

ization to result in a road system that is more efficient, more equitable, and safer. Given that the marketplace has usually produced better results than government has for all of these objectives, the probabilities are high that Mr. Roth is correct.

Even though we might have wished for a more radical solution (I myself have written a number of articles and papers advocating that public roads be sold to private operators), those wishing to be fully informed on the evolving issues of highway privatization can ill-afford to be ignorant of Mr. Roth's work. This latest effort is a well argued and nicely detailed addition to his already impressive output on this issue. □

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Why Not Freedom! America's Revolt Against Big Government

by James Ronald Kennedy and
Walter Donald Kennedy

Pelican Publishing Company • 1995 • 397 pages
• \$21.95

Reviewed by Wesley Allen Riddle

The Kennedy brothers of Louisiana have followed up their successful title *The South Was Right!*, winner of the Southern Heritage Society's 1995 Literary Award, with a new book—even more likely to raise eyebrows and a din of vituperative commentary from the liberal press. *Why Not Freedom!* is a clarion call to wage political battle, sounded for Southern nationalists and states' rightists of all sections. The visionary aim is to reinstate antebellum constitutional construction, minus slavery or legally enforced segregation and race-based discrimination.

The authors blame both major political parties for betrayal of the American middle class, notwithstanding the fact that they vent hottest anger at the Democratic party—which, after all, was the Solid South's political home for so long. But while the

Kennedy brothers apparently agree with conservative Republican positions on most issues, they refuse to take much comfort, and they provide a sobering and decidedly Southern assessment of the so-called "Revolution of 1994."

If there is a problem with the historical case the authors make, it is that they credit the Civil War too much for the kind of consolidation that has taken place this century—really only since the Progressive Era. Indeed, recent historical scholarship by Earl M. Maltz, professor of law at Rutgers University, indicates that the original intent of the drafters of the Reconstruction amendments was to keep essential federalism intact. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments most certainly were *not* conceived to grant sweeping new authority to the federal government to enforce open-ended concepts such as equality.

Be that as it may, the Kennedy brothers demonstrate that Americans at the end of the twentieth century live in a country that meets outright the definition of tyranny used by the Founding Fathers. The Constitution no longer operates in accord with the Founders' original intent. Rather, the federal government has become Leviathan and views the middle class as a "cash-cow" to be milked—taxed for the benefit of others.

One of the most lucid theoretical points the Kennedys draw from the Founding Federalists, including even Hamilton, is the role of the states in vertical balance of power. In particular, the sovereign state bears responsibility in the federal system to police the actions of its agent, the federal government, to insure that liberty and property of its citizens are not curtailed.

The authors provide excellent examples of how citizens do not possess the necessary resources or power to fend off wrongful prosecution by the federal government. The relatively weak individual needs state government to intercede or *interpose* on the individual's behalf. Today that function is all but inoperative, and individuals are left to the mercy of big government. Unfortunately, "Big Governments make for small citizens" (p. 239). In Section II, 20 chapters

are dedicated to documenting contemporary abuses of the middle class by the federal government.

Why Not Freedom! is not for the timid conservative. It is radical. This book is one more compelling piece of evidence about the momentary groundswell in Louisiana, as well as in Alabama, Texas, Virginia—and Montana, among other places. The South, along with the West, is leading a revolutionary political movement that seeks to overturn not only the New Deal, but potentially, some precedents that date back to 1861. So far, neither political party seems fully in tune with it. □

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The Political History of Economic Reform in Russia, 1985–1994

by Vladimir Mau

Foreword by Robert Skidelsky
Center for Research into Communist Economies, New Series 13, London • 1996 • 136 pages • \$39.00

Reviewed by Yuri N. Maltsev

The economic and political collapse of the Soviet Union was a surprise only to the CIA, Sovietologists, and fellow travelers of Communism in the West. For people like Dr. Vladimir Mau, who followed the direction of economic and political developments in the USSR from inside of the socialist Leviathan, it was obvious that the disaster was coming, and coming soon. Mau's *The Political History of Economic Reform in Russia, 1985–1994*, stands out as a story of an insider, a testimony of an important witness. Dr. Mau was a part of the team of senior Soviet economists working on the economic reforms of President Gorbachev at the Institute of Economics of the

Academy of Science of the USSR. Today he heads the Moscow Institute for the Economy in Transition, an influential think-tank among Moscow reformers. Like any "insider's story," Dr. Mau's book is highly partisan: he takes sides and he is an ardent advocate of economic and political liberty.

Dr. Mau begins his analysis with a short history of previous attempts to reform Soviet socialism, in which he shows that reforms would only be introduced as a last resort for saving Communism, not abandoning it (as the Western well-wishers would try to portray it).

The social tragedy known as the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was not an isolated event in Russian history, states Dr. Mau. "The state traditionally played a major role in Russian economy. . . . The huge bureaucratic regulatory state was the direct predecessor of socialism. 'Not without reason,'" writes Dr. Mau, "were the basic forms of economic centralism, later raised to an absolute by the Bolsheviks, determined and tested in practice by the pre-revolutionary Russian governments, both Tsarist and Provisional."

Moving forward 60 years, the first sign of the coming Soviet economic collapse at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s was an urgency to increase state subsidies to unprofitable enterprises. By the mid-1980s, the deterioration of the Soviet economy reached a critical point. More than 50 percent of state business enterprises were permanently unprofitable and survived due to the huge subsidies, while the agricultural sector required an infusion of more than 100 billion rubles in the years 1986–1988 to support the feudal collective farm system based on state ownership of land and forced labor. Productivity declined and shortages (as well as corresponding rationing of consumer goods) became widespread.

"*Perestroika* was the last and most far-reaching attempt to reform Soviet-type socialism while preserving the fundamental features of that society—'the socialist choice of the people,' as Gorbachev in his time liked to say. At the same time *perestroika* led to the breakthrough out of socialism and