Director) $5.95

SURVIVAL

• Angier, FEASTING FREE ON WILD EDIBLES, $4.95
• Angier, HOW TO STAY ALIVE IN THE WOODS, $1.25
• Angier, SURVIVAL WITH STYLE, $2.45
• Boudreau, BUYING COUNTRY LAND, $4.95
• Bramble, INFLATION SURVIVAL MANUAL, $1
• Brand (ed.), THE UPDATED LAST W0rLD EARTH CATALOG, $5.
• Brand (ed.), WHOLE EARTH EPILOG, $4
• Brown, HOW I FOUND FREEDOM IN AN UNFREE WORLD, $7.95/$1.95
• Clark, KNOW YOUR NUTRITION, $3.50
• Davis, LET'S COOK IT RIGHT, $1.75
• Davis, LET'S EAT RIGHT TO KEEP FIT, $1.95
• Davis, LET'S GET WELL, $1.95
• Davel, RECIPES FOR A SMALL PLANET, $1.95
• Davenport, NEIGHBORHOOD GOVERNMENT, $2.95
• Darrow, GROW IT!, $3.95
• Darrow, DIET FOR A SMALL PLANET, $1.95
• Darrow, LIVING THE GOOD LIFE, $1.95
• Donohue, CRUSADE OF LONESOME LAKE, $8.95
• Darrow, VACA, THE COMING DARK AGE, $7.95
• Darrow, NUTRITION AGAINST DISEASE, $1.95

MISCELLANEOUS

• Baker, RACE, $15
• Bode (ed.), THE YOUNG MENCKEN, $10
• Chomsky, OUT OF STEP, $4.95
• Darrow, AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL ELITE, $6.50
• Darrow, AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL ELITE, $10
• Darrow, THE AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL ELITE, $6.50
• Darrow, HAPPY DAYS, $8.95
• Darrow, NEWSPAPER DAYS, $8.95
• Darrow, PREJUDICES, $1.65
• Darrow, VINTAGE MENCKEN, $1.95
• Darrow, THE BOOK OF AYRBORN, $9
• Darrow, FREE SPEECH AND PLAIN LANGUAGE, $12.25
• Darrow, MEMORIES OF A SUPERFLUOUS MAN, $2.25
• Darrow, ON DOING THE RIGHT THING, $12.75
• Darrow, SNOOKING AS A FINE ART, $11.75
• Darrow, THE LIBERTARIAN FORUM (bound), $11
• Darrow, Lindop, REACH (eds.), LEFT AND RIGHT SELECTED ESSAYS, $7
• Darrow, TUSCONE, IT USUALLY BEGINS WITH AYN RAND, $2.95
A Word To Our Readers

This month Libertarian Review goes to 16 pages. This one-third increase in size— at no increase in cost to you— makes it possible for us to bring you more reviews each month. Also new this month is "LR Book Briefs," which you will find on page 10. Each month, "Book Briefs" will give you mini-reviews of several titles of interest to libertarians, all of which we will make available to you through the LR Mail-Order Service.

The new Libertarian Review gives you more for your money—a rare thing in these inflationary times! Why not extend your subscription today? One year (12 issues) of the expanded LR is still only $6. As a way of saying thanks for saving us the cost of mailing you a renewal notice, we will send you free a copy of Murray N. Rothbard’s "Nobel Prize to Hayek" (which includes an interview with Hayek held by LR associate editor Tibor Machan). For details of this offer, see the "FREE" box below.

This past April, the Science Fiction Writers of America awarded the first Grand Master Nebula Award to Robert A. Heinlein. The award was created by SFWA to honor living science fiction writers whose works, taken as a whole, have profoundly and positively influenced the SF genre. It is only fitting for Heinlein, who has been called "one of the greatest tellers of tales America has produced," to have received the first Grand Master Nebula, for his work quite literally has shaped the course of modern science fiction. Treat yourself to some of the Grand Master's best from the LR Mail-Order Service: The Moon is a Harsh Mistress ($1.25), Stranger in a Strange Land ($1.50), and Time Enough for Love ($4.77—our cost).

This month we are offering 10% off on American Liberalism and World Politics, 1931-1941, the definitive study of pre-World War II American foreign policy by the distinguished revisionist historian James J. Martin. This two-volume boxed set was reviewed by Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr., in the May 1974 Libertarian Review. It is the perfect companion to Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace, edited by Harry Elmer Barnes and reviewed by James J. Martin in our April 1975 issue. Together these works will give you the real story of U.S. foreign policy from Hoover to Hiroshima. This month only, American Liberalism and World Politics, 1931-1941 is yours at the low price of $20.25.

Things to Come: Future issues of LR will feature Nicholas von Hoffman on Karl Hess’ Dear America, J. Neil Schulman reviewing Tuccille’s Who’s Afraid of 1984? Walter E. Grider on the Great Depression, Robert Masters offering some reflections on Nietzsche, and Ida Walters on the possibilities offered by bio-feedback. And beginning in August: Jeff Riggenbach’s new series on the world’s great literature. Stick with us; you won’t be disappointed!

Anarchy, State and Utopia, by Robert Nozick, continues to receive serious attention from critics and friends alike. Now, added to the extensive coverage given the book in Newsweek, New Republic, Forbes, the New York Review of Books, and the New York Times, comes the news that Nozick has been given the National Book Award in philosophy and religion. It is a rare thing when a serious philosophical work creates such a stir. Read it and find out why. (LR price $12.95.)

The LR Book Service is happy to once again have in stock the libertarian classic Human Action, by Ludwig von Mises. For several months the book was unavailable from the publisher. Unfortunately, the ravages of inflation have taken their toll; Human Action is now selling for $20.

REVIEWERS FOR THIS ISSUE: Barbara Branden lives in Los Angeles and recently completed her first novel, Price No Object. William Danks is a Fellow of the University of Hawaii’s Faculty Institute on Planetary Resource Management. John Hospers is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Southern California, the winner of one electoral vote in the 1972 presidential election, and an LR associate editor. Ronald Kimerling is a free-lance writer whose work has appeared in The New Guard, Human Events, The Individualist, and Oui, where he is a regular contributor to the "Openers" section. Robert LeFevre is the founder and past president of Rampart College and the editor of LeFevre’s Journal. Leonard P. Liggio teaches history at City College of New York. Henry G. Manne is Director and Distinguished Professor of Law at the Center for Studies in Law and Economics, University of Miami School of Law. Robert Masters is a free-lance writer currently in transit between the wilds of New York City and the wilds of Washington state. Robert Poole, Jr. is an editor of Reason magazine. Jeff Riggenbach is book reviewer for the Los Angeles all-news radio station KFWB. Murray N. Rothbard, Professor of Economics at the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, is an LR associate editor, editor of Libertarian Forum, and libertarianism’s man for all seasons. Robert Sherrill is Washington correspondent of the Nation and a prolific writer on American politics. Jarret B. Wollstein studied psychology at the University of Maryland and is currently in the investment business.

FREE

NOBEL PRIZE TO VON HAYEK

We will send you, FREE and postage paid, Murray N. Rothbard's "Nobel Prize to von Hayek":
• If you order $15 or more in merchandise from this issue; or
• If you extend your subscription at $6 for one year beyond its present expiration date.

This article concisely outlines the work of the great Nobel laureate, which compasses far more than economics. Hayek once observed that "no one can be a great economist who is only an economist." Hayek is a great economist. Dr. Rothbard shows you why. Included also is an illuminating interview held with von Hayek by LR associate editor Tibor Machan.

(Purchase additional copies @ $1 ea.)