

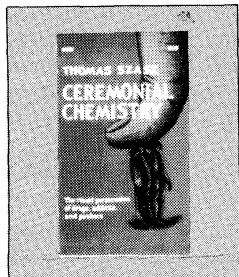
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CEREMONIAL CHEMISTRY

By Thomas Szasz



Dear Karl: I finished rereading Thomas Szasz' *Ceremonial Chemistry* this afternoon. And if anything, I felt a greater mental exhilaration on rereading it—a greater vulnerability, even nakedness, to what, if Reason is said to be like a breath of fresh air, must be called a bracing, invigorating wind—than I felt on first reading it nearly a year ago. It is no exaggeration to say that this book has cleared my head for life where certain issues in linguistic and social philosophy are concerned or that it has singlehandedly proved (to my satisfaction, at any rate) the *usefulness* for analysis of specific social issues of the essentially neo-Kantian epistemological theories advocated by philosophers like Susanne Langer—and Szasz, I should quickly add, doesn't indicate whether he even knows Langer's work. It was difficult trying to choose among the many brilliant quotations I might have used—the book is so consistently (and amazingly) witty and wise, insightful and incisive. In the end, I narrowed it down to these:

... some people want to take some drugs which some others do not want them to take. The drug users—called “drug abusers” or “drug addicts” by the authorities—regard their drugs as their allies, and those who try to deprive them of the drugs as their adversaries; whereas the politicians, psychiatrists, and ex-addicts—who call themselves “experts on drug abuse and drug addiction”—regard the prohibited drugs as their enemies, the persons who use them as their “patients,” and their own coercive interventions as “treatments”...

... there is, in fact, no such thing as “drug addiction.” To be sure, some people do take drugs that the authorities do not want them to take; and some people do become used to taking certain substances, or become habituated to them; and the various substances which people take may be legal or illegal, relatively harmless or quite harmful. But the difference between someone “using a drug” and his being “addicted” to it is not a matter of fact, but a matter of our moral attitude and political strategy toward him. Indeed, we might, and must, go further than this, and note that the very identification of a substance as a drug or not a drug is not a matter of fact but a matter of moral

attitude and political strategy: tobacco, in common parlance, is not considered to be a drug, but marijuana is; gin is not, but Valium is. ...

Any idea or act that gives men and women a sense of what their life is about or for—that, in other words, gives their existence meaning and purpose—is, properly speaking, religious. Science, medicine, and especially health and therapy are thus admirably suited to function as quasi-religious ideas, values and pursuits.

Since the use and avoidance of certain substances has to do with prescriptions and prohibitions, with what is legal or licit and illegal or illicit, the so-called “problem” of drug abuse or drug addiction has two aspects: religious (legal) and scientific (medical). Actually, however, since the factual or scientific aspects of this subject are negligible, the problem is, for all practical purposes, almost entirely religious or moral.

But I couldn't resist tossing in two more from another book, because *Ceremonial Chemistry* reads like nothing so much as a gloss on these two epigrams from *The Second Sin*:

The Nazis spoke of having a Jewish problem. We now speak of having a drug-abuse problem. Actually, “Jewish problem” was the name the Germans gave to the persecution of the Jews; “drug-abuse problem” is the name we give to the persecution of people who use certain drugs.

The narcotics laws are our dietary laws. Since this is the age of science, not religion, psychiatrists are our rabbis, heroin is our pork, and the addict is our unclean person.

And then I found I wanted to toss in one more, again from *The Second Sin*:

Marx said that religion was the opiate of the people. In the United States today, opiates are the religion of the people.

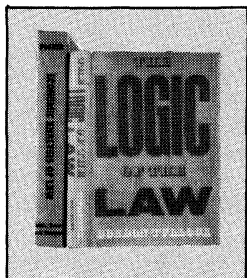
Frankly, I stand in awe of this man and of his work. Ralph Raico says, and I agree with him entirely, that Szasz' is “one of the very best minds currently being applied to social questions in the United States.” He is also an excellent writer; I cannot compose a more pithy, succinct summary of *Ceremonial Chemistry* than is provided in these passages by its author. The problem is: they come to fully half the 750 words you allotted me. So how can I review the book? Perplexedly, Jeff Rigenbach / *Social Psychology* / Anchor Press—Doubleday, 1974 / \$2.95 paper; \$6.95, hardbound

THE LOGIC OF THE LAW

By Gordon Tullock

ECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF LAW

By Richard Posner



These two volumes are examples of the rapidly developing field of economic analysis of law and legal institutions. The two authors are professors, respectively, at the two major fonts of this new learning, Virginia Polytechnic's Center for Study of Public Choice and the University of Chicago.

Since the rejection of natural law in the nineteenth century, there has been an extensive and not particularly successful attempt to arrive at some fundamental basis for legal

rules. Positivism, the doctrine that law is merely what the sovereign says it is, has failed to provide a satisfactory intellectual foundation.

Given the law's identification with justice, it has been traditional to think of the foundation of law as a matter of ethics. The unfortunate aspect of this approach is that ethical science, the derivation of rules of right conduct from a few basic postulates, has for a long

time been in disrepute, as latter-day critics have uncovered what they consider serious errors in the “scientific” treatises of Aristotle, Aquinas, and the other great expositors.

While the normative sciences are in eclipse, the positive sciences, buoyed by the successes of physics, are being taken as the only correct, objective “scientific” means of gaining knowledge of the real world. And the most highly developed of the positive disciplines dealing with human conduct—and hence applicable to human law—is economics.

The application of economics has been troubled by the supposed chasm between positive and normative knowledge. No matter how much you know about economics, it was argued, you can derive nothing from that knowledge which tells you how you *ought* to act. *Ought*, said Hume, was not derivable from *is*. If your norms are given, an economist can tell you how to achieve them—but he can tell you nothing about what those norms ought to be.

(Continued on page 2)

More generally, critics of this approach have argued that the economists' touchstone of efficiency has no normative content. Posner argues, on the other hand, that if the law is to achieve its ostensible goal of modifying behavior, then considerations of efficiency will lead us to adopt what is usually considered the normative notion of "due process." He thus suggests that whether or not efficiency itself may have any normative content, it may lead us to compatible results.

Armed with the Pareto Optimality and the other tools of modern, empirical economics, the economist is prepared to essay such grand tasks as the explanation—and, where necessary, the reordering—of human laws and institutions.

Economic analysis of the law first became widely used in anti-trust and regulatory affairs, fields in which the results were agreeable to libertarian sensibilities. Here was produced some of the most intellectually influential work bolstering the free market case. This work is associated with such well-known scholars as Milton Friedman, George Stigler, Ronald Coase, Aaron Director, Armen Alchian, Harold Demsetz, Henry Manne, and that bete noir of the environmentalists, Bernard Siegan.

While the earlier work, usually identified with the name "Chicago School," provided analysis of particular laws (e.g., the Robinson-Patman Act, rent control, zoning), later works, Tullock's in particular, seek to apply it to the institution of law itself and are, in fact, more works of jurisprudence than of economics.

Of the two reviewed here, Posner's is the more detailed. His table of contents reads like a law school syllabus. He takes property, torts, taxation, monopolies, corporations, distributive justice, due process, federalism, the adversary system, racial discrimination, et cetera, and shows how an economist, applying the tools of his trade, would ex-

plain or criticize their development and content. One of his more controversial conclusions from this work is that judges, including the old common law judges, "thought economically" and their decisions are explainable not as ethical but as economic resolutions.

In contrast to Posner's highly particularized application, Tullock seeks to go back to the roots of the problem and "think about law" in a radically different way. Observing, perhaps correctly, that we are probably no further along in our knowledge of ethics than were Aristotle or Epictetus, Tullock proposes that we first discover what good law would be, and then adopt a system of ethics which would support that law.

In an appendix to *Logic of the Law*, Tullock makes the interesting suggestion that pacifists and anarchists should be allowed to withdraw from the coercive society and abstain from both paying taxes for and receiving the benefits of the State. He believes that the presence of this choice will make those who remain subject to the State content because they will realize that their burden of obedience is self-chosen. He also suggests that this choice will provide a useful experiment to test the viability of pacifism and anarchism outside the free-rider protection they presently receive from the police and courts of the coercive regime they purportedly reject. Tullock's suspicion seems to be that they won't last very long.

Posner and Tullock are actually writing for different audiences. Posner's book is the more consciously academic and has as its intended audience students in either law or economics, or perhaps combined programs. Tullock's, in contrast, is intended for the wider audience of persons who, while not necessarily lawyers, are interested in the problems posed by law. Tullock has succeeded in producing an interesting and imaginative attempt to "think about law" in a new way. Reviewed by Davis E. Keeler / *Legal & Political Philosophy* / *Logic of the Law* / Basic, 1971 / \$8.95 / *Economic Analysis of Law* / Little-Brown, 1973 / \$10

THE CASE FOR LEGALIZING HARD DRUGS

By Roy Childs

Every generation seems to have its own peculiar myths, its own unique irrationalities, and its own despised minority. In turn, Jews, Catholics, Chinese, Irish, Japanese, and Negroes have been stereotyped, discriminated against, and harassed by the State. Gradually the stereotypes have been dispelled, the discrimination ameliorated, the legal sanctions eliminated. Now religious, ethnic, and racial tolerance are all but taken for granted as social standards, if not as complete social realities. However, irrational intolerance itself has not disappeared but merely been redirected. In 1975 America there is a new stereotyped and oppressed class: the drug users.

In his brilliant speech, *The Case for Legalizing Hard Drugs*, Roy Childs demonstrates that virtually every belief held about opiate users is false. Using extensive medical and historical evidence, Childs shows exactly why drug use is mounting and exactly how that use is a social problem. While Childs does not deny health and crime problems associated with drugs, Childs does question that those problems are caused by drug use *per se*. Rather he demonstrates that all of those problems are the product of the legal sanctions against drugs.

Speaking principally of the opiates, Childs begins his discussion by pointing out that what "the drug problem" is depends upon who is defining it. Further, he points out that legal sanctions as a method of dealing with "the problem" are at best ineffectual: Since 1960 drug laws have become much more severe, but opiate (mainly heroin) users have increased from 54,000 to an estimated 300,000-500,000 today in the United States. Childs then goes on to establish his thesis that: "There is no political drug problem, except that which is created by the law. The only way to solve the problem then is to abolish the drug laws."

Rather than beginning his case with ethical arguments well known

to libertarians, Childs instead begins with and spends the bulk of his time presenting medical and historical evidence on the effects of drug use and drug criminalization. At the outset, Childs explains, in the nineteenth century there were no drug laws (drugs were then easily purchasable at pharmacies, grocery stores, or through the mail) and there was no drug problem. "The drug problem"—including everything from physical deterioration of addicts, the involvement of organized crime, a drug subculture, the commission of crimes by addicts to support their habits, and the destruction of families through drug use—is coincident with criminal sanction against drugs. Childs goes on to show exactly why this is the case, discussing in the process a host of relevant issues, including: the history of American drug laws, the effect of opiates on intellectual performance, why authorities are helpless to prevent smuggling of opiates, harmful effects of drug laws upon foreign policy, prominent Americans who were opiate users and the effects upon them, the *real* reason why the medical profession turned against opiates, astronomical price increases (up to 225,000%!) caused by criminalization of drug use, and ways in which anti-drug laws encourage drug use.

Childs concludes his speech with a passionate ethical statement on the right of self-medication and the implications of the ability of the state to prohibit drug use.

This is a brilliant, meticulously reasoned speech. It deserves to be heard by every libertarian who is interested in defending the right of self-medication, as well as by every conservative who is intent upon saving drug users from themselves. I sincerely hope that *The Case for Legalizing Hard Drugs* reaches the wide audience that it deserves. Reviewed by Jarret B. Wollstein / *Cassette Tape 336 (40 min.)* / \$9.95 / Order from Audio-Forum, 410 First St, SE, Washington, DC 20003



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AN INTRODUCTION TO IMAGINATIVE LITERATURE

By Jeff Rigenbach

PART III: FICTION—THE NOVEL

If the first great short story in English is a verse narrative, so is the first great novel. I am speaking of John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, the most universally celebrated literary treatment of one of the world's great myths (the fall of Satan and, subsequently, of Adam and Eve). The English language takes on an incomparable beauty (I am tempted to say "an incomparable majesty" and, with Oscar Wilde's Lord Henry Wotton, I believe the only way to get rid of a temptation is to yield to it) when it is cast into iambs. And only Shakespeare can approach or surpass Milton at this style of composition.

In fact, there is good reason to argue that until nearly two hundred years later no book-length fictional narrative in English involved *Paradise Lost* in any serious rivalry. The ensuing pair of centuries saw publication of some notable novels, to be sure: Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, Stern's *Tristram Shandy*, Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (and, some would say, not without justice, *Pierre*, *The Confidence Man* and the shorter *Bartleby the Scrivener*), Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* and *The House of the Seven Gables*—these are only among the more interesting products of the period (I omit Jane Austen from the company because, though her novels are almost universally admired—I admire them myself—I find her unreadable). But it was not until the 1860s and the later novels of Charles Dickens (especially *A Tale of Two Cities* and *Great Expectations*) that the English novel—this time in prose—again attained the artistic stature of *Paradise Lost*. Where Milton's mastery is most noticeable in his style, however, Dickens is most noticeable in his character and plot writing. Like no novelist before him (and few since) Dickens grasped the importance of unifying each character and of exhibiting each character's essence as concretely and sensuously as possible without sacrifice of psychological complexity (read Miss Havisham in *Great Expectations*, and you will have experienced self-destructive spite of so intense and fully realized a variety it may literally leave you emotionally drained).



And Miss Havisham's essential nature, as that of each character in *Great Expectations*, is delineated by the intricately interwoven events of the novel. Dickens' later plots were all like this—complex, elaborately detailed, perfectly integrated around the characters of the fictional people who acted them out. And Dickens had the younger novelist Wilkie Collins to thank for pretty well teaching him to do it. Collins's own best novel, *The Moonstone*, is variously credited with being the first detective novel, the most objective detective novel (most faithful to the rule that all the facts on which the detective bases his retrodution are introduced in the text so that the clever reader may, if he is clever enough, beat the detective to the solution) and the most perfectly plotted novel in English. It deserves every bit of that credit. Collins' novels are not much read anymore. In the case of *The Moonstone* (and perhaps of *The Woman in White*) this is unfortunate, but it would have been more unfortunate still had Dickens (basically the better artist of the two) not fallen under Collins' influence.

If the preoccupation of Dickens and Collins was with character and its effect upon action, the preoccupation of George Meredith was with character and its effect upon thought. And while the first preoccupation led Dickens and Collins to write novels of eccentric people engaged in complicated, interconnected sequences of actions, the second preoccupation led Meredith to write novels of eccentric people engaged in the sorts of psychological actions—thought, emotion, remembrance, creative intuition—which result in essential character change. And given his preoccupation with the mind and the symbols which formulate its processes, it is hardly extraordinary that Meredith concentrated much of his attention on the development of one of the most carefully disciplined and eloquent styles in all of English literature. This style is present in his work from beginning to end, whether in the form of the self-consciously musical and sensuous word-magic of his first novel, *The Shaving of Shagpat*,

or in the form of the self-consciously involuted and parenthetical description of his later (and probably best) novel, *The Egoist*.

Reading the later Meredith is probably the best preparation one could possibly seek for reading Henry James. And, even if one begins with such a more accessible work as *The Turn of the Screw*, there is little doubt that *some* preparation is nearly essential to enjoying James' fiction. The reason is simply that James—like every major innovator—*thought* in (to most persons) unfamiliar ways and about (for most persons) unfamiliar subjects. His later novels, the ones for which he is most revered, are almost entirely psychological in their significant action (*The Ambassadors*, for example, is entirely about a man's change of heart and the scenes and settings he observes—in an almost completely passive fashion—on his way to that change), and they are written in the elaborate prose of a thinker whose thoughts are individually complex and extensively interconnected with dozens or hundreds of other individually complex ideas. James is difficult to read, and his imaginary worlds are of importance in thinking about the real one only to the extent the reader shares James' enthusiasm for exhaustive observation of mental states.



Of more general aesthetic "utility" in this sense are the novels of Robert Louis Stevenson; his best is the famous *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. A superficially similar novel of the same period is Oscar Wilde's *Picture of Dorian Gray*. Wilde was brilliantly clever at everything he chose to write—and brilliantly artistic as well, though perhaps more brilliantly clever than brilliantly artistic. It is time Wilde's position as leading novelist of the art-for-art's-sake movement was challenged. His contemporary George Moore, though his best novels were published a quarter of a century later, was as fully an exemplar of the '90s spirit as Wilde, and his novels, especially *Hélöise* and *Abélard* are significantly better.

There remain three novelists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries whose reputations loom large in the literary marketplace at the moment, but whose novels I at least have nearly always found too uninteresting even to finish: I speak of George Eliot, Joseph Conrad, and Thomas Hardy (though, to be fair, I should admit that Hardy is a not inconsiderable writer—he happens also to be one who hardly appeals to me). Another major writer of this sort a few decades later is D.H. Lawrence, whose work seems to me one of the most eloquent of testimonials to the consequences of writing with one's gut instead of one's mind. The basic, violent, animal urges which Lawrence thought so natural and beautiful may well be so, and they may well (if obeyed as Lawrence advocated) do much for the vitality and intensity of life. But they cannot, except by chance, write good novels. Lawrence's contemporary and temperamental opposite, Aldous Huxley, though his most brilliant literary work was done in the medium of the essay, was the author of at least one novel of major importance, *Point Counter Point* (aside to music lovers: this novel's structure—the course of its plot—was patterned after Bach's Suite no. 2 in B Minor for Orchestra).



Other significant novels of the period (more than significant, of course, but so much must be left out—the past hundred years has been the greatest period artistically in all of English literary history) were Carl Van Vechten's *Peter Whiffle*, James Branch Cabell's *Figures of Earth* and *Jurgen*, Virginia Woolf's *Orlando*, Horace McCoy's *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?* (certainly the best of the many currently fashionable Hollywood novels of the thirties—and a great improvement on the work of the currently very fashionable Nathaniel West), Somerset Maugham's *Cakes and Ale* (I agree with Maugham in preferring this one to some of his more celebrated others), John Steinbeck's *Tortilla Flat*, William Faulkner's *Light in August* (I especially regret having only a few words to devote to this

(Continued on page 4)

work of genius—one of the most awesome literary performances I have ever witnessed), and Charles G. Finney's perplexing *Circus of Dr. Lao*, which, like Ross Lockridge's epic, poetic *Raintree County*, has been stolen from many potential readers by the simple device of making wretched, worthless film "adaptations" of them. In the case of Lockridge this bit of bad p.r. is particularly tragic, because one of the most important of his many achievements in his much-misunderstood only novel was the integration of the technical devices of avant-garde writers like James Joyce with the traditional devices of plot and character writing which have proved of greatest continuing interest for most readers—Lockridge succeeded in combining a "good story" with some of the most sophisticated narrative tricks fictionists have developed in their quest for ever more precise presentational symbols.

I shall not, by the way, recommend the work of James Joyce, though I consider it beyond question that he is the most brilliant literary talent of the past century, and possible of the past five—there is little pleasure in reading *Ulysses* (or even *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* or *Dubliners*), except of a rarefied, cerebral (but very real and very intense) sort available only to those preoccupied with literary style. This is why (and every Joyce enthusiast

knows this, though none will own up) reading good criticism of Joyce's work is just as much fun as reading Joyce himself. It is novels like *Raintree County* and like Samuel R. Delany's recent *Dhalgren* which vindicate Joyce by proving his methods useful in an actual imaginative context.

The period we are all living in has seen the rise to excellence of a number of first-rate novelists (William H. Gass with *Omensetter's Luck*, Anthony Burgess with *A Clockwork Orange*, Alfred Bester with *The Stars My Destination*, J.D. Salinger with *The Catcher in the Rye*, Ray Bradbury with *Dandelion Wine*, Ross MacDonald with any of the later Lew Archer novels, Edgar Pangborn with *A Mirror for Observers*, there are many others) of whom I think the most important are Ayn Rand (principally for *Atlas Shrugged*—the story of what happens when the men of the mind go on strike), Vladimir Nabokov (principally for *Pale Fire*—the story of a literary artist who, though this is not a "fantasy," literally becomes unable to distinguish between his work and reality), and Mervyn Peake (principally for the Gormenghast Trilogy—*Titus Groan*, *Gormenghast*, and *Titus Alone*—the story of how and why it is necessary for any individual of creative intelligence—for any individual at all—to break free of imposed systems like the State). (Next month: Neil McCaffrey brings us Part III of "Jazz: The Golden Age." Jeff Riggenbach returns in February with a discussion of poetry.)

FEELING AND FORM

By Susanne K. Langer

In 1914, well over 2000 years after Plato undertook the first systematic philosophical study of art, Clive Bell declared that it "is improbable that more nonsense has been written about aesthetics than about anything else: the literature of the subject is not large enough for that." Nearly 50 years later, Ayn Rand could still lament that "While physics has reached the level where men are able to study subatomic particles and interplanetary space, a phenomenon such as art has remained a dark mystery, with little or nothing known about its nature, its function in human life or the cause of its tremendous psychological power."

But is the record of those 2400 years really so barren? Are we really no closer to the truth about art than we were when Plato began writing about it in the *Ion*? The fact is, the record is not a totally barren one: a good deal is known and on record about the nature and function of art. The problem is that the most valuable books and articles are scattered far and wide. Many of them are out of print, and a number of the others are so obscure that not even an unusually large library can be counted upon to have them all. Moreover, the literature of the subject is large enough that even an active intellectual working in the field, like Bell or Rand, would be hard-put to keep up with all of it; they could easily have missed works that might have changed their gloomy views of the situation.

And for the general reader, things are even worse. Surely it is unreasonable to expect him to read his way through Kant, Coleridge, Valery, Hulme, Pound, D.G. James, George Moore, Ransom, Hoppers, Croce, Beardsley, Gass, William J. Handy, Marcus Hester, and Rand (to mention only the most significant writers in literary aesthetics), then sift the valuable ideas out of their books and work his own integration of these valuable ideas into some kind of coherent theory of art. Even having done so, he would lack necessary information about the other primary and performing arts, and he would still have ahead of him a fascinating body of knowledge, compiled mostly by logicians, psychological theorists, and philosophers of science, pertaining to the logical and psycho-epistemological methods appropriate to the appreciation of art. Altogether it is a formidable job.

But how is the general reader to avoid it if he wants to get the most out of the art he exposes himself to? The point of contemplating artworks, after all, is the enjoyment we hope to gain from the experience. And the capacity to appreciate works of art (that is, to grasp their import) is fully as latent in the healthy human mind as the capacity to perceive entities or to form and manipulate concepts. But like these latter two capacities, it does not function automatically. We are not born knowing how to appreciate art any more than we are born knowing how to perceive or how to think conceptually.

We have to learn to do each of these things. And the nonspecialist who nevertheless wants to burn with Pater's hard gem-like flame, allowing art to give the highest quality to his moments as they pass, needs the facts in order to know how to use his mind most effectively in pursuit of that purpose. To my knowledge there is only one philosopher or critic who has presented in one book the basic information a person needs to develop his capacity for art appreciation. The philosopher is Susanne K. Langer. The book, first published more than twenty years ago, is *Feeling and Form: A Theory of Art Developed from Philosophy in a New Key*.

Feeling and Form elaborates the theory that a work of art is a presentational symbol of human feeling. "Feeling" is used here in a very broad sense, as roughly synonymous with "experience" or "awareness." A work of art is a symbol of human feeling, Langer argues, because it concretizes and objectifies a concept of some kind of human experience. And the various branches of art are distinguishable from one another in terms of the kinds of conceived feelings they symbolize. Thus the visual arts symbolize human experience of scene (in painting), kinetic volume (in sculpture) and ethnic domain (in architecture). Music symbolizes human feeling of temporal motion; literature, human feeling of past events or memory; drama, human experience of destiny through a sequence of causally fertile present acts; the dance (which Langer convincingly argues is a primary art), human feeling of bodily power, and so on. She also includes a brief appendix on the art of film-making, sketching the reasons for her view that films are not simply dramas preserved for later presentation, but constitute instead a fundamentally new artform.

The chapters on the dance, on music, and on drama are among the most important and among the most filled with brilliant insights: What are the factors that differentiate a technically perfect but artistically flawed performance of a musical work from an artistically successful but technically ordinary performance of the same piece? What is the difference between the creativity of the composer and the creativity of the performing artist? Is the dance still a primary art when it is set to music, as in ballet? What are tragedy and comedy, and what is their relation to drama? There are answers to all these questions, and the answers are related back to the basic theory and shown, in each case, to be special instances of it. As Langer points out, "a true general theory has no exceptions, and when it seems to have them it is not properly stated." And it may be sufficient, to distinguish Langer's own general theory from every other I have encountered in the field of aesthetics, to say that it seems to have no exceptions. Reviewed by Jeff Riggenbach / *Philosophy* / Scribner's, 1953, out of print / \$2.65

ISLANDIA

By Austin Tappan Wright

I'm going to go out on a limb and call Austin Tappan Wright's *Islandia* science fiction, though there is almost no science in it and, indeed, the viewpoint is antiscientific. One of the hallmarks of science fiction is the necessity of inventing *everything*. In other fiction, the author creates characters and plots a story set in a world known or knowable (by travel or historical research) to himself and his reader; in science fiction, the author also creates the place and has the added problem of making the background real, clear, complete, and consistent.

That is what Wright does in *Islandia*. Shaped like a stylized bow tie, "Islandia forms the southern and temperate portion of the Karain subcontinent, which lies in the Southern Hemisphere." Wright *knows* his country; in addition to the 944 pages of the novel, he also produced a body of material including a 135,000 word history and description, a glossary of the language, samples of the literature, and nineteen maps.

Islandia has an agricultural economy and a history of suspicion of things foreign. As the book opens, the Mora party is in power and is seeking to bring Islandia into the world community; the rival Dorn party opposes this change. The hero of the book, John Lang, comes to Islandia as the first American consul and is thrown into immediate conflict because his future demands the success of Mora, but ideologically and by bonds of friendship (he knew young Dorn at Harvard) he favors the Dorn position.

The plot is one that should have attracted Hollywood long ago. Lang arrives in Islandia; very quickly gets involved in an ill-advised international incident; falls in love with Dorn's sister; loses her to Tor, the king; is replaced as consul; consoles himself with Nattana; sees the triumph of the Dorn party; joins an irregular border guard group, saves his first love, the queen, now pregnant, from a raiding party; is acclaimed a hero; and offered the rare option of settling in Islandia. The story is a blockbuster, but it's probably the least important element in the book.

The characters are finely drawn; even the most minor is fully delin-

eated, an original. The men—Lang, Dorn, Tor, and Don (the border guard leader)—are strong and attractive; but Wright's female characters—Dorna, Nattana, the American Gladys Hunter—are even more arresting. It is almost frightening to watch this man's grasp of female psychology. No "sex objects" these women, they are robust human beings living vital lives.

But it remains Islandia itself which is the ultimate achievement. It is a "nation" (quoted because one character wisely comments when the Mora government falls, "'What we really decided was that we did not want to become a nation.'") that values freedom—and understands it. Two brief excerpts are in order here:

'[Centuries ago] He left it with the door unbarred, but declared it inviolate. We like to observe his command; it coincides with our own ideas as to the importance of respecting a man's privacy. . . .'

'He said there were customs which served as a guide.'

'Yes, but not as rules.'

'What is the difference, Nattana?'

'Oh, customs you follow yourself when it seems best for you to do so, which is usually the case, or when you are in doubt. They are only what most people believe to be the best course most of the time; and you don't have to follow them when you have a good reason. But you always have to abide by rules whether there is any reason for it or not.'

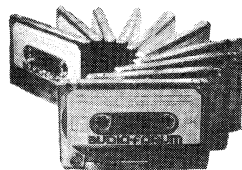
Austin Tappan Wright (1883-1931) was a man of ideas. Some of those ideas will worry libertarians (his view of American business leaves something to be desired) and, I suspect, people familiar with farm life (does any farm really "run itself"?), but *Islandia* contains a wealth of ideas worth thought, ideas on handling emotions, acting in accordance with one's own nature, language, and the nature of kindness.

Islandia is a book to be read—and read again and again. It not only stands up to rereading, it rewards it. Quite simple, it is a beautiful novel. Reviewed by Alice Laurance / Science Fiction / Plume Books (NAL), 1975 / \$5.95

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AUDIO-FORUM

THE WORLD BETWEEN THE WARS, 1919-39: AN ECONOMIST'S VIEW

By Joseph S. Davis

There is no doubt about it: Dr. Joseph S. Davis is a phenomenon. An economist who began his publishing career in 1915, on money, agriculture, and economic history, who taught in leading universities and worked for numerous important organizations, now gives us his magnum opus at the age of 90. Not only is this an excellent book of careful scholarship and vigorous intellectual powers, but Davis has kept abreast of all the recent scholarly literature and appraises it with insight and vigorous intellectual independence. I can think of no similar case of such powers of intellect and productivity at such an advanced age. When Davis refers, in his preface, to "my exceptional health and vigor [which] have presisted in so-called retirement years," here is understatement indeed! Can we look forward to another such work from Davis' pen to celebrate his centennial?

But this work deserves praise on its own merits, and not simply for the age of its author. It is a storehouse of references, especially on the genesis and account of the 1929 depression in the United States, both for the contemporary and the later literature. It exposes the follies, poor forecasts, and faulty analyses of most of the economists and business writers of the day.

Most important, Davis resurrects the best—and unfortunately the most forgotten—analyses of the 1929 depression: the "Austrian" works of Lionel Robbins, Fritz Machlup, Benjamin M. Anderson, and Phillips, McManus, and Nelson. While Davis' causal view of the depression is eclectic, he is favorable to the Austrian position, and cites it at length. Indeed, his only important scholarly omissions are Seymour Harris' *Twenty Years of Federal Reserve Policy* (2 vols.) and Melchior Palyi's *The Twilight of Gold, 1914-1936*.

There are some weaknesses in the book. Because of his eclectic stance, Davis is less firmly critical of Hoover's interventionist measures in the depression than he is of the inflationary policies that led to the crash. His views on World War I and post-war foreign policy (of only marginal importance for this book) betray a lack of knowledge of revisionist findings. But these are minor blemishes on a work rich in knowledge and insight. *The World Between the Wars* takes its place among the very few books of importance about the torn and stormy economy of the 1920s and '30s. **Reviewed by Murray N. Rothbard / Economic History / Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975 / \$16**

ROGER MCGUINN AND BAND

It's been just ten years since the original five Byrds—Jim (now Roger) McGuinn, David Crosby, Gene Clark, Chris Hilman, Mike Clark—showed up on the Top 40 charts with a monster hit called "Mr. Tamborine Man"; ten years since I first saw them, and fell in love with them, on "The Ed Sullivan Show," wedged into a five-minute slot between the trained-seal act and the all-girl Eureka Springs (Arkansas) Glee Club's a cappella rendition of "Zing Went the Strings of My Heart"; ten incredible years in which wars and presidents and noble causes and one potful of rock'n'roll bands have come and/or gone.

Boy, do I feel old.

But let me tell you about the Byrds.

They had class. They played their own kind of music, played it well, and they never sold out to trends, not even after some bright person at *Billboard* dreamed up the term "folk-rock" with the Byrds in mind, then tried to stick them into the same pigeon-hole with Sonny and Cher.

Folk-rock wasn't important, though, not then, not now. Nor was it important, at least to me, that, after 1965 and "Turn! Turn! Turn!" the Byrds ceased to have million-selling records, ceased to be sure-fire box-office attractions, ceased to have quite the same effect upon teenyboppers as Herman's Hermits and the Monkees.

The Byrds were good, that's all. They were *the* American rock band as far as I was concerned, and they would, I knew, always be around.

You see, the Byrds came out of a season marked by energy and excitement and optimism. The Vietnam War might have been getting up steam at the time, riots might have been breaking out in the cities, Ralph Nader might have been a lone voice crying out in the darkness, women might have been a couple of years away from catching on to the fact that they could indeed better their lot by raising cain. . . but the times they were definitely a-changin'. The Revolution and the (ho, ho) Age of Aquarius seemed right around the corner. The Byrds' humor and compassion were right in line with our poor dumb naive conviction that we could, and would, set matters aright in the U. S. of A.

It was no accident that the Byrds rounded off their first album with a poker-faced rendition of "We'll Meet Again" ("... when the blue skies make the dark clouds fade away").

Well, it's been ten years, I long ago became too cranky thinking about the future to be able to fall in love with songs and singers, and not only have the dark clouds not faded away, the skies don't look so blue anymore, thanks to all the shmootz in the stratosphere.

The Byrds are gone, too. By 1969, Roger McGuinn was the only

original member left in the band. He kept hiring new people, and there were times when it seemed as though he never made more than a single album with the same set of new Byrds.

But McGuinn is still one of my heroes, one of my few remaining ties with my younger, less pessimistic self. That his latest album is called *Roger McGuinn and Band* (Columbia, PC 33541) rather than *Such-And-Such* by the Byrds means, I suppose, that the name Byrds has finally been dispatched to wherever it is that names like Buffalo Springfield, Cream, Lovin' Spoonful and Beatles went. And that's a little saddening.

Even so, McGuinn, who was performing his own brand of progressive country music (two parts Nashville to one part science fiction) *years* before such folks as Leon Russell and Kris Kristofferson got into the act, can still put the current crop of redneck rockers away proper.

He's still plugged into his own vision of America, land of dichotomies, where dusty cowpokes who rode in to the accompaniment of twangy, truck-stop, jukebox sounds are apt to ride out on Saturn rockets bound for the Andromeda galaxy.

On *Roger McGuinn and Band*, he does "Born to Rock and Roll," a thumping hard-rock tune, heavy on bass, of the sort of which "American Bandstand" kids used to say, "It's got a swell beat, Dick, and you can dance to it." He does a breathlessly fast steel-drum kicker called "Lisa" and a Nashvillesy "Painted Lady" and a less commercialized C & W thing called "Circle Song."

Best of all, he lends his bleak, desolate voice to Bob Dylan's "Knocking on Heaven's Door" and makes it his own. It's a virtuoso performance by one who has always been among out more effective interpreters of Dylan's songs. The anguish with which McGuinn infuses lines like "Take this badge off of me, I can't wear it anymore" is almost too painful to bear.

Roger McGuinn and Band isn't a flawless album and doesn't unseat 1967's *The Notorious Byrd Brothers* as the most nearly perfect thing McGuinn has produced. . . but it is easily the best all-around collection of songs I've lately heard from him or Roger Daltrey or Ringo Starr or any of the others I came to love during the 1960s.

And, listening to McGuinn now, halfway through the '70s, a whole ten alternately gratifying and heart-breaking years after the Byrds first whirled me away on a grand tour of country roads and the solar system, I wish, I really wish, that I were still sure enough of the future to be able to fall in love with songs and singers again. **Reviewed by Steven Utley / Music / Columbia, 1975 / \$6.98 / Order from RECORDS, Libertarian Review, 410 First Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003**

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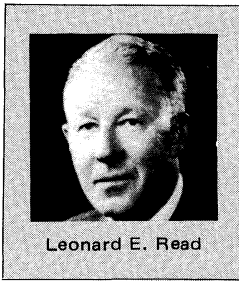
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AUDIO-FORUM

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Leonard E. Read

A bit of background may help account for my favorable review of this remarkable book. Sometime ago, an English friend, one of the most scholarly and brilliant men of my wide acquaintance, startled me with, "Leonard, you are the most religious person I have ever known." Nonplussed, indeed, for I have always thought of myself as rather far down the line in this phase of life. I did not know what he was driving at. Later, my friend asked who were my favorite philosophers. I gave him several names beginning with Emerson. His response, "I now know why I think of you as so religious."

No subject has had more reflection than religion and none has produced a greater diversity of conclusions. These range all the way from the findings of Himalayan yogis to Augustine's *Confessions*. And the explorers have ranged from lowly fishermen of Galilee to the greatest minds of all times, from small fry to big shots, from so-called commoners to the acclaimed elite, from the likes of me to popes. And among them all, I have never come upon one more spiritual and religious than the notable and quotable Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Now to my point. The thoughts of this earthly hero of mine did not fit into any of our numerous orthodoxies. Religion to him was a growing, evolutionary, evolving phase of the individual human spirit. He rejected any and all "that-is-it" propositions. Here is an abbreviation of this phase of his gospel:

Thou shalt not profess that which thou dost not believe.

Thou shalt not heed the voice of men when it agrees not with the voice of God in thine own soul.

Thou shalt study and obey the laws of the Universe, and they will be thy fellow servants.

Nature shall be to thee as a symbol. The life of the soul in constant union with the Infinite shall be for thee the only real existence.

Teach men that each generation begins the world afresh, in perfect freedom; *that the present is not the prisoner of the past, but that today holds captive all the yesterdays, to judge, accept, to reject their teachings, as they are shown by its own morning sun.* (Italics mine.)

A remarkable dividend paid to those who reflect on the extensive writings of Emerson is that time after time a single sentence stimulates a new and enlarged world of thought. Here is an example, followed by what it inspired me to write:

I cannot find language of sufficient energy to convey my sense of the sacredness of integrity.

Integrity is rarely mentioned or included among the virtues. The so-called cardinal virtues, as advanced in theology, are prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance. Integrity is omitted. I found, upon checking the largest of all quotation books, that integrity does not appear among the nearly 3000 headings. Indeed, so much neglected is this virtue, that one is tempted to side with Bernard Dougall: "Integrity was a word he couldn't even spell, let alone define." Such is the unawareness of its meaning and importance!

When it comes to listing the virtues, I know only those that are important to me. Integrity is by all means first and foremost. For the others—charity, intelligence, justice, love, and humility—I have no precise ranking. To me they are tied for second place.

At the outset, it may be helpful to draw the distinction between integrity and wisdom, for my definitions so closely parallel each other.

Integrity is an accurate reflection in word and deed of whatever one's highest conscience dictates as right.

Wisdom is whatever one's highest consciousness perceives as truth.

Conceded, one's highest conscience may not in fact be right but

it is as close to righteousness as one can get. Also, one's highest consciousness may not be truth but as nearly approximates wisdom as is within one's reach. Fallibility applies in either case!

People differ in their evaluation of Emerson's philosophy, but all concede that his proclaimed positions, written and oral, were accurate reflections of whatever his highest conscience dictated as righteous. Never, to our knowledge, did he bend to expediency, that is, resort to deviations from conscience to gain favor or popularity with others. So rigorous were his spiritual convictions that he was at odds with the numerous religious orthodoxies and took no pains to conceal his innermost sentiments. Attuned to his conscience, he stood ramrod straight. As this rare posture is sometimes phrased, he sought approval from God, not men. Integrity!

YET, EMERSON, conscious of the sacredness of integrity, could find no words energetic enough to convey his sense of its importance. In the light of his genius as a thinker and a phraser of ideas, why his confessed inability to handle this concept? Why could he not explain the meaning of integrity to others?

As I see it, the answer lies in one of his own words: the *sacredness* of integrity. This virtue is in a moral and spiritual realm so far above normal experience that we possess no words to portray its meaning. It borders on the Infinite and, thus, is beyond our working vocabulary. This explains why it is so seldom included among the virtues. For these reasons, I am convinced that integrity cannot be taught; at best, it can only be caught. And, then, only by those who devoutly wish to be so graced!

Such integrity as I possess was caught, not taught. Fortunately, I came upon a high-ranking business executive who was no less an exemplar of this virtue than Emerson. Never in the many years of our intimate acquaintance have I observed him giving ground to expediency—conscience always in the driver's seat! The question is, why did his exemplarity impress itself more upon me than upon others who also knew him well? Perhaps this cannot be answered. True, this unusual trait in him excited my admiration. But why me, of all his friends? Who knows!

Here is a possible explanation. Having had but little formal schooling, and always conscious of not knowing much, I resolved, some forty-five years ago, to associate myself with individuals from whom I might learn—superior persons. Parenthetically, these are not difficult to find and almost without exception are pleased to be so regarded. In any event, I was aware of an enormous unknown and, at the same time, eager to learn. In this state of mind one goes in search of that which is generally not known. Does such openness, perhaps, account for my coming upon this remarkable man and his integrity? All that I can specifically identify is a state of mind best described as wanting-to-know-it-ness. Would extensive formal schooling have lessened this? Again, who knows! The fortunate chain of events is shrouded in mysterious forces I do not understand.

Mysterious indeed is the way of life of anyone guided by integrity. There comes to mind a recent day at the office. Whether in conversations across the desk, or over the phone, or in replies to letters, the answers were invariable No! Why? Every proposal was at odds with what I believed to be right, that is, contrary to the dictates of conscience. Thank heaven, that day was exceptional; happily, many questions can be answered yes. Nonetheless, integrity must rule the word, the deed, the action. This is the law of righteousness.

The temptation—sometimes close to overwhelming—is to gain the approval of some prestigious individual by saying yes when a no is right. In resisting this temptation, what is required? We must learn how to say no without giving offense, in a word, rise above cantankerousness. This art, if achieved, is highly rewarding, one that upgrades the intellect and the soul. It has its genesis in the practice of integrity.

OF EMERSON

Dillaway

Unless integrity is weighted and found worthy, the common conviction is that its practice would leave one a loner, an "odd ball" whose actions would drive friends away. The very opposite is the case; integrity has a magnetic effect; it attracts others. Why? The practitioners of this virtue can be trusted, and trust has drawing power, as daily experiences attest.

Years ago, when the attractiveness of adhering strictly to conscience was more of a new idea to me, I was invited to spend an evening with a dozen of the country's leading businessmen. The subject for discussion had to do with the so-called Full Employment Act, then before the Congress. Most of the talk favored the tactic of opposing the measure by subterfuge, dealing under the table, so to speak—repulsive to me. When finally asked for my view, I hesitated a moment. To tell them exactly what I thought would do me in, damage my career, or so I imagined. But I told them! Never have I had a more rewarding experience. From that day forward those twelve were devoted friends, inviting me to counsel time after time. Why? Integrity!

An aside: While it is not dangerous to be honest, this does not mean that one must necessarily divulge all of his innermost thoughts. Many doubtless deserve further incubation. But once a position is taken and expressed, let there be in it no deviation from conscience.

Imagine the citizens of this nation practicing what their highest conscience dictates as right. No man could ever be elevated to public office except as he exemplifies integrity. Think what a change this would make in the national scene. Only statesmen; never a charlatan!

And who among us is truly educable in the higher realms of thought? Only people of integrity! The person who pays no heed to conscience is forever the victim of expediences; he is governed by fickle opinions, pressures, mass sentiments, a desire for momentary acclaim. Wisdom—whatever one's highest consciousness perceives as truth—is out of range simply because integrity—whatever one's highest conscience dictates as right—is not observed.

AS IF THE ABOVE WERE not reason enough to strive for integrity! However, by far the most important reason remains: its *sacredness*. Though new to me, I now discover that this idea was perceived nearly 2000 years ago:

The light of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light.—Matthew 6:22

In other words, the light of the body is truth, wisdom, enlightenment. The eye is perception. And what is the meaning of "if thine eye be single"? Refer to Webster for the definition of "single" as here used: "Not deceitful or artful, simple, honest, sincere." Shakespeare used the word in this same sense: "I speak with a single heart."

Single, in this sense, is directly linked with *integer*, meaning "Whole, entire, not divided." Contrasted to *single* is *double*, which has the same original root as the word *duplicity*. Such phrases as "double dealing," and "double talk" convey this connotation. *Integrity* is related to *integer*; and *single* as used here, refers to *integrity*.

Phrased in modern idiom, Matthew's insight would read as follows:

Enlightenment of the intellect and spirit of man depends on his powers of perception. If these powers be free from duplicity, that is, if they be grounded in pure integrity, man will be as much graced with enlightenment—wisdom—as is within his capability.

Whatever the mysterious Universal Power—the radiant energy that flows through all life—it is blocked, cut off, stifled by duplicity in any of its forms. Expediency, lying, double talk, and the like are ferments of the soul through which Universal Power

does not and cannot flow. ("A double minded man is unstable in all his ways."—James 1:8)

Only in integrity—when the "eye be single"—do the powers of perception grow, evolve, emerge, hatch. Then the "whole body shall be full of light." Then, and only then, are such virtues as charity, intelligence, justice, love, humility within our reach.

Finally, if we believe that we should not do unto others that which we would not have them do unto us—a concern for others as well as self—we have one more among all the compelling reasons why we should strive first and foremost for integrity. Shakespeare put it well:

To thine own self be true,
and it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.

IMAGINE THAT SINGLE SENTENCE of Emerson inspiring me to recognize for the first time the meaning of truths gleaned by the ancients! A light shines through to those who study Emerson's works. Is it any wonder that I pay homage to one of the distinguished seers of all time!

Here is one of my favorite thoughts from Emerson's mind and pen, one that relates to an explanation already made:

We lie in the lap of immense intelligence. To discern truth, to discern justice, we do nothing of ourselves but allow a passage of its beams.

But how do we allow? The answer is given above: the sacredness of integrity. Let there be no ferments of the soul, no addiction to past errors but only an ascension toward truths yet unknown; harmonize with the Cosmic Scheme, the eternal creative process.

Let me now cite a few of the ever so many Emersonian thoughts included in Dillaway's book, any one of which inspires an awakening, no less mind-opening, than this single sentence on integrity.

There is a principle which is the basis of things, which all speech aims to say, and all action to evolve, a simple, quiet, undescribed, undescrivable presence, dwelling very peacefully in us, our rightful lord: we are not to do, but to let do; not to work, but to be worked upon. . . .

To be worked upon! The meaning? Do not try to work over others to remake them in one's own image; to the contrary, seek and harmonize with the Divine Light—let it work on the evolution of self. Resolve: I shall not try to make you like unto me; rather, I shall try as best I can, to make me like Thee!

Reflect on this wisdom:

No truth is so sublime but it may be trivial tomorrow in the light of new thoughts. People wish to be settled; only as far as they are unsettled is there any hope for them.

They who wish to be settled and succeed are but sediment. Stagnated, they fail to grow! As someone phrased it, "One does not grow old; one becomes old when he fails to grow."

Read the passage below and reflect on how profound is the thought and, also, how ingenious and enlightening is the phrasing:

Cause and effect, means and ends, seed and fruit, cannot be severed; for the effect already blooms in the cause, the end pre-exists in the means, the fruit in the seed.

Aldous Huxley illustrates this truth in *Grey Eminence*. Father Joseph, the guiding brain of Cardinal Richelieu, leading minister of Louis XIII, had as his end The Glory of God. His means? The political ascendancy of France! The result? At least 30 million people in Central Europe were slaughtered.

An end achieved by evil means will wind up rotten, regardless of how exalted the intention—though the evil might not be obvious until years or decades later. "The effect already blooms in the cause." Thus, for the good life, look to the goodness of the means; if you would have good fruit, plant only good seeds!

(Continued on page 10)

Here is another among countless gems:

What will you have? quoth God; pay for it and take it. Nothing venture, nothing have. Thou shalt be paid exactly for what thou hast done, no more, no less.

Do wrong and the cost cannot be avoided; do right and be recompensed accordingly. This is the law of compensation—of action and reaction. Wrote our philosopher, “An inevitable dualism bisects nature, so that each thing is a half, and suggests another thing to make it whole as spirit, matter; man, woman; subjective, objective; in, out; upper, under; motion, rest; yea, nay. . . . The same dualism underlies the nature and the condition of man. Every excess causes a defect; every defect, an excess. Every sweet hath its sour; every evil its good.” How explain? “In general, every evil to which we do not succumb is a benefactor. . . . A great man is always willing to be little.”

And yet another! This one squares perfectly with growth in awareness, perception, consciousness, the love of liberty, and the free market philosophy:

Be content with a little light, so it be your own. Explore, and explore and explore. Be neither chided nor flattered out of your position of perpetual inquiry. Neither dogmatize, nor accept another's dogmatism. . . . Truth. . . has its roof, and bed, and board. Make yourself necessary to the world, and mankind will give you bread.

Emerson had a foresight no less remarkable than his insight. The above was written when the American economy was but a

fraction as specialized as in our day. Meaning what? The greater the division of labor—the more specialized—the further removed is each individual from self-sufficiency. Today, far more than in Emerson's era, we are dependent upon the free, uninhibited exchanges of our countless specializations. How can I—or anyone else—who produces only a tiny speck of our “roof, and bed, and board” manage to survive, let alone thrive, as we do? “Explore, and explore,” which is to say, develop one's uniqueness—make the self “necessary to the world,” be it economically, intellectually, morally, spiritually.

What is the free market philosophy if rightly understood? “Thou shalt be paid exactly what thou hast done, no more, no less.” Is payment always in money? Perish the careless thought! The most richly endowed individuals who have graced this world of ours have lived their lives in what we would call rags. Payment may well be “a little light.” Personally, I would much prefer to be endowed with the foresight and insight of Ralph Waldo Emerson than with all the money in the world's largest bank.

Few, indeed, are the persons who have read all the works of Emerson—far too voluminous for most of us. And few ever will! However, Newton Dillaway was an exception, spending many years in the preparation of *The Gospel of Emerson*—only 128 pages.

I have read several of Emerson's tomes and, thus, have a valid reason for this conclusion: Here is the very essence of the great philosopher's thinking, condensed, refined, and easy to read. And enlightening! Reviewed by Leonard E. Read / Philosophy / Unity Books, 1968 / \$2.95

HOW DIPLOMATS MAKE WAR

By Francis Neilson

How Diplomats Make War was first published late in 1915, and with its appearance Francis Neilson became the first in a remarkable procession of writers who were later to be known as the “revisionists.” It is the first work to disrupt the official explanation of the Allies as to how the Great War of 1914 began, an enterprise in which Neilson was to be later joined by several of his British countrymen, notable Earl Loreburn, E.D. Morel, G. Lowes Dickinson, Raymond Beazley, and G.P. Gooch.

Neilson was a Member of Parliament from January 1910 through the crisis days of July-August 1914, and as such, he is a primary source on British politics leading to involvement in the war, as well as a polished historian of the times. He resigned a month after his book was published. It went into several printings thereafter, the one under discussion bearing a worthy introduction by the doughty opponent of American participation in both world wars, John Haynes Holmes.

This volume involves far more than Neilson's frustrations as an M.P. during the critical pre-war days and his heated criticisms of the British Foreign Secretary, Earl Grey. Its significance is heightened by being the product of the actual moment by a disaffected member of the British government whose objections and strictures are aimed at his own government's policy makers and not at the enemy—making it unique in the literature of the wartime era. Neilson had far fewer documents to work with than the post-war scholars who advanced the revisionist cause to formidable dimensions, but his conclusions are remarkably close to theirs.

His basic case involves an attack on “secret” diplomacy as the main factor in precipitating hostilities, though one might observe in retrospect that the hazards of “open” diplomacy are fully as bad—and probably worse—as Neilson's erudite journalist countryman Sisley Huddleston demonstrated in his superb but fightfully neglected book *Popular Diplomacy and War* (1954). Neilson expertly disclosed how the secret accords of 1906 (among the Russians, French, Belgians, and British) were masked and the part they subsequently played in spreading an isolated local dispute between the Austrian and Serbian governments into a world war. Then came the superb propaganda ploy of balming the entire course of events upon the Germans, a line which is embalmed in the history taught to most Americans to this very day. (In Neilson's estimates of eagerness for combat, the Germans rank last among all the powers that

ultimately became involved.)

Neilson was also the first to stress the decisive importance of the mobilization of the Russian armed forces as the spark which started in motion the war machines of the rival coalitions of European states. But Neilson was convinced by much evidence that, had British policy made clear during July 1914 that the Russians and French would be supported by British action, no general war would have resulted, that the Germans would have applied more pressure to their Austrian partners to continue negotiations with the Russians over the Serbian crisis, and that the dispute would have remained localized.

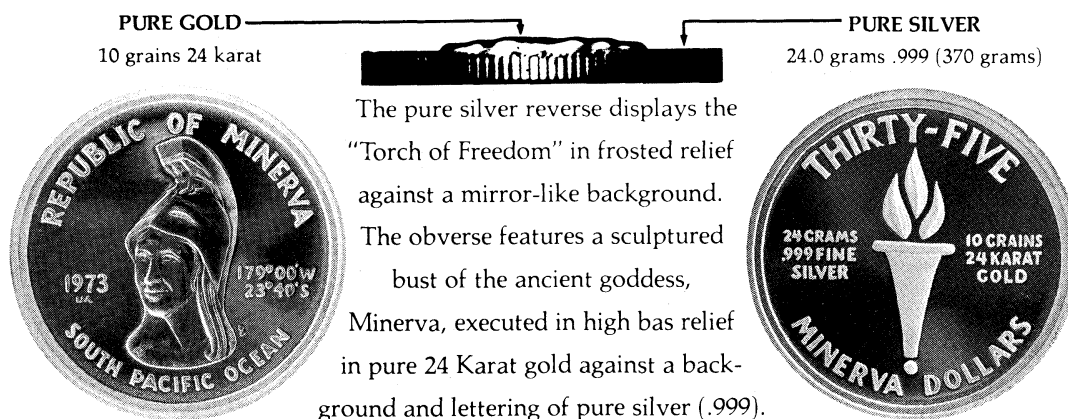
Neilson was very critical of the Russian's involving themselves in the Austro-Serbian affair. And he could not figure out the reason for the eagerness of their military commanders for war, since, of all the powers, Russian was the least threatened by the circumstances of 1914.

With respect to purely British affairs, he maintained that, had the House of Commons had access to all the diplomatic traffic of the Foreign Office in the fateful last week of July 1914, Britain might never have entered the war. He was especially unsatisfied with the government's use of the violation of Belgian neutrality by the Germans as an excuse for the declaration of war on Germany, when the real reason for the declaration was the secret treaty agreements with the Russians and French.

Neilson, despite his particular hostility to the diplomats and their works, actually expanded the circle of responsibility to include the parallel secret military agreements and their makers. Both gravely undermined the subsequent peace-seeking diplomacy all around, and Neilson cites, among several other examples of this, the determination of the Russian military leaders to circumvent the Czar's hesitance to order mobilization and the futile efforts of the British foreign secretary to remain neutral while “bound hand and foot by the [1906] plans of the French and British General Staffs.” And so, as Neilson puts it, “the war-weary world rose again, like the phoenix, from the ashes of a million battlefields, to give her best blood and bone to the insatiable god of war.”

Neilson's book remains one of the half dozen most important English language revisionist works on the immediate origins of the War of 1914. Reviewed by James J. Martin / History / C. C. Nelson, 1940 (originally published in 1915), out of print

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• As the past two or three years have passed, it has become increasingly clear that there is a major enemy standing between libertarians and a viable libertarian movement, qua movement. It really has nothing to do with what is generally known as liberalism or socialism. Yes, socialism as a variant of statism is a key enemy of liberty, but *not* an enemy of a libertarian movement at this time. The real enemy is conservatism. Conservatism killed the post-World War II libertarian movement before it really got rolling when *National Review* began to dominate both politically and intellectually. The libertarian message got diverted and all but lost. It would have been lost had it not been for a handful of real stalwarts who remained true even in liberty's darkest hour.

Now the neoconservatives are pushing in again. Those conservatives and social democrats who serve as the stable of writers for *Commentary* are now playing the same role as did Buckley's stable two decades ago. The very best of them is undoubtedly the great sociologist Robert A. Nisbet. But even Nisbet is far more concerned with "the social group" and the "voluntary, mutual-aid association" than he is with individual liberty. See his "Leviathan and Laissez-Faire," *New York Times* (Op Ed Page), 23 September 1975. It is an otherwise great piece. The leviathan he talks about is that spawned by the twin evils of war and progressivism, and which began with Wilson and continues to this very day.

The first concern of the *Commentary* clique is social order. The reason that they even consider the market mechanism is that they assume it will lead to social order. Besides the Nisbet article, another recent case in point is an article written by one of the very worst of the stable, Irving Kristol. (He may also be one of the most dangerous, for he now pretends to be a convert to laissez faire.) It is Kristol who is leading many libertarians down the murky path to a thinly disguised conservatism. Kristol holds no truck with *real* liberty. See his "On Conservatism and Capitalism," *Wall Street Journal*, 11 September 1975. He wants conservative cultural and religious institutions to infuse "the idea of liberty with positive substance, with 'values,' with an ethos." One has only to read this article to see the face of anti-liberty, but this is what libertarians are up against. They had better realize it soon and do something about it, or they will have once again lost the chance of building a viable libertarian movement.

• Victor Niederhoffer is one of the most intriguing and amazing individuals around. He has recently become an international phenomenon. As president of Niederhoffer, Cross and Zeckhouser, a firm specializing in mergers and acquisitions, Niederhoffer is a successful capitalist who actually is devoted to the free market in particular and to liberty in general. That amazing rarity makes him tops in my book. His international fame, however, comes not simply from his business acumen, but also from the fact that he is, almost unbelievably, the United States squash racquets champion and the best player in the world. Add to all this his deep interest in the works of Albert Jay Nock, and you begin to get the true picture of this practicing free-enterpriser. Word has it that he is even working on a book of Nock's aphorisms. The latest article

on this businessman-intellectual-athlete is "The Boss of the Racquets" by Jon Bradshaw, *Esquire*, October 1975. Also recommended: "Capitalist Squash" by Robert Wool, *New York Times Magazine*, 13 April 1975.

• The first and usually most important responsibility of government press releases is to cover over the lies and crimes of government officials, usually with more and bigger lies. This is most obvious when governments fulfill their true potential and exercise their war-making powers. Phillip Knightly's *The First Casualty: From the Crimea to Vietnam* (Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich) is a brilliant history of government war propaganda, especially the supporting role played by the press in general and war correspondents in particular.

• The *International Bulletin* (PO Box 4400, Berkeley, CA 94704, \$6 per year) is a very useful biweekly review of international news. If you haven't the time to read widely each day, you'll find this a helpful way of keeping on top of things. When analysis creeps into this review of the news, it is from a leftist perspective.

• The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence chaired by Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho) besides unveiling many more crimes against the people of the United States by the CIA and the FBI has found intimations of more of the various internecine struggles going on within the power establishment. Libertarians would do well to read the proceedings carefully when they are released by the Government Printing Office. On this point see also Alan Fairgate's brilliant analysis of the East versus the Southwest struggle that is raging within the ruling elite: "The AIB (Assassination Information Bureau) Conference: From Scholarship to Political Activism in Assassination Revisionism," *Libertarian Forum*, April 1975. Fairgate is convinced that the assassination revision movement is an important point of leverage for libertarians to take advantage of and that it will prove to be an excellent way to raise libertarian political consciousness.

• There are now four F.A. Hayek pamphlets published by the Institute for Humane Studies (1177 University Drive, Menlo Park, CA 94025). Each is priced very reasonably at only \$.50. There are discounts on larger orders. Write for more information. The pamphlets are: (1) *The Intellectuals and Socialism*, Hayek's classic essay on the sociology of ideas, great for the theory of social transformation; (2) *The Use of Knowledge in Society*, a socio-economic essay showing how the market processes decentralized knowledge into a rational social order; (3) *The Rule of Law*, comprised of two chapters from *The Constitution of Liberty*; and (4) *Kinds of Order in Society*, a seminal essay on the "spontaneous order" of the free society as distinct from and opposed to the "imposed order" of the planned or ordered society. All of these pamphlets can be used as ancillary readings in college classes or as weekly readings for a libertarian discussion group at your school or in your community. Why not start one now?

• Alan Graubard's "Liberty and/or Justice For All" in *Working Papers*, Summer, 1975 (123 Mt. Auburn Street, Cambridge, MA 02138, one year \$10, students \$8) is a review essay of, among others, Rawls' *A Theory of Justice*, Nozick's *Anarchy, State and Utopia*, and Rothbard's *For a New Liberty*. It

AN AFTERWORD FROM

Rationalism and the State

Rothbard's review of Oppenheimer on the State [LR, Sept.] is interesting, but I should have thought that an objective analysis of the origin of the State might have revealed at least a few ambiguities in the "conquest" hypothesis. Certainly we know that many States did originate in conquest; but to say that therefore all States are merely parasites and exploitive does not follow.

We need not accept Jefferson's view that governments are instituted to secure basic rights, nor yet the Book of Common Prayer's exhortation that rulers "truly and impartially administer justice to the punishment of wickedness and vice" to see that the State has functions other than mere theft from the industrious.

Furthermore, I find it at least doubtful that ancient Corn-kings who were sacrificed for the good of the populace were mere thieving conquerors; nor do I think governors of modern times are

universally exploitive despite my many quarrels with our over-grown bureaucracy.

Oppenheimer provided one answer to the silly contract theories that have always been rampant among intellectuals; but then Burke had already done that, and some would say he had done it better. Although I have a certain devotion to rational discussion and the human intellect, it remains that rationalism has not always served us well when applied to government; and I fear it is of no greater value when used by Oppenheimer and Rothbard than when used by Paine and Rousseau.

JERRY POURNELLE
Studio City, Calif.

Scientology and Libertarianism

As a Scientologist who is also a libertarian (there are quite a few of us, probably including Ron Hubbard) I am inclined to doubt that many people familiar with Scientology's actual procedures would follow Evans and Anderson [LR, Sept.] in dismissing it as a "science fiction religion." (For those interested, Hubbard's latest book *Dianetics Today* describes many of these procedures.)

Scientology does not want True Believers, it wants people who are capable of examining carefully what is there. It has been said that Scie-

tology works best on skeptics because they are often more willing to look.

To my mind, a libertarian social order is the only one that free and rational people would ever accept. Scientology claims to be able to handle human irrationality and make people free. Whether it really does this is something each must find out for himself. But it is certainly working on the same side as the libertarians.

MARTIN CHOATE
San Francisco, Calif.

Spencer

John Hosper's fine review of Spencer's *The Man Versus the State* [LR, July] called to mind some critiques of Spencer's libertarian inconsistency by contemporary individualist anarchists. Hosper contends that Spencer was more consistently libertarian than was John Stuart Mill. While this may be true, there were nineteenth century libertarians, like Benjamin Tucker and Victor Yarros, who doubted the libertarian consistency of Herbert Spencer.

Benjamin Tucker wrote that Spencer was unfaithful to the principle of equal liberty due to "his belief in compulsory taxation and his acceptance of the majority principle. . . ." (*Instead Of A Book*, p. 103.) Tucker also doubted Spencer's honesty and was suspicious of his attacks on social-

Letters from readers are welcome. Although only a selection can be published and none can be individually acknowledged, each will receive editorial consideration and may be passed on to reviewers and authors. Letters submitted for publication should be brief, typed, double spaced, and sent to LR, 410 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

is not really a friendly review. It is not even a very perceptive review. It is, however, an important review. It is a breakthrough to the very best of what remains of the New Left. *Working Papers* is probably the best and least dogmatic of all the Left journals, and it seems important now to keep the dialogue going with those Left intellectuals who are willing to take the libertarian position seriously. Graubard does make one particularly important point: the libertarian vision and understanding of the social world is thus far sterilely abstract and devoid of either a sense of politics, a sense of social structure, or a sense of history. This seems quite unfair when directed at Rothbard, but as for Nozick and most other libertarians, it is not only fair, but probably understated. Libertarians do have a strong set of abstract principles. But principles give us only the form, a starting place. Principles do not give us content. Only history and social analysis can give us content and understanding of the real world. It seems that Graubard unfortunately is quite correct in his stricture concerning the level of libertarian political consciousness and real world relevance. Until libertarians change this and develop a political consciousness and a social and historical understanding, they will at best unfortunately and unnecessarily be relegated to the margins of political influence. More likely, they will find themselves relegated to the "dustbin of history." We must not let this happen. Let's listen and learn from people like Graubard, even though their intention is not to help us.

• A very promising legal group has recently formed. The **Association of Libertarian Lawyers (ALL)**, 102 West First Ave., Johnstown, NY 12095, is composed of attorneys and law students. They hope to begin a libertarian law journal and to explore the use of the judicial system to expand individual freedom. Attorneys should contact **Donald A. Feder** at the above address. Law students should contact second-year Harvard Law School student **Randy E. Barnett**, chairman of the Law School Organizing Committee (same address).

• This same **Randy E. Barnett** of Harvard Law School has written an excellent paper, "Restitution: A New Paradigm of Criminal Justice," while a summer fellow with the Law and Liberty Project of the **Institute for Humane Studies** (1177 University Drive, Menlo Park, CA 94025). I am looking forward to its publication.

• A number of libertarian women have formed their own group, the **Association of Libertarian Feminists** (206 Mercer Street, New York, NY 10012). Among other things, they hope to provide a libertarian alternative to those aspects of the women's movement which foster dependence and collectivism. **Toni Nathan**, broadcast journalist, is the president. **Sharon Presley**, co-owner of *Laissez Faire Books* is national coordinator. Annual membership dues in ALF is \$2.50. A subscription to the ALF Newsletter is \$5. Contact Ms Presley at the above address.

• An extremely successful **Conference on Austrian Economic Theory** was held 18-19 October in Charlottesville, Va. It was sponsored by the **Charles Koch Foundation** and was very ably directed by Professor **Laurence S. Moss** of the University of Virginia. Interesting talks were given by Professors **D.T. Armen-**

tano, James Buchanan, I.M. Kirzner, L.M. Lachman, Gerald P. O'Driscoll, M.N. Rothbard, and others.

• **Tibor R. Machan**, philosopher, editor of *Reason Papers*, and associate editor of *LR*, is currently a National Fellow at the **Hoover Institution** in Palo Alto, Ca. Machan's paper "Law, Justice and Natural Rights" will be in the *Western Ontario Law Review*. He will also be among the contributors to a conference on F.A. Hayek to be held in January 1976 in San Francisco.

• **F.A. Hayek** has recently written an almost autobiographical essay on the methods of thinking and gaining knowledge. See his "Types of Mind," *Encounter*, September 1975.

• The Friedmanite doctrine of monetarism is under attack, not from doctrinaire Keynesians nor from Austrians, but from **Michael E. Levy**, a senior economist of the **Conference Board**, the business research organization. Levy contends that Friedman's lower rates of increase in the money supply may be just as inflationary as higher rates. Without discussing price expectations in detail, he concludes that once inflation gets into the system, it will take a long time to work it out, no matter what the change in the money supply is. See Leonard Silk's "Is Monetarism too Costly?" *New York Times*, 15 October 1975.

• From Hawaii, **R.J. Rummel**, Professor of Political Science at the University of Hawaii, is teaching a graduate course called "Libertarianism." Texts include Rothbard's *For a New Liberty*, as well as works of Hayek and others. Also in Hawaii, **William Danks** is writing his doctoral dissertation for the University of Hawaii's Political Science Department. Title: "De-Colonizing the Future: Science Fiction and Integration of the Libertarian Paradigm."

• Professor **John Hospers**, Department of Philosophy, University of Southern California, is at work on *An Intelligent Libertarian's Manual*, to be published by **Libertarian Review Press**. Prof. Hospers is currently delivering a series of discussions of libertarian aesthetics to the California Region II Libertarian Party every two weeks.

• Libertarians are still making waves in **Young Americans for Freedom**. According to *Human Events*, 8 Nov. 1975, **John Hospers** came in second behind **Ronald Reagan** in the YAF presidential-preference vote with 11% of the vote.

• More good muckraking by **Alexander Cockburn** and **James Ridgeway**. This time it's on the Federal Reserve System's **Arthur F. Burns** and the New York Fed's **Alan R. Holmes**. (*Parade*, 26 October 1975.)

• For a good attack on conservatism by a "limited-State" libertarian see **Edith Efron's** "Conservatism: A Libertarian Challenge," in *The Alternative*, October 1975. She clearly has the right enemy, but she is amazingly soft on both **Wm. F. Buckley** and "Old Left" neo-conservatives **Sidney Hook**, **Irving Kristol**, et al.

• Helpful news and analysis on medical matters can be found in *AAPS Newsletter: A Voice for Private Doctors*, published by the **Association of American Physicians and Surgeons** (2111 Enco Drive, Suite N-515, Oak Brook, IL 60621). ●

Readers, Authors, Reviewers

ism. Spencer always cited laws which protected labor, alleviated suffering or promoted people's welfare, but he never attacked the "deep-seated evils growing out of the innumerable laws creating privilege and sustaining monopoly." (*Individual Liberty*, pp. 275-6.) In short, Tucker suspected that Spencer's attacks on socialism were merely a cover for monopoly control in collusion with the State.

Victor Yarros, a Tucker associate, admired Spencer, but concluded that "he lacks nothing but a little determined consistency to be an anarchist." (*Liberty*, VI, 20 July, 1889, p. 4.) This evaluation is also heralded by **Sidney Fine** in *Laissez Faire and the General-Welfare State* (1956). Fine states that Spencer believed in "the extension of state activity in its special, negatively regulative sphere," and was "but one step removed from anarchism." (*Laissez Faire*, pp. 4, 37.)

I suppose the rift between Spencer and the individualist anarchists is similar to the ideological confrontations which beset the libertarian movement today. Libertarianism has indeed grown in the 1970s, but the gulf between the laissez faireists and the individualist anarchists has remained virtually the same as it was in the nineteenth century.

DAVID HAYDEN
Montgomery, Ind.

Hospers Replies

Perhaps Mr. Hayden forgets that the book I was reviewing was *The Man Versus the State*, which is devoted almost entirely to the evils of encroaching State control over the life of every individual—surely a matter on which all libertarians can agree. Had I been reviewing instead Spencer's book *Social Statics*, I would indeed have pointed out some inconsistencies, especially his view (held at that time but not later) that individuals should not own land but that "Society" should be the "steward"—which of course invites the criticism that "Society" for all practical purposes means the State. Nevertheless, even *Social Statics* is a fine libertarian document. The following unforgettable passage from it, on the right to ignore the State, has been an inspiration to libertarians, and is also impossible to reconcile with the view that Spencer approved compulsory taxation:

We cannot choose but admit the right of the citizen to adopt a condition of voluntary outlawry. If every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not on the equal freedom of any other man, then he is free to drop connection with the State—to relinquish its protection and to refuse paying toward its support. In so behaving he in no way trenches upon the

liberty of others, for his position is a passive one, and while passive he cannot be an aggressor. . . . He cannot be compelled to continue one of a political corporation without a breach of moral law, seeing that citizenship involves payment of taxes; and the taking away of a man's property against his will is an infringement of his rights. Government being simply an *agent* employed in common by a number of individuals to secure to them certain advantages, the very nature of the connection implies that it is for each to say whether he will employ such an agent or not. If any one of them determines to ignore this mutual-safety confederation, nothing can be said except that he loses all claim to its good offices and exposes himself to the danger of maltreatment—a thing he is quite at liberty to do if he likes. He cannot be coerced into political combination without breach of the law of equal freedom; he *can* withdraw from it without committing any such breach, and he has therefore a right so to withdraw.

JOHN HOSPERS
Hollywood, Calif.



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A Word To Our Readers

- An editorial glitch caused the brief review of Ralph de Toledano's *Rise—& Fall—of Ralph Nader* ("Briefly Mentioned," *LR*, November) to be more brief than intended. The review, excerpted from *National Review*, was by David Brudnoy. *Rise* was published earlier this year by Arlington House.
- Classical music lovers: We are offering at our cost our remaining stock of classical recordings. Check out the list below, we are sure you'll find something you will like—and the price is right! (As usual, please include \$.75 for postage and handling.)

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- "Criticism comes easier than craftsmanship."—Zeuxis, fl. 400 B.C.
- In past issues we have recommended mail-order dealers in used books, including Mrs. P.K. Slocum, 7733 Corey St., Downey, CA 90042, who specializes in libertarian and conservative titles. Three other dealers who are not specialists but who nevertheless publish periodic book lists containing many titles of interest to libertarians are Atlantis Books, PO Box 38202, Hollywood, CA 90038; Editions, Boiceville, NY 12412; and Strand Book Store, 828 Broadway, New York, NY 10003. To this list we wish to add, and with considerable enthusiasm, Dollar Sign Books, 413 N. Alma School Rd., Mesa, AZ 85201, a firm specializing in libertarian-conservative-Objectivist titles. We have placed a number of orders with this dealer, and have received prompt and courteous service. All of these dealers will provide you with their latest available listings if you send a stamped, self-addressed envelope.
- Laissez Faire Books (206 Mercer Street, New York, NY 10012) has launched a new series of Laissez Faire Penny Pamphlets—selling for a penny each, of course. LFPP Number 1 is "Libertarianism: An Introductory Reading List," and Number 2 is "Natural Law Contrasted with Legislation" by Lysander Spooner. Penny Pamphlets are an ideal and inexpensive means of introducing libertarianism to your friends, customers, clients, and, for that matter, complete strangers. And you can get in a plug for your firm, organization, et

cetera, too: for less than the cost of printing, you can have your message imprinted on Penny Pamphlets in quantities of 1,000 and up. Contact LFB for details.

- "No man's life, liberty and property are safe while the legislature is in session."—Quoted by Judge Gideon J. Tucker, ca. 1866.
- Attention jazzophiles! Our recorded music associate, Sabin's Records, has available a new catalog featuring one of the best collections of hard-to-find and popular jazz records. If you are planning additions to your jazz collection, this catalog is sure to be helpful. For a free copy, write Sabin's Records, 3212 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE, Washington, DC 20020.
- "The State is the great fictitious entity by which everyone expects to live at the expense of everyone else."—Frederic Bastiat
- For those of you following or involved in the ongoing debate between atheistic and theistic Objectivists [*Ho, hum.*—KTP]: *LR* contributor Mike Emerling has just published his *Theistic Objectivism: An Autopsy*. Mike makes an interesting case against the argument that Objectivism leads to theism. His pamphlet sells for \$1.50 (\$1.25 each for 2-10 copies, \$1 each for 11-50, and \$.75 each for 51 or more). Order from Michael Emerling, 2627 East Beverly Street, Tucson, AZ 85716.
- "The greatest oak was once a little nut that held its ground."—Anon.
- **Things To Come:** "At the End of the Tunnel," is Felix Morley's Essay Review in the January *LR*. In it, he reviews Richard N. Goodwin's *The American Condition* and Barnett's and Muller's *Global Reach*. January's lead review is by G. William Domhoff, the well-known observer of America's ruling classes. He gives us his appreciation of Ferdinand Lundberg's (*The Rich and Super Rich*) latest, *The Rockefeller Syndrome*. The future also holds Roy Childs on *Answer to Ayn Rand* and on Max Stirner, Dr. Peter Breggin on *The Death of Psychiatry*, George H. Smith on *The Uses of a Liberal Education*, and much, much more.

REVIEWERS FOR THIS ISSUE: Davis E. Keeler practiced law in Chicago before joining the Institute for Humane Studies to head its Law and Liberty Project. He writes a column for *Reason* magazine and is an *Inflation Survival Letter* contributing Editor. Alice Laurance is a freelance writer whose fiction has been published in several national-circulation magazines and original anthologies. She lives in Brooklyn. James J. Martin is a leading revisionist historian. He is currently at work on a book about U.S.-Soviet relations during World War II. Leonard E. Read is President of the Foundation for Economic Education and the author of many books on the "freedom philosophy." Jeff Rigenbach is book critic for the Los Angeles all-news radio station KFWB. Murray N. Rothbard is Professor of Economics at the Polytechnic Institute of New York, editor of *Libertarian Forum*, and an associate editor of *Libertarian Review*. Steven Utley is a freelance writer and reviewer. His fiction has appeared in *Galaxy* and other magazines. Jarret B. Wollstein studied psychology at the University of Maryland and is currently in the investment business.



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