

Briefly Mentioned. (Continued from page 10)

in life is preserved on paper in the files of credit agencies, insurance companies, doctors, and government agencies of every description. Perhaps everyone is familiar with tales of credit denied because of false information (supplied by overeager or vengeful informers) willingly accepted by credit bureaus that must fulfill quotas of rejects to make it seem as though their agents are thorough. But who knows or cares about the thousands of children born addicted to dope, because of the mother's habit, whose names reside now in the computers of the Bureau of Narcotics & Dangerous Drugs as 'reformed narcotics users'?

"Who knows that lie detectors, used to test private job applicants as well as potential defendants, can be manipulated to coerce false admissions? Who cares that there are criminal penalties for refusing to answer Census Bureau questions about home appliances and services supplied by landlords? ...

"And if these and other incidents fail to shake you, the sections of the book on the IRS, the FBI, and the U. S. Army surely will—not only because of the outrages committed in the name of liberty but also because of the fiscal insanity of it all, such as the IRS seizure of a taxpayer's automobile to satisfy a \$1.25 claim. . . ."—Jethro K. Lieberman in *Business Week* / \$8.95

THE ESSENCE OF AMERICANISM

By Leonard Read

Read discusses political economy and notes that the American Revolution was less an armed revolt

than a break with the political history of the world—a rejection of the old authoritarianism. He explains the factors that have made Americans great and how government intervention undermines their ability to work. Read is president of the Foundation for Economic Education. / *Political Philosophy* / Cassette Tape 102 (45 min) / \$9.95 Order from Audio-Forum

THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

By Roger A. Freeman

"Probably no man in America knows as much about taxes, public spending and borrowing, and their effects on each individual citizen as Roger A. Freeman, Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution in California. His latest volume is a cool, hard, realist's analysis of a cancerous revolution taking place in American public policy. Subtitled 'A Morphology of the Welfare State,' it studies the form and structure of the organisms eating away at our free society and the individual liberty of each American. Those malignant organisms, of course, go to make up the Welfare State which is the antithesis of the system bequeathed us by the original revolutionists of 1776. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that we understand the disease that besets us so that, if we wish once more to be free (and properous) we know how to deal with it.

For the purposes of his study, Dr. Freeman chooses the 20-year period between 1952 and 1972. . . . Dr. Freeman, as a realist, leans heavily on statistical data, but he knows not only how to analyze them but how to make them crystal clear for the general reader. Any American devoted to American principles and standards of life had better pay close attention to this pioneering study. . . .

The author leaves us in no doubt about the truth of his analysis. All the facts and figures are here in this fine and extremely important book. Example: national government spending for domestic services multiplied ten times between 1952 and 1972; in Dr. Freeman's words: 'As much was added to federal outlays for domestic purposes every two years as had been in the preceding 163 years.'"—Rosalie Gordon in *America's Future* / \$5.95

THE NATURE OF ECONOMICS & THE THEORY OF VALUE

By Percy L. Greaves

This speech focuses on the economics of Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises. It presents his basis for studying economics, compares the Misesian subjective theory of value with the Marxian labor theory of value, and cites laws of human action which govern economic exchange. Greaves is a distinguished speaker, author, economist, and historian whose work is acclaimed in both libertarian and conservative circles. / *Economics* / Cassette Tape 153 (89 min) / \$10.95 Order from Audio-Forum

H. L. MENCKEN SPEAKING

By H. L. Menckén

In this [1948] interview with Donald Kirkley, Sr., of the *Baltimore Sun*, Mencken traces his life in Baltimore and expresses frank opinions on politicians, censorship, modern reporters, newspaper guilds, work, beer, and agnosticism—with his characteristic egoism, libertarianism, and iconoclasm. This is one of only a handful of recordings of Mencken, and the only one of real value. / Cassette Tape 175 (58 min) / \$9.95 Order from Audio-Forum

AN AFTERWORD FROM

Petro Replies to His Critics

Re Brian Monahan's comments ["Afterword," July] on my review of Douglas Caddy's book, *The Hundred Million Dollar Payoff*:

1. I'm not inclined to dispute his preference for the expression "cartel" as an appropriate way to refer to the big specially privileged unions which are doing so much to reduce the freedom and the productivity of the country, both directly and by way of their political activities.

2. As regards the Nixon ouster, my intended point was that it would not have occurred but for the facts (a) that he had antagonized the big unions, (b) that union pressures were critical to the ouster, and (c) that the union clout necessary to achieve the ouster was a gain ill-gotten from two generations of special legal privileges.

Nixon was not my (or any libertarian's) man, but I believe that the real motivation, means, and basis of his removal were all incomparably worse than the bugging for which he was ostensibly persecuted. I could see his being impeached and convicted for, say imposing wage and price controls in 1971. But he was actually forced to resign for the good things he had done—tightening up on union malfeasance, refusing to spend as much as Congress wished, antagonizing the press—not for the bad things. Anyone who believes he was pushed out for Watergate is in my opinion grossly unaware of what really went on.

The ultimate question, I suppose, is whether, in spite of the foregoing, it was on net a good thing for this society that Nixon should have been forced to resign because of Watergate, whether or not that was the real motivating event. Most commen-

tators, left and right, believe so. I am unable to agree. Watergate was a farcical episode in the midst of an immense tragedy, the crumbling of a free society. The farce is over, the tragedy continues. More than that, the persons who pushed the Watergate exposure are the very ones guilty of producing the tragedy which is overwhelming us. The strength they displayed in producing the Nixon resignation has been enhanced by their success. With that enhancement the prospects for freedom are diminished. No one's life is blameless, not in politics, anyway. Who after Watergate will risk antagonizing the unions, the Congress, and the press? And how can freedom be served without doing so?



Re Bob Murphy's comments on compulsory unionism and freedom of contract ["Afterword," July]:

"Freedom of contract" is a juridical concept that has operative significance in a common-law context. Unions, as such, were incapable of any jural relationship at common law. They could neither sue nor be sued. They could not hold property in their common names. At common law they could not contract at all; if they signed an "agreement" it wasn't worth the paper it was written on. There was no such thing as a legally enforceable "collective bargaining agreement" at common law. Of course employers were free at common law to condition genuine contracts of employment pretty much as they wished—on either union membership or nonmembership. But unless the union with which they formed a closed-shop "agreement" had somehow acquired legal status and had given a good consideration, the "agreement" was not a legal contract and had nothing to do with freedom of contract. Let the unions agree to the repeal of all the pro-union legislation of the last 75 years, and let them qualify as contracting agents at common law. Then—and only then—will it become relevant to discuss compulsory unionism "agreements" as exercises of freedom of

contract. I've dealt at length with all these matters in an article in the *Toledo Law Review*.

SYLVESTER PETRO
Professor of Law
Wake Forest University
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Mises and Determinism

Professor Rothbard states that in *Theory and History* Ludwig von Mises "sets forth devastating critiques of . . . determinists generally, and counters with an excellent defense of freedom of the will in human action." [LR, June.] I find this statement extremely puzzling, because *Theory and History*, of all of Mises' writings, contains what I have always understood to be Mises' most explicit avowals of determinism.

On the basic issue—whether man's actions are necessitated by antecedent causes—Mises is unequivocal: "The determinists are right in asserting that everything that happens is the necessary sequel of the preceding state of things. What a man does at any instant of his life is entirely dependent on his past, that is, on his physiological inheritance as well as of all he went through in his previous days" (p. 77). It is true, Mises continues, that we can never know all the factors that determine an individual's actions; thus, *methodologically*, we must treat "mental efforts, . . . ideas, and . . . judgments of value" as "ultimate data" (p. 78). "But in resorting to this notion we by no means imply that ideas and judgments of value spring out of nothing by a sort of spontaneous generation. . . . We merely establish the fact that we do not know anything about the mental process which produces within a human being thoughts that respond to the state of his physical and ideological environment" (p. 78).

Mises is careful to distinguish between the principle of determinism and distorted applications of that principle: "determinism in itself does not imply any concessions to the materialist viewpoint. . . . It does not deny mental causation. . . ."

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.

• Truth has recently joined beauty in gracing the pages of *Penthouse* magazine. **Jim Davidson**, Executive Director of the libertarian National Taxpayers Union, now has a monthly column ("View from the Top") in which he poignantly and persuasively states the libertarian case. In one recent issue he mentioned **John T. Flynn's** masterpiece of political-economic analysis, *As We Go Marching*. Davidson's columns against the welfare-warfare state have been devastating.

• Free Life Editions (41 Union Square West, NYC 10003) has done it again. They have just published **Joel Spring's** *A Primer of Libertarian Education*, an excellent study of a number of educational issues from an anarchist perspective. The book includes discussions of the ideas of Freire, Neill, Reich, and Stirner. **Ivan Illich** has placed his moral imprimatur on the book, and word has it, he will help to get it translated into several languages.

• More on Free Life Editions: They have just contracted for a book being written by **Roy Childs**, *The Permanent Revolution: Liberty Against Power*. Publication is due sometime the first half of next year. (In the meantime, Childs has written an abstract of the book, which can be purchased from Laissez Faire Books, 206 Mercer Street, NYC 10012. This excellent pamphlet is great to hand out as an introduction to libertarianism.) The book will be very important because it places libertarianism clearly within its rightful revolutionary heritage. 1976 will be the perfect year for its publication. Free Life is offering a special pre-publication price for an autographed copy of this most important book. Inquire at the above address.

• *Libertarian Review's* own **Karl Pflock** has just gone on retainer as a senior editor for Arlington House Publishers. He will be editing and acquiring titles as Arlington's Washington editor. Anyone with a full-blown, thought out (no wishful thinking or half-formed notions) book proposal is invited to write Pflock (an SASE for reply would be appreciated) at 1726 North Veitch Street, Arlington, VA 22201.

• Libertarian philosopher **Eric Mack** has been appointed associate professor of philosophy at Tulane University in New Orleans. Mack's specialties are natural rights and social philosophy. Louisiana libertarians, how about some southern hospitality for Professor Mack?

• *Freedom Today*, a new magazine of personal freedom and self-liberation, of political and psychological liberation, is being published monthly by RBPRESS. A sample copy is \$1.00 from *Freedom Today*, 4045 E. Palm Lane, Phoenix, AZ 85008. A year's subscription is \$15.

• The business-cycle theories of Mises and Hayek are needed more now than ever. The *Wall Street Journal* has had two recent articles that show just how much. On 20 August, the lead article was "Problem Loans Follow Easy Credit, Causing Headaches for Bankers," by **Charles N. Stabler**. The author clearly sees the financial problem caused by credit expansion, but he has no theory to explain why the bad loans were initially made. Two days later, the *WSJ's* lead article was **Harry B. Anderson's** "Price Rise Resurgence Despite Idle Capacity Stirs Debate on Causes." This article is a perfect example of the need for Austrian theory and analysis to explain the current "inflationary recession."

• The St. Louis Fed is at least giving the Hayekian theory a good look. **Roger W. Spencer's** "Inflation, Unemployment and Hayek" in the May 1975 issue of the *Monthly Bulletin* of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis is an interesting attempt to present and understand the Austrian theory of the cycle. Hopefully, some of the many young Austrian economists will use this article as a touchstone to keep the dialogue going and to get the Austro-libertarian message across.

• Ever since **Bill Evers** has taken over as the editor of the Libertarian Party's national organ, the *LP News*, it has become quite a good newspaper, chuck full of information and analysis. Evers is a top-notch libertarian theorist, and his editing gives a clear sense of direction to the paper and, hopefully, to the party as well. One note of warning, there is much talk of "victory" and "winning" in the pages of the *LP News*. This seems rather curious and somewhat premature given the minuscule size of the party. What sort of victory? What constitutes winning? Winning and the organizational inner-machinations have historically often become more important than the initial ideological and educational purpose of most political parties. But as long as Evers and people of his quality are at the helm, this should not prove to be an overwhelming problem.

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Readers, Authors, Reviewers

(p. 76). And he firmly rejects fatalism, according to which, since "everything must finally come to a preordained end," "it is useless for man to act" (p. 79). But, he insists, "Those theologians who thought that in order to refute fatalism they must adopt the free-will doctrine were badly mistaken" (pp. 81-2).

Arguing along lines similar to those of **Walter Kaufmann's** *Without Guilt and Justice*, Mises even applies his determinist views to the problem of criminal punishment: "The metaphysical notions of guilt, sin, and retribution are incompatible with the doctrine of determinism" (p. 83). But getting rid of these notions poses no problem for a utilitarian like Mises: "Utilitarian ethics approaches the problem of punishment from a different angle. The offender is not punished because he is bad and deserves chastisement but so that neither he nor other people will repeat the offense. . . . Legislators and judges are not the mandataries of a metaphysical retributive justice. . . . Hence it is possible to deal with the problem of determinism without being troubled by inane considerations concerning the penal code" (p. 83).

"What the sciences of human actions must reject," Mises concludes, "is not determinism but the positivistic and panphysicalistic distortion of determinism" (p. 93).

To me, these passages—and there are many more like them—appear unmistakable. I would like to know by what process of reasoning Rothbard interprets them as even consistent with the free-will doctrine—let alone as a "defense" of that doctrine.

ROBERT MASTERS
Maple Falls, Wash.

A Rave Notice

John Hospers has been writing his music reviews for *LR* for I don't know how long. The only explanation I can give for the absence of volumes of mail commending his work is that people just don't know how to praise it.

The writing, first of all, is superb—clear, lucid, calm with occasional and well placed spots of

flare—and the knowledge is overwhelming. Then there seems always to be another piece for next time, so why not wait for it instead of raving about those gone by!

Still, it is about time that readers acknowledge the great contribution Hospers has made to their education and pleasure with this marvelous offering in *LR*. I for one, thank him most sincerely.

TIBOR M. MACHAN
Palo Alto, Calif.

Of Pots and Kettles

My attention was called to **Jarret Wollstein's** review of *Crimes Without Victims* (*LR*, June 1975), in which he faults the author as follows:

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

Mr. Schur's book was published in 1965 and has been very helpful to the homophile movement over the years, despite its retrospectively conservative approach. May I remind your readers of the following editorial which was published in the May 1970 issue of *The Individualist* under Jarret Wollstein's editorship:

Women

Rothbard is right. The women's liberation nonsense has gotten out of hand. The sad thing is that the influence of the anti-sexist blather is not confined to a few raucous females. Portions of the women's lib doctrine are spreading among otherwise intelligent women. If present trends continue, militant lesbianism will be added to the other dangers of urban living.

Sane women, you are beautiful. Heterosexual love has perennially added to the appreciation of life. With society in the grip of every sort of insanity, let's not let female beauty slip away. Show how you feel. The *Individualist* is making available, free of charge, "Rothbard is right" buttons. Send for yours today.

Now, what was that old cliché about the hypocrisy of the pot calling the kettle black?

ROSALIE NICHOLS
Editor, *Lesbian Voices*
San Jose, Calif.

Please note that I did not write the "editorial" on women appearing in the May 1970 issue of the *Individualist*. **James Davidson**, then publisher of the *Individualist*, wrote it and inserted it in the magazine without my prior knowledge or permission.

. . . I was and am totally opposed to the sexist, stupid sentiments expressed therein. . . .

JARRET B. WOLLSTEIN
Alexandria, Va.

Knowledge Fiction

It's good to see you're taking sf seriously, not as a mere vehicle to spread libertarianism. Starting with **Heinlein**—a safe bet—you have pushed the crack open wider with reviews of *The Dispossessed*, *Frankenstein*, and *Lord of the Rings*. With **Sturgeon's** entertaining essay-review, you have strayed further from the limited turf of "libertarian sf" into strange, new territory for *LR*. Congratulations! "Knowledge fiction" has a much wider scope, and I, for one, hope you make use of it. There is certainly a market for it among libertarians.

BRUCE RAMSEY
Berkeley, Calif.