

**A  
BIBLIOGRAPHY  
OF FREEDOM**

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## INTRODUCTION

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IN HIS major work of scientific historiography, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Thomas S Kuhn argues that scientific progress is not a linear, ever-upward process in which the more valid theories replace the less so in an objective, open-minded fashion. Rather, scientists in any particular field will tend to adopt a fundamental explanatory theory or world view – a paradigm – within whose conceptual confines their work takes place. This world view, moreover, tends to become accepted in an axiomatic manner, without further testing or critical appraisal, and those ideas and theories which do not conform to its premisses are rejected out of hand.

Whatever the truth of Kuhn's thesis regarding natural science (and of some of the relativistic aspects of his views) it can hardly be denied that there exists within the humane and "policy" sciences a prevailing paradigm, nor that for perhaps a century this consensus has been hostile to human freedom. Whether in economics, philosophy, political thought, psychology, sociology and history, criticism and the arts, concepts and doctrines have been predominant which have been either explicitly and militantly opposed to liberty, or which have denied even its very existence or possibility. Marxism; the myriad varieties of statist and interventionist economics from Keynes to Galbraith; holism and environmentalism in sociology; Freudian and behaviouralist determinism in psychology; all can be seen as variants of a basically anti-individualist, anti-libertarian world view.

The publication in 1977 of Professor Julius Gould's report, *The Attack on Higher Education*, only gave more public voice to the long-standing complaints of non-socialist students and faculties regarding the collectivist grip on academic life in this country. The subtle, and not so subtle, hostility and bias against non-socialist views and perspectives manifest by staff in so many institutions allegedly dedicated to the open-minded pursuit of knowledge, is commonplace. The predominant practice is simply to ignore major non-collectivist scholars or schools of thought as far as possible. Thus, although it might not be possible in economics, for example, to get away with not

mentioning Milton Friedman, albeit critically, it is quite possible to reach Ph.D level without ever hearing an account of the "Austrian" school of free market economics. Serious consideration for those outside the collectivist paradigm is generally denied. If opponents of collectivism are mentioned at all, it is usually those whose arguments are precisely the least effective or systematic! Thus, Steven Lukes can contribute to a series on basic concepts in social theory a (hostile) volume entitled *Individualism* which blatantly fails to deal properly with many major or systematic approaches of either historical or contemporary individualist thinkers. The other customary tactic one encounters in so many lectures is: the contemptuous sneer, the humorous off-hand dismissal before the speaker proceeds to really "important" concerns.

Yet, in spite of Jean-Paul Sartre's ludicrous assertion that there is no systematic intellectual alternative to Marxism, there have always been such alternatives – and there are an increasing number today. Kuhn comments that a paradigm will eventually reach a 'crisis situation', when anomalies, questions and puzzles inexplicable or unsolvable within its frame of reference will accumulate and the paradigm itself will be questioned. For the collectivist/statist paradigm such a crisis is now being experienced. The deficiencies of collectivist theories, and the manifest failures throughout the world of socialist policies and socialist societies, is underscored by a burgeoning of libertarian and other alternatives within numerous disciplines.

This *Bibliography* is an attempt to provide an introduction for the enquiring student in a still hostile environment to some of the works available which do not conform to the collectivist establishment. Its range and grounds for selection should be explained. We have not listed major works by such classic thinkers like Locke, Adam Smith, Bentham, Hume, Burke and John Stuart Mill. These, at least, should be well known and accessible to all. Neither have we attempted to perform the urgently needed task of reclamation of other important and penetrating, but now almost totally forgotten, liberal scholars (such as James E. Thorold Rogers, Auberon Herbert and J. M. Robertson). This must wait for another time. Nor have we attempted to include every scholarly discipline, or every strand of thought explicitly or implicitly concerned with, or amenable to, the libertarian position or conservative intellectual tra-

dition. We have omitted then, sections on – for example – education theory and international affairs. And although originally including a section on criticism, literature and the arts, the difficulties of both restricting its length and of explaining the grounds for selection eventually led us to remove it. For similarly obvious reasons of space we have also restricted the *Bibliography* to postwar books, excluding journal articles as well as pamphlets.

The largest section in this *Bibliography* is on economics, because of both that subject's importance and the fact that the revival of libertarian scholarship has been most extensively developed (or at least, published) in that field.

A word on the publication details of each title. Generally speaking we have listed the most recently published edition of a book. This is not always the case, however, when we have felt that an out-of-print British edition would be easier to obtain (via the library system) than an in-print American edition. We have listed works which are of major importance and relevance under more than one category (each time with full bibliographical details), in all apposite sections.

A further point should be emphasized. The works listed, in spite of their basic commitment or relevance to human liberty, encompass a wide range of frequently diverse viewpoints. Concerning explicit political-ideological viewpoints, however, we can perceive four main strands. The "classical" liberal tradition needs no comment. Contemporary "conservatism" in America, and increasingly in Britain, has attempted to incorporate *some* of the free market and libertarian aspects of liberalism into what is still basically a "Burkean" outlook. (It should also be remembered that liberalism itself had a more conservative wing.) This, of course, puts it into conflict with some aspects of the more traditional, authoritarian, pragmatic, anti-rational and "organicist" tradition of conservatism. The other major and most recent manifestation of the liberal approach lies in the "libertarian" or "radical libertarian" movement. In the tradition of the most radical, rationalist, and individualist wing of "classical" liberalism, the radical libertarians present us with an attempt to create an all-inclusive, systematic "science of liberty", a comprehensive philosophy of humanity, society and "total liberty". In the work of some philosophers and economists, this has resulted in "market anarchism" or "anarcho-capitalism", in which the state itself is

replaced by the operation of the free market.

Whatever the reader's own views we hope that after years in which collectivist and dirigiste views have dominated economic and political thought acceptable debate and the syllabuses and reading lists of our universities, the works listed will provide welcome intellectual stimulus.

## I. ECONOMICS

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THE RESURGENCE of free market economics is generally identified with Milton Friedman and the "Chicago School". However, the major contributions and relevance of the so-called "Austrian School", as represented by the late Ludwig von Mises, and Friedrich Hayek and their pupils, is now becoming increasingly recognised. Although both schools are united in much of their analysis and advocacy of the free market, the sophisticated and distinctive methodological analyses of the "Austrian" tradition (which subsumes "economics" proper under "praxeology", the science of human action) set it apart from the conventional empiricist-positivist nature of "Chicago School" and neo-classical economics. Such methodological differences lead to some major divergences in their respective analyses of such topics as monetary and trade cycle theories. We have thus distinguished in this section between works written from these two perspectives.

### 1 Textbooks, General Treatments, and the Case for the Market

The following works are written largely from the "Chicago School" and neo-classical points of view.

- Alchian, Armen A. *Economic Forces at Work*, Liberty Press, Indianapolis, 1977. Essays on various topics, including some seminal work on property rights.
- Alchian, Armen A. and Allen, William R. *University Economics*, 3rd edn., Prentice-Hall International, London, 1974.  
*Exchange and Production: [Competition, Co-ordination, and Control]*, 2nd edn., Wadsworth Publishing Company, Belmont, California, 1977.  
The former title is probably the best economics textbook available. The latter is essentially the micro-economics section of the former.

- Becker, Gary S. *Economic Theory*, Alfred K. Knopf, New York, 1971. An advanced, mathematically oriented text.
- Black, Angus. *A New Radical's Guide to Economic Reality*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1970.  
*A Radical's Guide to Self-Destruction*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1971.  
 Popular, non-technical and racily written presentation of the case for the market.
- Dolan, Edwin G. *Basic Economics*, The Dryden Press, Hinsdale, Illinois, 1977.
- Friedman, Milton. *Capitalism and Freedom*, University of Chicago Press, 1962. Popular, non-technical exposition.  
*Price Theory*, 2nd edn., Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago, 1976. An advanced technical work.  
*An Economist's Protest*, 2nd edn., Thomas Horton, Glen Ridge, New Jersey, 1975. Popular topical essays.
- Heyne, Paul. *The Economic Way of Thinking*, Science Research Associates, Chicago, 2nd edn, 1976. Readable, intermediate text.
- Hutton, Graham. *We Too Can Prosper: The Promise of Productivity*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1953. A good liberal analysis of the causes of productivity.
- Johnson, Harry G. *On Economics and Society*, Chicago University Press, 1975. Wide ranging liberal essays on the relevance of economics, Keynesianism, contemporary problems and the environment.
- Johnson, M. Bruce (ed). *The Attack on Corporate America: The Corporate Issues Sourcebook*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1978. A wide ranging reader.
- Knight, Frank H. *Risk, Uncertainty and Profit*, University of Chicago Press, 1971. More difficult text.
- McKenzie, Robert and Tullock, Gordon. *Modern Political Economy: An Introduction to Economics*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1978. An excellent introduction and one of the few to integrate public choice/economics of politics discoveries into traditional theory.
- Miller, Roger L. *Economics of European Social Issues*, Harper and Row, New York, 1975.  
*Intermediate Microeconomics: Theory, Issues and Applications*, McGraw-Hill, 1978.
- Miller, Roger L. and North, Douglas. *Abortion, Baseball and Weed: Issues of Our Times*, Harper and Row, New York, 1973.  
*Economics of Public Issues* (3rd edn.), Harper and Row, New York (1976). 1978. 4th ed.  
 The above three works are readable and largely non-technical.
- Rubner, Alex. *Three Sacred Cows of Economics*, Macgibbon and Kee, London, 1970. A witty and powerful critique of statist mythology regarding the GNP, forecasting and state planning.
- Simon, William E. *A Time for Truth*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1978. A former American Secretary of the Treasury recounts his disillusionment with the statist policies he followed, and his conversion to free market liberalism.
- Simons, Henry C. *Economic Policy for a Free Society*, University of Chicago Press, 1948. Essays on *laissez-faire*, liberalism, competition, trade unions, monetary

policy and other topics by one of the early members of the Chicago School.

- Sowell, Thomas *Economics: Analysis and Issues*, Scott-Foresman, Glen View, Illinois, 1971.
- Stigler, George J. *Five Lectures on Economic Problems*, Macmillan, London, 1949.  
*The Theory of Price*, 3rd edn., Collier-Macmillan, London, 1966.
- Wanniski, Jude *The Way the World Works*, Basic Books, New York, 1978. In spite of some defects, contains useful liberal analysis, especially regarding taxation.

In Britain the modern liberal, "Chicago" and neo-classical approaches have emanated largely from the numerous papers and books of the Institute of Economic Affairs and the scholars associated with it. The following titles provide useful introductions to its work.

- Brittan, Sam *Participation Without Politics*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1975.
- Harris, Ralph and Seldon, Arthur *Not From Benevolence: Twenty Years of Economic Dissent*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1977. A most readable and useful survey of the IEA's work and basic perspective.
- Seldon, Arthur *Charge*, Maurice Temple Smith, London, 1977. An interesting exposition of the relevance of market pricing to areas traditionally conceived as outside its purview.
- Seldon, Arthur and Pennance, F. G. *Everyman's Dictionary of Economics*, 2nd rev. edn., J. M. Dent, London, 1976. An excellent and comprehensive aid for both student and layman.

The following works are written largely from the "Austrian" perspective.

- Ballve, Faustino *Essentials of Economics*, Foundation for

Block, Walter

Buchanan, James M.

Buchanan, James M. and Thirlby, G. F. (eds)

Campus Studies Institute

Dolan, Edwin G. (ed)

Erhard, Ludwig

Greaves, Bettina Bien

Greaves, Percy L. Jr.

Harper, F. A.

Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, 1969. Elementary, non-technical introduction.

*Defending the Undefendable*, Fleet Press, New York, 1976. Challenging and lively exposition of the free market perspective.

*Cost and Choice*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1969.

*L.S.E. Essays on Cost*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1973.

*The Incredible Bread Machine*, World Research Inc., San Diego, California, 1974. A lively and popular case for capitalism.

*The Foundations of Modern Austrian Economics*, Sheed, Andrews and McMeel, Kansas City, 1976.

*Prosperity Through Competition*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1958. Erhard, the Chancellor and Minister for Economic Affairs who supervised Germany's post war economic miracle, describes the free market policies responsible for that recovery.

*Free Market Economics*, 2 vols., Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, 1975. A basic introductory text and accompanying volume of readings.

*Mises Made Easier: A Glossary for L. von Mises' 'Human Action'*, Free Market Books, Dobbs Ferry, New York, 1978.

*The Writings of F. A. Harper*, Institute for Humane Studies, Menlo Park, California, 1978. Contains essays on the causes of rising wages, the recovery of liberty etc.



Hayek, Friedrich

*Individualism and Economic Order*,  
Routledge & Kegan Paul, London,  
1949.

*Studies in Philosophy, Politics and Economics*,  
Routledge & Kegan Paul,  
London, 1967.

*New Studies in Philosophy, Politics,  
Economics and the History of Ideas*,  
Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978.

Hayek, Friedrich  
et al (eds)

*Towards Liberty: Essays in Honor of  
Ludwig von Mises . . .*, 2 vols., Institute  
for Humane Studies, Menlo Park,  
California, 1971.

Hazlitt, Henry

*Economics in One Lesson*, 2nd rev. edn.,  
Arlington House, New Rochelle, New  
York, 1979. Excellent non-technical  
introduction.

*Man vs. The Welfare State*, Arlington  
House, New Rochelle, New York,  
1969.

*The Conquest of Poverty*, Arlington  
House, New Rochelle, New York,  
1973.

Popular and lucid discussions.

Kirzner, Israel

*Market Theory and the Price System*, D.  
van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey,  
1967. Quite advanced, technical text.

*Competition and Entrepreneurship*,  
University of Chicago Press, 1973. An  
advanced but readable and exciting  
seminal work.

*An Essay on Capital*, Augustus M.  
Kelley, New York, 1966.

Lachman,  
Ludwig M.

*Capital, Expectations and the Market  
Process: Essays on the Theory of the Market  
Economy*, Sheed, Andrews and  
McMeel, Kansas City, 1977.

*Capital and Its Structure*, 2nd edn., Sheed,  
Andrews and McMeel, Kansas City,  
1978.

Machlup, Fritz (ed)

*Essays on Hayek*, Hillsdale College Press  
Hillsdale, Michigan, 1976.

von Mises, Ludwig

*Human Action: A Treatise on Economics*,  
3rd rev. edn., Henry Regnery,  
Chicago, 1966. Masterly and compre-  
hensive exposition of the "Austrian"  
approach to economics.

*Planning for Freedom*, 2nd edn., Liber-  
tarian Press, South Holland, Illinois,  
1962. Lively and polemical essays on  
various topics.

Moss, Lawrence S.  
(ed)

*The Economics of Ludwig von Mises:  
Toward a Critical Reappraisal*, Sheed,  
Andrews and McMeel, Kansas City,  
1976.

O'Driscoll,  
Gerald P. Jr.

*Economics as a Coordination Problem:  
The Contributions of F. A. von Hayek*,  
Sheed, Andrews and McMeel, Kansas  
City, 1977.

Rizzo, Mario J. (ed)

*Time, Uncertainty and Disequilibrium*,  
Ballinger, Cambridge, Mass., 1979.

Robbins, Lionel

*Economic Planning and International  
Order*, Macmillan, London, 1937.  
*The Economic Causes of War*, Cape,  
London, 1939.

*The Economist in the Twentieth Century*,  
Macmillan, London, 1954.

*Politics and Economics*, Macmillan,  
London, 1963.

*Money, Trade and International Relations*,  
Macmillan, London, 1971.

The above works contain some of Lord  
Robbins' most interesting and  
wide-ranging essays.

Rogge, Benjamin A.

*Can Capitalism Survive?* Liberty Press,  
Indianapolis, 1978.

Ropke, Wilhelm

*Economics of the Free Society*, Henry  
Regnery, Chicago, 1963. Largely non-  
technical treatment.

- Rothbard, Murray N. *Man, Economy and State*, 2 vols., Nash Publishing, Los Angeles, 1976. Most comprehensive "Austrian" textbook available. Builds up from first principles to the most advanced aspects.
- Power and Market: Government and the Economy*, Institute for Human Studies, Menlo Park, California, 1970. Essentially the sequel to the above work. Comprehensive critique of all forms of state interference in the economy.
- The Essential von Mises*, Bramble Mini-books, Lansing, Michigan, 1973. Brief introduction and tribute to its subject. "Towards a Reconstruction of Utility and Welfare Economics", in Mary Sennholz (ed) *On Freedom and Free Enterprise* (see below).
- Sennholz, Mary (ed) *On Freedom and Free Enterprise: Essays in Honor of Ludwig von Mises*, D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 1956.
- Spadaro, Louis M. (ed) *New Directions in Austrian Economics*, Sheed, Andrews and McMeel, Kansas City, 1978. Essays on social cost, monopoly, methodology, money supply, etc.
- von Stackelberg, Heinrich *The Theory of the Market Economy*, William Hodge, London, 1952. An advanced study.
- Streissler, Erich et al (eds) *Roads to Freedom: Essays in Honour of Friedrich A. von Hayek*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1969.
- Turner, Cecil (ed) *The Case For Private Enterprise*, Bachman and Turner, London, 1979. Elementary essays.

## 2 Methodology of Economics

With the exception of the essay by Friedman cited below, the

bulk of market oriented methodological inquiry has been written from the "Austrian" Perspective.

- Friedman, Milton "The Methodology of Positive Economics", in *Essays in Positive Economics*, University of Chicago Press, 1953.
- Kirzner, Israel *The Economic Point of View*, 2nd edn. Sheed, Andrews and McMeel, Kansas City, 1976.
- Lachman, Ludwig M. *Macro-Economic Thinking and the Market Economy*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1973.
- von Mises, Ludwig *Epistemological Problems of Economics*, D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 1960.
- The Ultimate Foundation of Economic Science*, D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 1962.
- Human Action: A Treatise on Economics*, 3rd rev. edn., Henry Regnery, Chicago, 1966.
- Robbins, Lionel *An Essay on the Nature and Significance of Economic Science*, 2nd edn., Macmillan, London, 1935.
- Rothbard, Murray "In Defense of Extreme Apriorism", *Southern Economic Journal*, January, 1957.
- "Praxeology as the Method of Economics", in M. Natanson (ed), *Phenomenology and the Social Sciences*, Northwestern University Press, 1973.

## 3 The Critique of Central Planning

- Chickering, A. L. (ed) *The Politics of Planning: A Review and Critique of Centralized Economic Planning*, Institute for Contemporary Studies, San Francisco, 1976.

Hayek, Friedrich *Individualism and Economic Order*,

Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1949. Contains further essays in the themes raised in the volume edited by Hayek below.

*The Road to Serfdom*, new edn., Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1976.

(ed) *Collectivist Economic Planning: Critical Studies on the Possibilities of Socialism*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1935. Indispensable essays on the debate started by von Mises in a seminal essay included in this collection.

Hoff, Trygve

*Economic Calculation in the Socialist Society*, William Hodge, London, 1949.

Jewkes, John

*The New Ordeal by Planning: The Experience of the Forties and the Sixties*, Macmillan, London, 1968.

von Mises, Ludwig

*Socialism: An Economic and Sociological Analysis*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1951. A magisterial and devastating critique.

Robbins, Lionel

*Economic Planning and International Order*, Macmillan, London, 1937.

Schoeck, H. and Wiggins, J. W. (eds)

*Central Planning and Neomercantilism*, D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 1964.

See also the sections "Collectivism in Practice" and "Critique of Socialism, Marxism, and Collectivism".

#### 4 Money, Monetarism, Inflation and the Critique of Keynes

The following works provide the Chicago School, "monetarist", and neo-classical perspectives.

Friedman, Milton

*A Theory of the Consumption Function*, Princeton University Press, 1957  
*A Program for Monetary Stability*, Fordham University Press, New York, 1959.

(with Anna J Schwartz)

*A Monetary History of the United States, 1867-1960*, Princeton University Press, 1963.

*Dollars and Deficits*, Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1968.

*The Optimum Quantity of Money*, Aldine Publishings, Chicago, 1969.

*Monetary vs. Fiscal Policy*, W. W. Norton, 1969.

*The Counter Revolution in Monetary Theory*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1970.

*Monetary Correction*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1974.

*Unemployment vs. Inflation?* Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1975.

*Inflation and Unemployment*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1977.

(ed) *Studies in the Quantity Theory of Money*, University of Chicago Press, 1956.

*Milton Friedman's Monetary Framework*, University of Chicago Press, 1974. Critical essays with a reply by Friedman.

Gordon, Robert J. (ed)

*Inflation and Society*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1960.

Hutton, Graham

*Inflation*, John Calder, London, 1977.

Jefferson, Michael et al

Contains a useful historical survey by Jefferson as well as A. D. White's classic essay "Fiat Money Inflation in France".

Johnson, Harry

*Essays in Monetary Economics*, 2nd edn., Allen and Unwin, London, 1967.

*Further Essays in Monetary Economics*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1972.

*Selected Essays in Monetary Economics*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1978.

Johnson, Harry (with Elizabeth S. Johnson)

*The Shadow of Keynes: Understanding Keynes, Cambridge, and Keynesian Economics*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1978.

Le Roy Miller, Roger and Manne, H. G. (eds) *Gold, Money and the Law*, Aldine Publishing, Chicago, 1975.

The following work provides a "Virginia School" (see subsection 6), "economics of politics" approach to the critique of Keynesianism.

Buchanan, James and Wagner, Richard E. *Democracy in Deficit: The Political Legacy of Lord Keynes*, Academic Press, New York, 1977.

Buchanan, James M. and Wagner, Richard et al *Fiscal Responsibility in Constitutional Democracy*, Martinus Nijhoff, Leiden, 1978. Essays by Buchanan and Wagner and others providing public choice critiques of Keynesianism, budget deficits etc.

The following works largely embody the "Austrian" perspective.

Bresciani-Turroni, Constantino *The Economics of Inflation*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1937. A study of the great pre-war German inflation.

Frankel, S. Herbert *Money: Two Philosophies, The Conflict of Trust and Authority*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1978.

Greaves, Percy L. *Understanding the Dollar Crisis*, Western Islands, Belmont, Massachusetts, 1973. A general introduction to the Austrian approach to monetary economics, in spite of its somewhat misleading title.

Hayek, Friedrich *Monetary Theory and the Trade Cycle*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1933.  
*Prices and Production*, 2nd edn., Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1935.  
*Monetary Nationalism and International Stability*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1937.

Hazlitt, Henry

*Profits, Interest, and Investment*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1939.  
*The Pure Theory of Capital*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1941.  
*Full Employment at Any Price?* Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1975.  
*Choice in Currency*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1976.  
*The Denationalisation of Money*, 2nd edn., Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1978.

*What You Should Know About Inflation*, Funk & Wagnalls, New York, 1968.  
*The Inflation Crisis and How to Resolve It*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1979.  
*The Failure of the "New Economics"*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1974.  
(ed) *The Critics of Keynesian Economics*, D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 1969.

Hutt, William H.

*Keynesianism: Retrospect and Prospect*, Henry Regnery, Chicago, 1963.  
*The Rehabilitation of Say's Law*, Ohio University Press, Athens, Ohio, 1974.  
*The Theory of Idle Resources*, Liberty Press, Indianapolis, 1977.

Katz, Howard S.

*The Paper Aristocracy*, Books in Focus, New York, 1976. An illuminating integration of the Austrian approach to monetary economics with libertarian class analysis.  
*Honest Money Now: Selected Essays*, Books in Focus, New York, 1979. Popular essays.  
*The Warmongers*, Books in Focus, New York, 1979. On the role of inflation and its promoters in leading to international conflict.

- von Mises, Ludwig *The Theory of Money and Credit*, Yale University Press, 1959.  
*On the Manipulation of Money and Credit*, Free Market Books, Dobbs Ferry, New York, 1978.
- Robbins, Lionel *The Great Depression*, Macmillan, London, 1934.
- Rothbard, Murray N. *What Has Government Done To Our Money?*, 2nd edn., Rampart College, Santa Ana, California, 1974.  
*America's Great Depression*, 3rd edn., Sheed and Ward, Kansas City, 1975.  
'The Case for the 100% Gold Dollar', in L. B. Yeager (ed), *In Search of a Monetary Constitution*, Harvard University Press, 1962.  
'Money, the State, and Modern Mercantilism', in H. Schoeck and J. W. Wiggins (eds), *Central Planning and Neomercantilism*, D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 1964.
- Röpke, Wilhelm *Welfare, Freedom and Inflation*, Pall Mall Press, London, 1957.
- Sennholz, Hans F. 'Chicago Monetary Tradition in the Light of Austrian Theory', in F. Hayek et al (eds) *Toward Liberty: Essays in Honor of Ludwig von Mises . . .*, vol. 2, Institute for Humane Studies, Menlo Park, California, 1971.
- Sennholz, Hans F. (ed) *Gold is Money*, Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1975.  
"Austrian" essays in defence of the role of gold in a stable currency system.
- Sutton, Antony *The War on Gold*, Seventy Six Press, Seal Beach, California, 1977. A defence of gold backed currency and a critique of the interests opposed to hard money.

In the light of Hayek's work on the denationalisation of money, renewed interest is developing in both the theory and history of

free, unregulated private production of currency and banking services.

- Rockoff, Hugh *The Free Banking Era: A Re-Examination*, Arno Press, New York, 1975.
- Trivoli, George *The Suffolk Bank: A Study of a Free-Enterprise Clearing System*, Adam Smith Institute, London, 1979.
- Cameron, Rondo *Banking in the Early Stages of Industrialization: A Study in Comparative Economic History*, Oxford University Press, 1967. Contains some most useful and favourable material on the early free banking system in Scotland.
- Meulen, Henry *Free Banking*, 2nd edn., Macmillan, London, 1934. In spite of a somewhat 'inflationist' orientation, Meulen's study remains an interesting, but neglected, contribution.

## 5 Economics and Race

The idea that capitalism somehow requires or encourages racism is one of the most influential of socialist myths. The works listed below demonstrate that while State intervention maximises racism, the market minimises it.

- Becker, Gary *The Economics of Discrimination*, 2nd edn., University of Chicago Press, 1971.
- Horwitz, Ralph *The Political Economy of South Africa*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1967.
- Hutt, W. H. *The Economics of the Colour Bar*, André Deutsch and Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1964. A further analysis of South Africa's form of apartheid collectivism.  
'South Africa's Salvation in Classical Liberalism', in S. Pejovich and D. Klingamen (eds) *Individual Freedom:*

*Selected Works of W. H. Hutt*, Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1975.

Rabushka, Alvin

*A Theory of Racial Harmony*, University of South Carolina Press, 1974.

Sowell, Thomas

*Race and Economics*, Longman, London, 1979; David McKay, New York, 1975. *Black Education Myths and Tragedy*, David McKay, New York, 1972. A discussion of wider aspects of the issue, from a liberal perspective.

## 6 "Public Choice", the Economics of Monopoly, Regulation, Bureaucracy and Politics

The view that the market, without government intervention, is subject to increasing monopolization, that the free market is a thing of the past and that government regulation works in the public interest, has been subject to some extremely powerful criticism. Among the most notable of the critics have been the Chicago School economists who have produced detailed case studies of government intervention and regulatory machinery which have led to the development, by the so-called "Virginia School" economists, of a general theory of 'public choice', the economics of political and bureaucratic behaviour.

Armentano, D. T.

*The Myths of Antitrust*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1972. A penetrating "Austrian" analysis of the rationale for, and working of, anti-monopoly laws in America.

Brittan, Samuel

*The Economic Consequences of Democracy*, Maurice Temple Smith, London, 1977. Wide-ranging essays largely dealing with aspects of contemporary British interventionism.

Brozen, Yale (ed)

*The Competitive Economy*, General Learning Press, Morristown, New Jersey, 1975. Collection of essays refuting the mythology of increasing monopolization.

Burton, John

*The Job Support Machine: A Critique*

*of The Subsidy Morass*, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1979.

Friedman, Milton

*From Galbraith to Economic Freedom*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1977. Refutation of Galbraith's conventional wisdom.

Jewkes, John

*Delusions of Dominance*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1977. A brief analysis of some of the evidence regarding industrial concentration in America and Britain. *A Return to Free Market Economics: Essays on Government Intervention*, Macmillan, London, 1978. *Public and Private Enterprise*, Chicago University Press, 1966.

Kirzner, Israel

*Competition and Entrepreneurship*, University of Chicago Press, 1973. "Austrian" critique of the "perfect competition" concepts.

McAvoy, Paul W. (ed)

*Essays on Regulation*, W. W. Norton, New York, 1970. A useful collection of largely critical essays on the reality of state regulation in America.

McFadzean, Sir Frank

*The Economics of John Kenneth Galbraith: A Study in Fantasy*, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1977.

von Mises, Ludwig

*A Critique of Interventionism*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1977. *Bureaucracy*, Yale University Press, 1944.

Papps, Ivy

*Government and Enterprise*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1975.

Schoeck, H. and Wiggins, J. W. (eds)

*The New Argument in Economics: The Public vs. The Private Sector*, D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 1963.



- Schwartz, George *Bread and Circuses, 1945–1958*, The *Sunday Times*, London, 1959. The author's incisive liberal journalism, exposing the economic idiocies of the period, deserves to be remembered.
- Stigler, George J. *Five Lectures on Economic Problems*, Macmillan, London, 1949. Includes an important essay on the myth of declining competition.  
*The Organization of Industry*, Richard D. Irwin, Homewood, Illinois, 1968.  
*The Citizen and the State: Essays on Regulation*, University of Chicago Press, 1975. A collection of essays on the reality of regulation, and the theoretical conclusions to be drawn from its study.
- Buchanan, James and Tullock, Gordon *The Calculus of Consent*, 2nd edn., Michigan University Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1965.
- Downs, Anthony *The Economic Theory of Democracy*, Harper and Row, New York, 1965.  
*Inside Bureaucracy*, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1967.
- Garboua, L. L. (ed) *Sociological Economics*, Sage Publications, London, 1979. Contains essays by Becker, MacRae, Gintis etc.
- Leiter, R. D. and Sirkin, G. (eds) *Economics of Public Choice*, Cyrco Press, New York, 1975.
- Mueller, Dennis E. 'Public Choice: A Survey', *Journal of Economic Literature*, June, 1976.
- Mueller, Dennis C. (ed) *Public Choice*, Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Niskanen, William A. *Bureaucracy: Servant or Master?* Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1973.
- Tullock, Gordon (ed) *Politics of Bureaucracy*, Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C., 1964.

- The Vote Motive*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1976.  
*Theory of Public Choice: Political Applications of Economics*, Michigan University Press, 1972.
- (with Robert D. Tollison (eds))

## 7 Law, Crime, Property Rights, and Human Behaviour

Alongside the extension of economics into the analysis of politics and "public choice", a major development has been its application in the study of other social institutions and other aspects of human behaviour.

- Alchian, Armen, et al *The Economics of Charity*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1974.
- Becker, Gary *The Economic Approach to Human Behavior*, Chicago University Press, 1976.  
(with William M. Landes (ed)) *Essays in the Economics of Crime and Punishment*, National Bureau of Economic Research and Columbia University Press, 1974.
- Buchanan, James and Devletoglou, Nicos E. *Academia in Anarchy: An Economic Diagnosis*, Tom Stacey, London, 1972.
- Furubotn, Eirik G. and Pejovich, Svetozar (eds) *The Economics of Property Rights*, Ballinger, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1973. 1975.
- McKenzie, Richard B. and Tullock, Gordon *The New World of Economics: Explorations into the Human Experience*, Richard D. Irwin, Homewood, Illinois, 2nd edn., 1978.
- Morris, Norval and Hawkins, Gordon *The Honest Politician's Guide to Crime Control*, Chicago University Press, 1970. A "Chicagoite", liberal analysis of the subject.
- Posner, Richard *Economic Analysis of Law*, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1973.
- Rottenberg, Simon *The Economics of Crime and Punishment*,

American Enterprise Institute, New York, 1973.

Siegan, Bernard H. (ed) *The Interaction of Economics and Law*, Lexington Books, Lexington, 1978.

Tullock, Gordon *Logic of the Law*, Basic Books, New York, 1971.

Wilson, James Q. *Thinking About Crime*, Basic Books, New York, 1975. Incorporates much libertarian and free market analysis relating to the subject.

## 8 Urban Policy

Another area in which the failure of interventionist policies and planning has been conspicuous is that of urban policy. There is now a growing body of critical analysis from economists and urban sociologists.

Anderson, Martin *The Federal Bulldozer*, 2nd edn., McGraw-Hill, New York, 1967. A seminal and instructive study of the failure of governmental urban renewal in America.

Banfield, Edward C. *The Unheavenly City Revisited*, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1974. A broad analysis of social problems in the city, rather than a specific study of urban planning.

Carmichael, John *Vacant Possession*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1964. An impassioned critique of rent control.

Chickering, A. L. (ed) *No Land Is An Island: Individual Rights and Government Control of Land Use*, Institute for Contemporary Studies, San Francisco, 1975.

Denman, D. R. *The Place of Property: A New Recognition of the Function and Form of Property Rights*, Geographical Publications, London, 1977.

Gray, Hamish *The Cost of Council Housing*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1968. Includes some important general analysis of the economics of housing.

Hayek, Friedrich et al *Verdict on Rent Control*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1972. Analyses of the experience of a number of nations.

Jacobs, Jane *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1964. *The Economy of Cities*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1972. Two brilliant studies of the failure of central planning and the virtues of the decentralized and spontaneous market order.

Ling, A. G. et al *Private Capital for New Towns*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1962.

MacCallum, Spencer H. *The Art of Community*, Institute for Humane Studies, Menlo Park, California, 1970. An original discussion of proprietary communities (e.g. privately owned cities) as the solution to planning problems.

Pennance, F. G. *Housing Market Analysis and Policy*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1969.

Sergan, Bernard *Land Use Without Zoning*, Lexington Books, D. C. Heath, Lexington, Massachusetts, 1972. Seminal study of the reality of zoning and the market alternative. *Other Peoples' Property*, Lexington Books, D. C. Heath, Massachusetts, 1976.

Tremlett, George *Living Cities*, Maurice Tample Smith Ltd, London, 1979.

Walters, A. A. et al *Government and the Land*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1974.



## 9 Economics of Education

The works of E. G. West provide an overwhelming critique of the statist assertion that education has not been, and cannot be, effectively provided by the market. West combines penetrating economic analysis with both diligent historical research and a discussion of the "voucher" concept as a means of restoring educational choice.

Beale, A. C. F. et al *Education: A Framework For Choice*, 2nd edn., Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1970. A collection of essays on the significance of West's work and the "voucher" idea. Includes a reply by West.

West, E. G. *Economics, Education and the Politician*, 2nd imp., Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1968.  
*Education and the State*, 2nd edn., Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1971.  
*Education and the Industrial Revolution*, Batsford, London, 1975.  
'The Political Economy of American Public School Legislation', *Journal of Law and Economics*, October, 1967.  
'Educational Slowdown and Public Intervention in 19th Century England: A Study in the Economics of Bureaucracy', *Explorations in Economic History*, January, 1975.  
(ed) *Nonpublic School Aid: The Law, Economics and Politics of American Education*, Lexington Books, D. C. Heath, Lexington, Massachusetts, 1975.  
A collection of critical essays on West's work (principally his policy proposals) by major scholars such as Milton Friedman, James Buchanan and Murray Rothbard. West replies to each critic.

Rickenbacker,  
William F. (ed)

*The Twelve Year Sentence: Radical Views of Compulsory Schooling*. Open Court, La Salle, Illinois, 1974. A libertarian critique from the perspectives of many disciplines.

Sugarman, S. B.  
and Coons, J. E.

*Education By Choice: The Case for Family Control*, California University Press, 1978.

## 10 Development Economics

The collectivist assertion that the "Third World" is poor because of western capitalist 'exploitation' is effectively and thoroughly criticised by Prof. P. T. Bauer.

Bauer, P. T.

*Economic Analysis and Policy in Underdeveloped Countries*, Cambridge University Press, 1958.

*Indian Economic Policy and Development*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1961.

*Dissent on Development*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1971.

'Western Guilt and Third World Poverty', *Commentary* (New York, USA) January, 1976.

(with B. S. Yamey)

*The Economics of Underdeveloped Countries*, James Nisbet and Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1957.

(with B. S. Yamey)

'Against the New Economic Order', *Commentary* (New York, USA) April, 1977.

(with John  
O'Sullivan)

'Ordering the World About: The New International Economic Order', *Policy Review*, Summer, 1977.

Brunner, Karl (ed)

*The First World and the Third World: Essays on The New International Economic Order*, University of Rochester Policy Center, New York, 1978. Includes essays by P. T. Bauer, Basil Yamey, Harry Johnson etc.

Gann, Lewis H.

*Neo-Colonialism, Imperialism, and the*

'New Class', Institute for Humane Studies, Menlo Park, California, 1975. A relatively brief but devastating critique of the predominant collectivist ideas.

Johnson, Harry G.  
(ed)

*Economic Nationalism in Old and New States*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1968. An interesting analysis from the "Chicago School" perspective.

Thompson, W. Scott  
(ed)

*The Third World: Premises of U. S. Policy*, Institute for Contemporary Studies, San Francisco, 1978. Contains a wide selection of liberal essays on trade, aid, racism etc.

## 11 Pollution and Ecology

The following works provide useful correctives both to the popular fallacy that it is capitalism which is responsible for ecological problems, rather than the absence and denial of effective property rights and market pricing.

Beckman, Petr

*The Health Hazards of Not Going Nuclear*, Golem Press, Boulder, California, 1976. Masterly demolition of the distortions of the anti-nuclear lobby.

Beckerman, Wilfred

*In Defence of Economic Growth*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1974.  
*Pricing for Pollution*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1975.

Bruce-Biggs, R.

*The War Against the Automobile*, E. P. Dutton, New York, 1977. A liberal defence of the car against reactionary socialist attacks.

Copulos, Milton R.  
(ed)

*Energy Perspectives*, Heritage Foundation, Washington D.C., 1978. Concentrates largely on the technical aspects of the debate.

Dolan, Edwin G.

*TANSTAAFL: The Economic Strategy for Environmental Crisis*, Holt, Rinehart

and Winston, New York, 1971. A free market analysis of environmental issues.

Friedman, David

*Laissez Faire in Population: The Least Bad Solution*, The Population Council, New York, 1972.

Hicken, Victor

*The World is Coming to an End: An Irreverent Look at Modern Doomsayers*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1975.

Maddox, John

*The Doomsday Syndrome: An Assault on Pessimism*, Macmillan, London, 1972.  
*Beyond the Energy Crisis*, Hutchinson, London, 1975.

Two invaluable refutations of the claims of pessimistic 'ecologists'.

Miller, Roger L.

*The Economics of Energy: What Went Wrong?* William Morrow, New York, 1974.

Poole, Robert Jr.

'Reason and Ecology', in D. B. James (ed), *Outside, Looking In*, Harper and Row, New York, 1972. Excellent brief introduction to the free market solution for environmental problems.

Sutton, Antony C.

*Energy: The Created Crisis*, Books In Focus, New York, 1979.

## 12 Advertising

Backman, Jules

*Advertising and Competition*, New York University Press, 1967.

Brozen, Yale (ed)

*Advertising and Society*, New York University Press, 1974.

Harris, R.  
and Seldon, A.

*Advertising in a Free Society*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1959.

Kirzner, Israel

*Competition and Entrepreneurship*, University of Chicago Press, 1973.

### 13 "Consumerism"

- Miller, Roger L. *Economic Issues for Consumers*, West Publishing, Minnesota, 1975.
- Peterson, Mary Bennet *The Regulated Consumer*, Nash Publishing, Los Angeles, 1971.

### 14 Trade Unions, Employment and Unemployment

- Brittan, Samuel *Second Thoughts on Full Employment Policy*, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1975.
- Hanson, C. G. *Trade Unions: A Century of Privilege?* Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1973.
- Hutt, W. H. *The Strike-Threat System: The Economic Consequences of Collective Bargaining*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1973.
- The Theory of Collective Bargaining, 1930-1975*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1975.
- Joseph, Sir Keith *Conditions for Fuller Employment*, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1978.
- Lees, Dennis S. *The Economic Consequences of the Professions*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1966.
- Lincoln, J. A. *Journey to Coercion*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1964.
- Petro, Sylvester *The Labor Policy of the Free Society*, Ronald Press, New York, 1957.
- Robbins, Lord et al *Trade Unions: Public Goods or Public 'Bads'*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1978.
- Schmidt, Emerson P. *Union Power and the Public Interest*, Nash Publishing, Los Angeles, 1973.

- Simons, Henry "Reflections on Syndicalism", in *Economic Policy for a Free Society*, Chicago University Press, 1948.
- Velasco, Gustavo R. *Labor Legislation from an Economic Point of View*, Liberty Fund, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1973.
- Wood, John *How Little Unemployment*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1975.

### 15 Taxation

- Blum, Walter J. and Kalven Harry Jr. *The Uneasy Case for Progressive Taxation*, 2nd edn., University of Chicago Press, 1963.
- Bracewell-Milnes, Barry *Tax Avoidance and Evasion: The Individual and Society*, Panopticum Press, London, 1979.
- de Jouvenal, Bertrand *The Ethics of Redistribution*, Cambridge University Press, 1951.
- Myddelton, David *The Power to Destroy: A Study of the British Tax System*, Johnson Publications, London, 1969.
- Priest, A. R. et al *The State of Taxation*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1977.

### 16 Wage and Price Control

- Brittan, Sam and Lilley, Peter *The Delusion of Incomes Policy*, Maurice Temple Smith, London, 1977.
- Schuettinger, R. L. and Butler, E. F. *Forty Centuries of Wage and Price Controls: How Not to Fight Inflation*, The Heritage Foundation, Washington D.C./Caroline House Publishers, New York, 1979.
- Walker, Michael (ed) *The Illusion of Wage and Price Control*, The Fraser Institute, Vancouver, 1976.

### 17 "Market Anarchism"

Although a few of the early classical liberals and classical

economists did discuss the question of whether the market could provide all services – including such “governmental” ones as military defence, law courts, and police forces – it has only been in the last decade or so that a number of free market economists have seriously advocated and examined the feasibility of a “market anarchism”.

- Friedman, David *The Machinery of Freedom: Guide To A Radical Capitalism*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1978. An exposition from the “Chicago School” perspective, by the son of Milton Friedman.
- Martin, James J. *Men Against the State: The Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in America, 1827–1908*, Ralph Myles Publisher, Colorado Springs, 1970. Although economic errors inherited from classical economics (e.g. the labour theory of value) prevented the classic individualist anarchists from formulating an effective doctrine of market anarchism, their thought is one of the major influences upon contemporary anarcho-capitalists.
- de Molinari, Gustave *The Production of Security*, Center For Libertarian Studies, New York, 1977. A reprint of an 1849 essay by a leading French classical economist, the first economist to discuss the market provision of “governmental” services.
- Perkins, Richard and Ernestine *Precondition For Peace and Prosperity: Rational Anarchy*, R. & E. Perkins, Ontario, 1971.
- Rothbard, Murray N. *Power and Market: Government and the Economy*, Institute for Humane Studies, Menlo Park, California, 1970.  
*For A New Liberty*, Macmillan, New York, 1973.  
‘Society Without the State’, in J. R. Pennock & J. W. Chapman (eds),

*Anarchism*, New York University Press, 1978.

Tannehill, M. and L. and Wolstein, J. B.

*Society Without Government*, Arno Press, New York, 1972.

Tullock, Gordon (ed)

*Explorations in the Theory of Anarchy*, Center for the Study of Public Choice, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Virginia, 1972.

*Further Explorations in the Theory of Anarchy*, Center for the Study of Public Choice, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Virginia, 1972.

Largely critical collection of essays.

Wooldridge, William C.

*Uncle Sam, The Monopoly Man*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1970. In spite of the title, a serious and interesting study of historical examples of free market provision of judicial services, police protection, coinage, the roads, etc.

## 18 The Economics of Equality

(See also Critique of Marxism, Socialism and Collectivism, and Collectivism in Practice)

Joseph, Sir Keith and Sumpston, Jonathan

*Equality*, John Murray, 1979.

Kristol, Irving and Bauer, P. T.

*Two Essays on Income Distribution and the Open Society*, International Institute for Economic Research, California, 1977.

Polanyi, George and Wood, John

*How Much Inequality?* Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1974. An analysis of exaggerated and erroneous interpretations of statistics.

## II. PHILOSOPHY

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THE MORALITY of the free market has found ethical vindication from a number of perspectives. Alongside such modern figures as Sir Karl Popper and the late Michael Polanyi, whose philosophical endeavours contain either implicitly or explicitly much of relevance to the libertarian position, the most striking occurrence has been the revival of neo-Aristotelian, natural rights/natural law approaches. The most explicitly libertarian in motivation and result, is the "objectivist" philosophy of Ayn Rand.

- Acton, H. B.            *The Morals of Markets*, Longman and Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1971.
- Flew, Antony         *Crime or Disease*, Macmillan, London, 1973. A philosophical discussion of the sort of issues raised by psychologist Thomas Szasz in *A Rational Animal*, Oxford University Press, 1978. Essays in defence of free will.
- Barnett, R. E. and Hagel, J. III (eds)    *Assessing The Criminal: Restitution, Retribution and the Legal Process*, Ballinger, Cambridge, Mass., 1977. A pathbreaking libertarian approach to legal philosophy and criminology.
- Hazlitt, Henry        *The Foundations of Morality*, 2nd edn., Nash Publishing, Los Angeles, 1972. An interesting integration of the data of free market economics with a sort of "rule utilitarian" ethics.
- Jaffa, Harry V.      *Thomism and Aristotelianism*, University of Chicago Press, 1952.
- Lugenbahl, Dale     'The Argument for an Objective Standard of Value', *The Personalist*, Spring, 1974.

- Mack, Erick            'How to Derive Ethical Egoism', *The Personalist*, Autumn, 1971. 'Egoism and Rights', *The Personalist*, Winter, 1973.
- Matson, Wallace I.    *Sentience*, California University Press, 1977. A brief but penetrating defence of free will.
- Norton, David L.     *Personal Destinies: A Philosophy of Ethical Individualism*, Princeton University Press, 1976.
- Nozick, Robert        *Anarchy, State and Utopia*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1975. A former socialist, and now Harvard professor, Nozick's exposition of libertarianism has received widespread academic attention.
- Pirie, Madsen         *Trial and Error and the Idea of Progress*, Open Court, La Salle, Illinois, 1978. An exposition of the Popperian position and of its applicability (and libertarian implications) for progress in general.
- Rand, Ayn             *For The New Intellectual*, Signet Books, New American Library, New York, 1961. *The Virtue of Selfishness: A New Concept of Egoism*, Signet Books, New American Library, New York, 1964. *Introduction to Objectivist Epistemology*, Signet Books, New American Library, New York, 1969. *The Romantic Manifesto: A Philosophy of Literature*, New American Library, New York, 1971.
- Sampson, Geoffrey    *Liberty and Language*, Oxford University Press, 1979. A fascinating liberal critique of Noam Chomsky's linguistics and its political implications.

- Strauss, Leo *Natural Right and History*, University of Chicago Press, 1950.
- Taylor, Richard *Action and Purpose*, Harvester Press, Hassocks, 1979. An anti-mechanistic/deterministic defence of the concepts of action and purpose as essential to an understanding of human nature.
- Trigg, Roger *Reason and Commitment*, Cambridge University Press, 1973. A valuable defence of objectivity against various forms of relativism.
- Veatch, Henry B. *Rational Man: A Modern Interpretation of Aristotelian Ethics*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana, 1962.  
*Two Logics: The Conflict Between Classical and Neo-Analytic Philosophy*, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, Illinois, 1969.  
*For An Ontology of Morals: A Critique of Contemporary Ethical Theory*, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, Illinois, 1971.  
*Aristotle: A Contemporary Appreciation*, Indiana University Press, 1974.
- Opitz, Edmund A. *Religion and Capitalism: Allies Not Enemies*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1970.
- Smith, George H. *Atheism: The Case Against God*, Nash Publishing, Los Angeles, 1974.
- The above two works provide an interesting contrast in libertarian thought: Opitz arguing for the congruence of religion and capitalism, and Smith making a libertarian, rationalist case against religion.
- Polanyi, Michael *Personal Knowledge: Towards A Post-Critical Philosophy*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1951.

- Wiser, James *Knowing and Being*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1969.
- Popper, Sir Karl "Michael Polanyi: Personal Knowledge and the Promise of Autonomy", *Political Theory*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1974.
- Popper, Sir Karl *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, Hutchinson, London, 1976, 1959. Popper's classic work on the theory of knowledge and the philosophy of science.  
*Conjectures and Refutations*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1963, 1969. Essays on various topics, including the theory of knowledge. An excellent introduction to his work.  
*The Open Society and Its Enemies*, 2 vols., Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1962  
 Vol. 1. 'The Spell of Plato'  
 Vol. 2. 'The High Tide of Prophecy'.  
*The Poverty of Historicism*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1957.  
*Objective Knowledge: An Evolutionary Approach*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972.  
*Unended Quest*, Fontana/Collins, London, 1976. Popper's intellectual autobiography.
- (with Sir John Eccles) *The Self and Its Brain*, Springer International, London, 1977. A technical work on the mind-body problem, co-written with a neurobiologist.
- Schilpp, P. A. (ed) *The Philosophy of Karl Popper*, 2 vols., Open Court, La Salle, 1974. Contains 33 papers by different authors on Popper's work, together with Popper's 'Replies to my Critics' and a full bibliography of his work.
- Gray, John 'The Liberalism of Karl Popper', *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 11, No. 3, Summer, 1976.



### III. POLITICAL THOUGHT

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THE DOMINATION of collectivist and statist political ideology, whether in its Marxist or "social democratic" variants, has not gone without challenge. A broad spectrum of non-socialist thought has manifested itself within contemporary British and American conservatism, in the revival of classical liberalism, and in the more recent 'radical libertarianism'.

#### 1 Contemporary American Conservatism

"Conservatism" in political thought is properly to be identified as that tradition concerned with, and committed to, an "organic" concept of society, to tradition, hierarchy and the non-rational (and, as such, is frequently considered by classical liberals to be more akin to socialism). Contemporary conservatism, however, both in England and America, by tending to define itself by its opposition to socialism, has incorporated elements of liberalism. The balance of freedom-oriented liberalism and "tradition" or "order" oriented conservatism in particular thinkers varies considerably of course. (The degree to which such "fusions" of liberalism and conservatism are viable is up to the reader to decide.) Able representatives of the older, "Burkean" traditionalist conservatism still exist, of course.

- Buckley, William      *Up From Liberalism*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1968.  
(ed) *Did You Ever See A Dream Walking?: American Conservative Thought in the Twentieth Century*, Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, 1970.  
Buckley is the most prominent, prolific and witty representative of contemporary American conservatism.
- Kendall, Willmoore      *The Conservative Affirmation*, Henry Regnery, Chicago, 1963, 1968.  
Adherent of the more "traditionalist" Burkean conservatism.

Kirk, Russell

*The Conservative Mind*, Henry Regnery, Chicago, 1953.  
*The Roots of American Order*, Open Court, La Salle, Illinois, 1975. Kirk is the most prolific and eminent exponent of traditionalist conservatism.

Kristol, Irving

*Two Cheers For Capitalism*, Basic Books, New York, 1978. One of the major expressions of the growing neo-liberal-neo-conservative trend in American thought – the product of previously interventionist "liberal" intellectuals increasingly disillusioned with socialism.

Meyer, Frank S.

*In Defence of Freedom*, Henry Regnery, Chicago, 1962.  
*The Conservative Mainstream*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1969.  
(ed) *What Is Conservatism?* Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1964.

The leading exponent of what Meyer terms 'fusionism', i.e. the fusion of what he sees as best within both the conservative and classical liberal traditions.

Nash, George H.

*The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945*, Basic Books, New York, 1976. A massive and indispensable account of the growth of contemporary American conservatism.

Nisbet, Robert

*Twilight of Authority*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1975. A "Burkean" defence of small, decentralized organic communities against totalitarian, mass society.

Voegelin, Eric

*The New Science of Politics*, University of Chicago Press, 1952.

*Science, Politics and Gnosticism*, Henry Regnery, Chicago, 1968. Although German, Voegelin's systematic development of an anti-rationalist, "Burkean" conservative philosophy has probably made most impact in America (and is thus included in this section).  
*Anamnesis*, University of Notre Dame Press, London, 1978.

Hallowell, John H.  
 (ed)

*Eric Voegelin's From Enlightenment to Revolution*, Duke University Press, Durham, N. Carolina, 1975.

## 2 Contemporary British Conservatism

Only more recently, and less extensively, has British conservatism undergone the same penetration by liberal elements as has occurred in America.

Boyson, Rhodes (ed)

*1985: An Escape From Orwell's 1984, A Conservative Path to Freedom*, Churchill Press, London, 1975.  
*Centre Forward: A Radical Conservative Programme*, Maurice Temple Smith. London, 1978. Although still adhering to certain nationalist values, Boyson's work is illuminated by many free market insights.

Coleraine, Lord

*For Conservatives Only*, Tom Stacey, London, 1970. Incorporates a degree of liberal analysis into his approach.

Cowling, Maurice  
 (ed)

*Conservative Essay*, Cassell, London, 1978. A collection of generally traditionalist, anti-rationalist (and even anti-libertarian) essays.

Gilmour, Sir Ian

*Inside Right: A Study of Conservatism*, Hutchinson, London, 1977. A major statement by a leading Conservative of non-liberal, "pragmatic", "Burkean" conservatism.

Joseph, Sir Keith

*Reversing The Trend*, Centre For Policy Studies, London, 1975.  
*Monetarism Is Not Enough*, Centre For Policy Studies, London, 1976.  
*Stranded in the Middle Ground*, Centre For Policy Studies, London, 1976.

(with Jonathan Sumption)

*Equality*, John Murray, London, 1979. An economic as well as moral and political critique of egalitarianism.

Minogue, Kenneth

*The Liberal Mind*, Methuen, London, 1963. A largely "Burkean" critique of what the author sees as the traditional outlook of liberalism.

Oakeshott, Michael

*Experience and Its Modes*, Cambridge University Press, 1933.  
*Rationalism in Politics*, Methuen, London, 1962.  
*On Human Conduct*, Oxford University Press, 1975.

Baker, B. R. (ed)

*A Symposium on Michael Oakeshott*, Sage Publications, London, 1976. Professor Oakeshott is the most distinguished scholarly exponent of "Burkean" anti-rationalist conservatism.

Powell, J. Enoch

*A Nation Not Afraid*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1965.  
*Freedom and Reality*, B. T. Batsford, London, 1969. *Still To Decide*, B. T. Batsford, London, 1972. Although basically within the "Burkean" tradition, Powell learnt and expounded with clarity and penetration the lessons of liberal economics.

Stassinopoulos, Arianna

*The Other Revolution*, Michael Joseph, London, 1978. Although not without some liberal insights, generally takes a religious, anti-materialist stance.

## 3 Contemporary "Classical" Liberalism

Brittan, Samuel

*Left and Right: A Bogus Dilemma*, Secker



- and Warburg, London, 1968.  
*Capitalism and the Permissive Society*,  
 Macmillan, London, 1973.
- Cassirer, Ernst  
*The Myth of the State*, Yale University  
 Press, New Haven, 1946.
- Dietze, Gottfried  
*In Defense of Property*, Johns Hopkins  
 University Press, Baltimore,  
 Maryland, 1971.  
*The Federalist: A Classic on Federalism and  
 Free Government*, Johns Hopkins  
 University Press, Baltimore,  
 Maryland, 1960.  
*America's Political Dilemma: From  
 Limited to Unlimited Democracy*, Johns  
 Hopkins University Press, Baltimore,  
 Maryland, 1968.
- Friedman, Milton  
*Capitalism and Freedom*, University of  
 Chicago Press, 1962.
- Hayek, Friedrich  
*The Constitution of Liberty*, Routledge &  
 Kegan Paul, London, 1960.  
*The Road to Serfdom*, Routledge &  
 Kegan Paul, London, 1976.  
*Studies in Philosophy, Politics and  
 Economics*, Routledge & Kegan Paul,  
 London, 1967.  
*New Studies in Philosophy, Politics,  
 Economics and the History of Ideas*,  
 Routledge & Kegan Paul, London,  
 1978.  
*Law, Legislation and Liberty: A New  
 Statement of the Liberal Principles of Justice  
 and Political Economy*, 3 Vols.,  
 Routledge & Kegan Paul, London,  
 1973.  
 Vol. 1 'Rules and Order' (1973)  
 Vol. 2 'The Myth of Social Justice'  
 (1976)  
 Vol. 3 'The Political Order of the Free  
 Society' (1979)
- de Jouvenal,  
 Bertrand  
*On Power: Its Nature and the History of its  
 Growth*, Hutchinson, London, 1948.

- Sovereignty*, Cambridge University  
 Press, 1957.
- Lane, Rose Wilder  
*The Discovery of Freedom: Man's Struggle  
 Against Authority*, Arno Press, New  
 York, 1972.
- Leoni, Bruno  
*Freedom and the Law*, Nash Publishing,  
 Los Angeles, 1972. Seminal study, and  
 defense, of common law as opposed to  
 state law.
- von Mises, Ludwig  
*The Free and Prosperous Commonwealth:  
 An Exposition of the Ideas of Classical  
 Liberalism*, D. Van Nostrand,  
 Princeton, New Jersey, 1962.  
*Notes and Recollections*, Libertarian  
 Press, South Holland, Illinois, 1978.
- Morley, Felix (ed)  
*Essays on Individuality*, Liberty Press,  
 Indianapolis, Indiana, 1977.
- Moss, Robert  
*The Collapse of Democracy*, 2nd edn.,  
 Abacus, London, 1977. An important  
 attempt to analyse the contemporary  
 political situation in this country and  
 the options open to liberals.
- Pejovich, S. and  
 Klingaman, D. (eds)  
*Individual Freedom: Selected Works of  
 W. H. Hu'tt*, Greenwood Press,  
 Westport, Connecticut, 1975.
- Röpke, Wilhelm  
*The Social Crisis of Our Time*, William  
 Hodge, London, 1950. 1978 repr. of  
 1950 ed. Hyperion Conn.  
*A Humane Economy: The Social Framework  
 of the Free Market*, Liberty Fund,  
 Indianapolis, 1971.  
*Against The Tide*, Henry Regnery,  
 Chicago, 1970. 1969. Röpke's position  
 is more to the conservative end of the  
 liberal spectrum.
- Streissler, E. (ed)  
*Roads To Freedom: Essays in Honour of  
 Friedrich A. Von Hayek*, Routledge &  
 Kegan Paul, London, 1969.

#### 4 Libertarianism

- Blumenfeld, Samuel (ed) *Property in a Human Economy*, Open Court, La Salle, Illinois, 1974.
- Branden, Nathaniel and Barbara *Who is Ayn Rand?*, Random House, New York, 1962.
- Browne, Harry *How I Found Freedom In An Unfree World*, Macmillan, New York, 1973. A best-selling elementary introduction particularly concerned with issues of immediate self-liberation.
- Devine, Donald J. *Does Freedom Work: Liberty and Justice in America*, Caroline House Books, Green Hill Publishers, Ottawa, Illinois, 1978. A defence of the justice of the free market society in the light of both theory and its results in reality.
- Friedman, David *The Machinery of Freedom: Guide To A Radical Capitalism*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, 1978.
- Hospers, John *Libertarianism: A Political Philosophy For Tomorrow*, Nash Publishing, Los Angeles, 1971.
- Machan, Tibor *Human Rights and Human Liberties*, Nelson-Hall, Chicago, 1975.  
"Freedom Through Capitalism", in D. B. James (ed) *Outside Looking In*, Harper and Row, New York, 1972.  
(ed) *The Libertarian Alternative*, Nelson-Hall, Chicago, 1974.
- Nozick, Robert *Anarchy, State and Utopia*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1975.
- Rand, Ayn *Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal*, New American Library, New York, 1967.  
*The New Left: The Anti-Industrial Revolution*, New American Library, New York, 1971.  
*Anthem*, New American Library, New York, 1961.

*We The Living*, New American Library, New York, 1959.

*The Fountainhead*, Panther Books, London, 1961.

*Atlas Shrugged*, New American Library, New York, 1957.

The last four works present Ms Rand's philosophy in fictional form. (See the Philosophy section for other works).

Rothbard,  
Murray N.

*For A New Liberty*, 2nd edn., Collier-Macmillan, New York, 1973.

*Egalitarianism As A Revolt Against Nature*, Libertarian Review Press, Washington, D.C., 1974.

"Capitalism Versus Statism", in D. B. James (ed) *Outside Looking In*, Harper and Row, New York, 1972.

Tannehill, M. & L.  
and Wollstein, J. B.

*Society Without Government*, Arno Press, New York, 1972.

Tuccille, Jerome

*Radical Libertarianism: A New Political Alternative*, 2nd edn., Harper and Row, New York, 1971.

*Who's Afraid of 1984? The Case for Optimism*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1975.

*Here Comes Immortality*, Stein and Day, New York, 1973.

## IV. PSYCHOLOGY

AFTER THE long dual reign of the orthodoxies of behaviourism and Freudianism, two variants of a deterministic view of humanity which denied its capacity for free and self-responsible action, there has been a vigorous renaissance within psychology and psychotherapy of viewpoints reaffirming autonomy, responsibility and freedom.

- Adler, Mortimer J. *What Man Has Made of Man*, John Calder, London, 1957.
- von Bertalanffy, Ludwig *Robots, Men and Mind*, George Braziller, New York, 1967. An effective critique of deterministic reductionism.
- Branden, Nathaniel *The Psychology of Self-Esteem*, Bantam Books, New York, 1971.  
*Breaking Free*, Bantam Books, New York, 1972.  
*The Disowned Self*, Bantam Books, New York, 1973.  
 "Psychotherapy and the Objectivist Ethics", in B. A. Ard, Jr (ed), *Counseling and Psychotherapy: Classics in Theories and Issues*, Science and Behaviour Books, Palo Alto, California, 1966.  
 'On the Concept of Mental Health', *The Personalist*, Summer, 1973.  
 Dr Branden offers probably the most systematic, philosophically consistent and explicitly libertarian non-determinist psychology.
- Cioffi, Frank 'Freud and the Idea of a Pseudo-Science', in Robert Borger and Frank Cioffi (eds), *Explanation in the Behavioural Sciences*, Cambridge University Press, 1970.

- Goble, Frank G. *The Third Force: The Psychology of Abraham Maslow*, Grossman, New York, 1970. A useful introduction to the thought of one of the most prominent of the 'humanist' psychologists.
- Hayek, Friedrich *The Sensory Order: An Inquiry Into the Foundations of Theoretical Psychology*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1952.
- Koestler, Arthur *Janus: A Summing up*. Hutchinson, London, 1978. A useful introduction to Koestler's anti-determinist, anti-reductionist approach.
- Koestler, Arthur and Smythies, J. R. (eds) *Beyond Reductionism*, Hutchinson, London, 1969. A useful introduction to the wider critique of reductionism and determinism in biology and the life sciences.
- Kittrie, Nicholas N. *The Right To Be Different: Deviance and Enforced Therapy*, John Hopkins University Press, 1972. A useful study, although not as radical as Szasz's work (see below).
- La Pierre, Richard *The Freudian Ethic*, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, 1959. An effective liberal critique of the ethical, social and political consequence of Freudian doctrine.
- Machan, Tibor *The Pseudo Science of B F Skinner*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1974. A devastating critique of Skinner's version of behaviourism.
- Maslow, Abraham *Motivation and Personality*, 2nd edn., Harper and Row, New York, 1970.  
*Toward a Psychology of Being*, 2nd edn., D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 1968.
- Morgan, Patricia *Childcare: Sense and Fable*, Temple

- Smith, London, 1974. Critique of environmentalist views on the determining influence of early childhood experience.  
*Delinquent Fantasies*, Temple Smith, 1978.
- Ringer, Robert J. *Looking Out For Number One*, Funk and Wagnall, New York, 1977. A lively guide to psychological individualism, drawing on contemporary libertarian writers.
- Salter, Andrew *The Case Against Psychoanalysis*, Henry Holt, New York, 1952. An effective dissection, in spite of the untenability of the author's own behaviourist position.
- Schoeck, H. and Wiggins, J. W. (eds) *Psychiatry and Responsibility*, D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 1962.
- Szasz, Thomas *The Myth of Mental Illness*, Paladin Books, London, 1972.  
*The Second Sin*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1974.  
*The Manufacture of Madness*, Paladin Books, London, 1973.  
*Ideology and Insanity*, Penguin, 1974.  
*Law, Liberty and Psychiatry*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1974.  
*Ceremonial Chemistry*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1975.  
*Schizophrenia: The Sacred Symbol of Psychiatry*, Oxford University Press, 1979.  
*The Theology of Medicine: The Political and Philosophical Foundation of Medical Ethics*, Oxford University Press, 1979.  
*The Ethics of Psychoanalysis: The Theory and Method of Autonomous Psychotherapy*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1974. 1973.

- Williams, Roger J. *Free and Unequal: The Biological Basis of Individual Liberty*, University of Texas Press, Austin, Texas, 1953.  
*Biochemical Individuality*, John Wiley, New York, 1963.  
*You Are Extraordinary*, Random House, New York, 1967.

*Ideology and Insanity: Essays on the Psychiatric Dehumanization of Man*; Calder and Boyars, London, 1973.  
*Karl Kraus and the Soul Doctors: A Pioneer Critic and His Criticism of Psychiatry and Psychoanalysis*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1977.  
(ed) *The Age of Madness: The History of Involuntary Mental Hospitalization Presented in Selected Texts*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1975.

Szasz is the most well known in this country of the American libertarian psychologists. His numerous works, only a few of which are listed here, offer a wide ranging critique of the misuse of psychology and psychiatry for political and ideological purposes, and stress the desirable, humane character of the voluntary, market relationship.

## V. SOCIOLOGY

IT MIGHT well be argued that sociology is inherently collectivistic and anti-libertarian. Certainly, many of its concepts embody clear anti-individualistic normative elements, and the mainstream of sociological thought has largely been holistic, deterministic, and collectivist in its methodology, analysis, and policy prescription. However, there have always existed both maverick critics and a dissenting tradition (sometimes associated with Max Weber) of "methodological individualism", critical of "scientism" and of determinism, and of collectivist values and policy.

- Andreski, Stanislaw *The Uses of Comparative Sociology*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1964.  
*Social Sciences as Sorcery*, Andre Deutsch, London, 1972; Penguin, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1974.  
*Parasitism and Subversion: The Case of Latin America*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1966.  
*The African Predicament: A Study in the Pathology of Modernization*, Atherton Press, New York, 1968.  
*Military Organization and Society*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 2nd edn, 1968.  
 In spite of certain errors regarding economics and the market, these works contain brilliant and biting criticisms of the nonsense in sociology and much incisive liberal analysis.
- Atkinson, Dick *Orthodox Consensus and Radical Alternative: A Study in Sociological Theory*, Heinemann Educational Books, London, 1971. An important attempt to delineate an individualistic sociology, fortunately not marred by

the author's apparent 'New Left' sympathies.

- Bramson, Leon *The Political Context of Sociology*, Princeton University Press, 2nd edn., 1966. Although not rejecting various collectivist assumptions, the author provides an interesting demonstration of the highly value-laden collectivist and conservative assumptions implicit in much sociology.
- Eberling, Richard M. (ed) *The Political Economy of Liberal Corporatism*. Center for Libertarian Studies, New York, 1977. Valuable essays demonstrating the superiority of libertarian over Marxist class analysis and dealing with the role of business in promoting statism.
- Flew, Antony *Sociology, Equality and Education*, Macmillan, London, 1976. Incisive critical essays.
- Goodman, Mary Ellen *The Individual and Culture*, The Dorsey Press, Homewood, Illinois, 1967. On the limitations of socialisation.
- Green, Arnold W. 'The Reified Villain', *Social Research*, Winter, 1968. A pithy rejection of the "society is to blame" school of determinism.  
*Sociology*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1972.  
*Social Problems: Arena of Conflict*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1974.
- Hayek, Friedrich *The Counter Revolution of Science*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1952. A major work in the history of ideas and in criticism of "scientism", the illegitimate transfer of the supposed methods of the natural sciences to the study of humanity.
- Harré, R. and *The Explanation of Social Behaviour*,

- Secord, P. F. Blackwell, Oxford, 1972. Defends a volitional, role-playing view of the person against the deterministic view.
- Hobbs, Albert H. *The Claims of Sociology: A Critique of Textbooks*, Stackpole Company, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1951. *Social Problems and Scientism*, Stackpole Company, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1953.
- Hollis, Martin *Models of Man: Philosophical Thoughts on Social Action*, Cambridge University Press, 1977. An important critique of determinism.
- Ions, Edmund *Against Behaviouralism: A Critique of Behavioural Science*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1977. A wide ranging critique of various forms of determinism and scientism in the social sciences.
- Jarvie, I. C. *The Revolution in Anthropology*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1964. *Concepts and Society*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1972. Two works in the methodological individualist tradition. The latter also contains a useful bibliography.
- Lachmann, Ludwig M. *The Legacy of Max Weber*, Heinemann, London, 1970.
- Matson, Floyd *The Broken Image: Man, Science and Society*, George Braziller, New York, 1964.
- Menger, Carl *Problems of Economics and Sociology*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois, 1963. A neglected but important statement by a founder of 'Austrian' economics of the methodological individualist position.
- Nock, Albert Jay *Our Enemy, the State*, Free Life Editions,

- New York, 1972. A pioneering work of libertarian class analysis. Also contains a useful introduction and bibliography by free market economist Walter Grinder.
- O'Neill, John (ed) *Modes of Individualism and Collectivism*, Heinemann Educational Books, London, 1973. Although edited by a neo-Marxist and hence biased both in its editorial comments and its selection of essays, this anthology contains a number of the essays of Professor John W. N. Watkins, a major exponent of methodological individualism.
- Polanyi, Michael *The Study of Man*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1959. A brief but effective attack on determinism.
- Rothbard, Murray N. 'The Mantle of Science', in H. Schoeck and J. W. Wiggins (eds), *Scientism and Values* (see below). A critique of "scientism".
- Salomon, Albert *The Tyranny of Progress: Reflections on the Origins of Sociology*, Noonday Press, New York, 1955.
- Schoeck, Helmut *Envy: A Theory of Social Behaviour*, Secker and Warburg, London, 1969. A major study of a significantly ignored aspect of social existence.
- Schoeck, Helmut and Wiggins, James W. (eds) *Scientism and Values*, D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 1960. *Relativism and the Study of Man*, D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 1961.
- Schwarz, Benjamin 'The Socio-Historic Approach', *World Politics*, October, 1955. A brief but penetrating critique of holism and determinism.
- Wrong, Dennis *Skeptical Sociology*, Heinemann

Educational Books, London, 1977.  
Contains some important critical  
examinations of structural-  
functionalism, including Wrong's  
major essay 'The Over-Socialized  
Conception of Man'.

## VI. HISTORY

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IN SPITE of the ever more widespread activity of Marxist and socialist scholars within the historical profession, and the baneful influence of the anti-capitalist and anti-libertarian mythology they propagate, there has been little work from a systematic liberal perspective. On some topics, however, the collectivist point of view has not gone completely unchallenged.

### 1 The Industrial Revolution: Myth and Reality

Collectivist distortions regarding the Industrial Revolution and the early stages of the evolution of capitalist society have been immensely influential. Fortunately, on this topic at least, a relatively vigorous body of scholarship has arisen to challenge the socialist conventional wisdom.

- Ashton, T. S.                    *The Industrial Revolution, 1760–1830*,  
Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Buer, Mabel C.                *Health, Wealth and Population in the early  
days of the Industrial Revolution:  
1760–1815*, Routledge & Kegan Paul,  
London, 1926.
- Hartwell, R. M.                *The Industrial Revolution and Economic  
Growth*, Methuen, London, 1971.  
et al, *The Long Debate on Poverty*, 2nd  
Imp., Institute of Economic Affairs,  
London, 1974.
- Hayek, Friedrich  
(ed)                                *Capitalism and the Historians*, Routledge  
& Kegan Paul, London, 1954.
- Hutt, W. H.                     'The Poor Who Were With Us',  
*Encounter*, November, 1972.

### 2 General Economic History

- Chamberlain, John            *The Enterprising Americans: A Business  
History of the United States*, Harper and  
Row, New York, 1974.

Hughes, Jonathan *The Vital Few: American Economic Progress and Its Protagonists*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1973. The popular portrayal of the American businessman as a rapacious "robber baron" has fortunately been subject to growing scholarly challenge. These two works provide accessible introductions to the subject.

Kolko, Gabriel *The Triumph of Conservatism*, Quadrangle Books, Chicago, 1967. *Railroads and Regulation*, W. W. Norton, New York, 1965. Although a Marxist "New Left" historian, Kolko's pathbreaking work actually undercuts Marxism and has been taken up by many libertarian scholars. Kolko demonstrates how American big business and financial interests sought political intervention in the economy to suppress an increasingly competitive market.

North, Douglas and Thomas, Robert *The Rise of the Western World: A New Economic History*, Cambridge University Press, 1973. A seminal work applying the free market perspective to the broad course of economic history.

Weinstein, James *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State, 1900-1918*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1968. Another New Left historian, Weinstein shows how big business interests promoted interventionist/statist "liberalism" in order to destroy the free market.

### 3 Imperialism

Fieldhouse, D. K. *Economics and Empire 1830-1914*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1973. A useful corrective to Marxist interpretations.

Hammond, Richard J. 'Economic Imperialism: Sidelights on a Stereotype', *Journal of Economic History*, December 1961.

Landes, David S. 'The Nature of Economic Imperialism', *Journal of Economic History*, December 1961.

Schumpeter, Joseph A. *Imperialism and Social Classes*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1951. A classic exercise in non-Marxist historical interpretation and class analysis.

### 4 Some Liberal Perspectives

Bridbury, A. R. *Historians and the Open Society*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1972. In spite of some errors regarding economics, an interesting attempt to apply a basically liberal perspective to a range of historical issues.

Carson, Clarence B. *The Fateful Turn: From Individualism to Collectivism, 1880-1960*, Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, 1963. *The Flight From Reality*, Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, 1969. *Throttling the Railroads*, Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, 1971. *The American Tradition*, Foundation for Economic Education, New York, 1970. Explicitly Liberal analyses of American economic, political and intellectual history.

Chamberlain, John *The Roots of Capitalism*, rev. edn., D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 1965.

Marina, William *Egalitarianism and Empire*, Institute for Humane Studies, Menlo Park, California, 1975. A brief but incisive paper on the historical role of what the



- author terms the 'E' factors: equality, envy, egalitarianism, and empire.
- Martin, James J. *Revisionist Viewpoints: Essays in a Dissident Historical Tradition*, Ralph Myles Publisher, Colorado Springs, 1971. Wide ranging essays informed by a radical libertarian perspective.
- Roche, George Charles *Legacy of Freedom*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1969. A not entirely successful attempt to produce an Actonian history of freedom.
- Rothbard, Murray *Conceived in Liberty*, 4 Vols., Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1975-1976.  
Vol. 1, 'A New Land, A New People, The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century' (1975).  
Vol. 2, "'Salutory Neglect". The American Colonies in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century'. (1975).  
Vol. 3, 'Advance to Revolution, 1760-1775' (1976).  
Vol. 4, 'The Revolutionary War, 1775-1784' (1979). An exciting and impressive attempt to write an explicitly libertarian history of colonial and revolutionary America.
- Rothbard, Murray and Radosh, Ronald (eds) *A New History of Leviathan*, E. P. Dutton, New York, 1972. A co-operative venture between a libertarian and a "New Left" socialist historian, and similar contributors. An important historical analysis of the role of American big business in utilizing the state to suppress the free market and gain special privilege by promoting socialism and government intervention in the economy.
- Rougier, Louis *The Genius of the West*, Nash Publishing, Los Angeles, 1971. An interesting

- analysis of the intellectual and cultural roots and development of Western capitalist society.
- Sutton, Antony *Wall Street and the Bolshevick Revolution*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1974.  
*Wall Street and FDR*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1975.  
*Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*, '76 Press, Seal Beach, California, 1976. From an explicitly *laissez-faire* libertarian position Professor Sutton records the way in which some capitalists, in financing various socialist and statist movements, have frequently been the worst enemies of capitalism. Pathbreaking works in both historical and class analysis.
- Schuettinger, Robert *Lord Acton: Historian of Liberty*, Open Court, La Salle, Illinois, 1976.

## 5 Philosophy of History

- Berlin, Sir Isaiah 'Historical Inevitability', in *Four Essays on Liberty*, Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Leff, Gordon *History and Social Theory*, Merlin Press, London, 1969. An unfortunately neglected but extremely important, clearly written application of methodological individualism to history.
- von Mises, Ludwig *Theory and History*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1958.
- Popper, Sir Karl *The Poverty of Historicism*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1957.
- Rickert, Heinrich *Science and History: A Critique of Positivist Epistemology*, D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 1962.

von Wright, Georg  
Henrik

*Explanation and Understanding*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1971. A technical but important neo-Aristotelian defence of the concept of purpose in the humane studies and history.

## VII. THE CRITIQUE OF MARXISM, SOCIALISM AND COLLECTIVISM

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The following works present a diverse range of critical perspectives.

- Acton, H. B.                    *What Marx Really Said*, Macdonald, London, 1967.  
                                      *The Illusion of the Epoch*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1967.
- Aron, Raymond                *History and the Dialectic of Violence*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1975. A liberal critique of Sartre's brand of Marxian coercive collectivism.
- Barzun, Jacques              *Race: A Study in Superstition*, rev. edn., Harper and Row, New York, 1965. A penetrating liberal critique of racial collectivism, the lowest form of socialism. See also Ayn Rand's essay 'Racism', in her *The Virtue of Selfishness* (q.v.), and Ashley Montagu's book, listed below.
- Bober, M. M.                  *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History*, 2nd edn., W. W. Norton, New York, 1965.
- von Bohm-Bawerk, Eugen    *The Exploitation Theory of Socialism-Communism*, 3rd edn., Libertarian Press, South Holland, Illinois, 1975. Important extract from *Capital and Interest*, the magnum opus of one of the founders of 'Austrian' Economics. *Shorter Classics*, Vol. 1, Libertarian Press, South Holland, Illinois, 1962. Includes the author's classic critique, 'Unresolved Contradiction in the Marxian Economic System'.

- Dematteis, P. B. *Max Stirner Versus Karl Marx*, Revisionist Press, New York, 1975. One need not accept the whole of Stirner's philosophy to perceive the cogency of much of his critique of collectivism.
- Eastman, Max *Marxism, Is It Science?*, Norton, New York, 1940. *Reflections on the Failure of Socialism*, Devin-Adair, Old Greenwich, Connecticut, 1955.
- Gray, Alexander *The Socialist Tradition*, 2nd edn., Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1947. A witty, critical history.
- Haberler, Gottfried 'Marxist Economics in Retrospect and Prospect', in M. Drakovitch (ed), *Marxist Ideology in the Contemporary World*, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1966.
- Joseph, H. W. B. *The Labour Theory of Value in Karl Marx*, Oxford University Press, 1923.
- Kedourie, Elie *Nationalism*, Hutchinson, London, rev. edn, 1961. A valuable liberal critique of nationalism.
- Kelsen, Hans *The Communist Theory of Law*, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1955. Includes critical analyses of both Marxist theory of state and law and of historical materialism.
- Leff, Gordon *The Tyranny of Concepts: A Critique of Marxism*, rev. edn., Merlin Press, London, 1969.
- Lindbeck, Assar *The Political Economy of the New Left: An Outsider's View*, second edition, Harper and Row, New York, 1977.
- McFadden, Charles J. *The Philosophy of Communism*, Benziger Brothers, New York, 1966. Although

- the author is a Catholic, the bulk of his arguments do not depend on acceptance of his religion.
- von Mises, Ludwig *Socialism: An Economic and Sociological Analysis*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1951. *The Anti-Capitalistic Mentality*, D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 1956.
- Mitrany, David *Marx Against the Peasant: A Study in Social Dogmatism*. University of North Carolina Press, 1951. Although not by a libertarian, and not without erroneous elements, this work is an incisive critique of Marxist theory and practice on this issue – and with interesting implications for liberal policy proposals.
- Montagu, Ashley *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race*, 5th edn., Oxford University Press, London, 1974. 1975.
- Plamenatz, John *German Marxism and Russian Communism*, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1954.
- Popper, Karl *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, 2 vols., Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1962. Vol. 1 'The Spell of Plato'. Vol. 2 'The High Tide of Prophecy'.
- Rand, Ayn *The New Left: The Anti-Industrial Revolution*, New American Library, New York, 1971.
- Roberts, Paul Craig and Stephenson, R. A. *Marx's Theory of Exchange, Alienation and Crisis*, Hoover Institute, Stanford, 1973.
- Rothbard, Murray N. *Freedon, Inequality, Primitivism, and the Division of Labour*, Institute for Humane Studies, Menlo Park, California, 1971.

- Schumpeter, Joseph A. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1943. In spite of some serious errors (in both ethics, economics and social analysis) nevertheless contains some excellent critical analysis of Marxism and socialism.
- Schwarzschild, Leopold *The Red Prussian: The Life and Legend of Karl Marx*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1948. One of the best, and most critical, biographies of Marx.
- Seliger, Martin *The Marxist Conception of Ideology*, Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Wesson, Robert G. *Why Marxism? The Continuing Success of a Failed Theory*, Maurice Temple Smith, London, 1976.
- Wright, David McCord *The Trouble with Marx*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1967.
- Zitta, Victor *George Lukacs' Marxism: Alienation, Dialectics, Revolution, A Study in Utopia and Ideology*, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1964. A neglected but major critique of Marxism in general, as well as of Lukacs' variant.

See also the entries in "The Critique of Central Planning", and "Public Choice . . ." (in the Economics section) and "Collectivism in Practice".

## VIII. COLLECTIVISM IN PRACTICE

IN SPITE of the manifest repeated failures in practice of every form of collectivism – a failure measured by an immense cost in war, death, torture, starvation, tyranny, poverty and misery – it would seem that there are those who will never learn from history. Yet some do, and the realities of collectivism in practice are worth spelling out.

### 1 The Soviet Union

- Conquest, Robert *The Nation Killers*, Macmillan, London, 1970.  
*The Great Terror*, Macmillan, London, 1973.  
*The Soviet Deportation of Nationalities*, Macmillan, London, 1960.  
*Kolyma: The Arctic Death Camps*, Macmillan, London, 1978.
- Dallin, David J. and Nicolaevsky, Boris *Forced Labour in the Soviet Union*, Hollis and Carter, London, 1948.
- Keller, Werner *Are the Russians Ten Feet Tall?* Thames and Hudson, London, 1961. A journalistic but nevertheless important analysis of the sterility of the Communist system.
- Lyons, Eugene *Assignment in Utopia*, Harrap, London, 1938.  
*Workers' Paradise Lost; Fifty Years of Soviet Communism: A Balance Sheet*, Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1967.
- Matthew, Mervyn *Privilege in the Soviet Union*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1978.
- Nutter, G. Warren *The Strange World of Ivan Ivanov*, World

- Publ. Co., New York, 1969. An attempt to convey the reality of life for the average Soviet citizen.
- Polanyi, Michael *The Contempt of Freedom: The Russian Experiment and After*, Watts and Co., London, 1940. Important essays on the reality of the Soviet Union and its general significance. This path-breaking essay on the nature of Soviet planning laid the basis for Paul Craig Roberts' work.
- Roberts, Paul Craig *Alienation and the Soviet Economy*, New Mexico University Press, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1971. One of the most important studies of the nature of the Soviet economy.
- Rupert, Raphael *A Hidden World*, Collins, London, 1963.
- Solzhenitsyn, Alexander *The Gulag Archipelago*, 3 vols., Fontana Books, London, 1974, 1975, 1979.
- Yanowitch, Murray *Social and Economic Inequality in the Soviet Union*, Martin Robertson, London, 1977.
- Sutton, Antony C. *Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development*, 3 Vols., Hoover Institution, Stanford, 1968, 1971, 1973.  
 Vol. 1 '1917 to 1930' (1968)  
 Vol. 2 '1930 to 1945' (1971)  
 Vol. 3 '1945 to 1965' (1973)  
 The definitive examination of the Soviet economy demonstrating its totally parasitic dependence upon Western capitalism.  
*National Suicide: Military Aid to the Soviet Union*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1973. Similar discussion of the extent of even Western military assistance to the Soviet Union.

## 2 China

- Chu, Valentin *The Inside Story of Communist China*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1964.
- Labín, Suzanne *The Anthill: The Human Condition in Communist China*, Praeger, New York, 1960.
- Leys, Simon *The Chairman's New Clothes: Mao and the Cultural Revolution*. Alison and Busby, London, 1977.  
*Chinese Shadows*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1978.  
 Leys is one of the few critically oriented, non-naive observers of China.
- Loh, Robert *Escape from Red China*, Michael Joseph, London, 1963.
- Pasqualini, Jean (Bao Ru Wang) and Chelminski, Rudolph *Prisoner of Mao*, Andre Deutsch, London, 1975; Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1976.
- Priestly, K. E. *Workers of China*, Ampersand Books, London, 1964.
- Ridley, C. P., Godwin, P. H. B. and Doolin, D. J. *The Making of a Model Citizen in Communist China*, Hoover Institution, Stanford, 1971.
- Walker, Richard L. *China Under Communism: The First Five Years*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1956

## 3 National Socialist Germany

- Mayer, Milton *They Thought They Were Free: The Germans, 1933-45*, 2nd edn., University Press of Chicago, 1966.
- von Mises, Ludwig *Omnipotent Government: The Rise of the Total State and Total War*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1969.

- Roberts, Stephen *The House That Hitler Built*, Methuen, London, 1936.
- Schoenbaum, David *Hitler's Social Revolution*, Doubleday, Garden City, New York, 1966.
- Stolper, Gustav *The German Economy: 1870 to the Present*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1967. The chapter in this excellent general history on the nature of National Socialist economic policy is probably the best introduction to the topic.
- Weber, Eugene *Varieties of Fascism: Doctrines of Revolution in the Twentieth Century*, Anvil Paperback; D. Van Nostrand, New York, 1969. An excellent and penetrating introduction to the ideas of the many European national socialist and fascist movements.

#### 4 General

- Barron, John and Paul, Anthony *Peace With Horror: The Untold Story of Communist Genocide in Cambodia*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1977.
- Baudin, Louis *A Socialist Empire: The Incas of Peru*, D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 1961. A valuable reminder that economic planning and socialism is the system of the past – not the future.
- Cassinelli, C. W. *Total Revolution: A Comparative Study of Germany Under Hitler, the Soviet Union Under Stalin, and China Under Mao*, Clio Books, Santa Barbara, California, 1976.
- Chamberlain, William Henry *A False Utopia: Collectivism in Theory and Practice*, Duckworth, London, 1937.
- Huntford, Roland *The New Totalitarians*, Allen Lane, London, 1975. An important dissection of Sweden's allegedly democratic socialist system.

- Ponchaud, Francois *Cambodia: Year Zero*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1978.
- Twight, Charlotte *America's Emerging Fascist Economy*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1975. A major study by a free market economist of the emergence of the national socialist form of collectivism in America.
- Wassenarr, A. D. *Assault on Private Enterprise*, Tafelberg Publishers, Cape Town, 1977. An eminent South African businessman's critique of the extent of his country's socialism (although alas not dealing with its major component, the apartheid system). See also the South African libertarian publication *The Individualist*, listed in the Appendix.

# APPENDIX USEFUL ADDRESSES

## 1 Academic Bodies and Research Institutes

The Adam Smith Club,  
C/o 2 Lord North Street,  
London, S.W.1

Holds monthly meetings, addressed by leading academics.  
Discussion forum on classical liberal and libertarian subjects.

Adam Smith Institute,  
50 Westminster Mansions,  
Little Smith Street,  
London, S.W.1

A new research institute engaged both in publishing and the organization of seminars and courses. Also issues a 'Monthly Bulletin'.

American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research,  
1150 Seventeenth Street,  
North West,  
Washington, D.C. 20036,  
U.S.A.

Although obviously primarily concerned with American problems and policies, a number of its papers and studies are of interest from a British perspective. Also publishes a number of interesting journals, including *Regulation*.

British North American Research Association,  
1 Gough Square,  
London EC4A 3DE

Research body concerned with a liberal approach to Anglo-American trade and economic relations and problems. Issues a number of publications.

Campus Studies Institute,  
11722 Sorrento Valley Road,  
San Diego,  
California 92121,  
U.S.A.

A research and educational body directing its efforts largely to undergraduate level students. Has produced the excellent book, documentary film, and study course *The Incredible Bread Machine*. Also

publishes a monthly tabloid newspaper, *Ink*, and an irregular scholarly journal *The Occasional Review*.

Cato Institute,  
1700 Montgomery Street,  
San Francisco,  
California 94111,  
U.S.A.

Organizes a wide range of high level academic activities as well as publishing monographs and journals.

Centre for Independent Education,  
P.O. Box 2256,  
Wichita,  
Kansas 67201,  
U.S.A.

In addition to seminars and research, the Centre publishes a wide range of pamphlets, papers, and books on the libertarian approach to education. The perspectives of many disciplines are utilized: economics, history, ethics, sociology, law, etc.

Centre For Independent Studies,  
P.O. Box 32,  
Turramura,  
New South Wales, 2074,  
Australia

A new research body planning to publish liberal scholarship in a number of disciplines.

Center For Libertarian Studies,  
200 West 58th Street,  
Suite 5D,  
New York 10019,  
U.S.A.

The leading body for contemporary radical libertarian scholarship in all disciplines. As well as sponsoring various seminars and conferences, it publishes papers, monographs, a high quality, quarterly scholarly journal, *The Journal of Libertarian Studies: An Interdisciplinary Review*, and two newsletters, *Austrian Economics Newsletter* and *In Pursuit of Liberty*.

Center for Research in Government Policy and Business,  
Dewey Hall,  
Room 278,  
University of Rochester,  
Rochester,  
New York, 14627,  
U.S.A.

A new research body. Will be publishing book-length studies.

Center for the Study of Public Choice,  
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University,  
Blacksburg,  
Virginia 24061,  
U.S.A.

The home of the so-called "Virginia School", a challenging extension to all aspects of human behaviour (including the economics of politics and "public choice") of the "Chicago School" economic approach. Publishes a quarterly journal, *Public Choice*, as well as a number of major books and monographs.

Council of American Affairs,  
1785 Massachusetts Avenue,  
North West,  
Washington, D.C. 20036,  
U.S.A.

Conservative oriented policy research body. Publishes a high quality quarterly journal, *The Journal of Social and Political Affairs*, and a number of monographs on major policy issues.

Committee For Monetary Research and Education,  
P.O. Box 1630,  
Greenwich,  
Connecticut 06830,  
U.S.A.

Issues a number of monographs and books on monetary issues, as well as issuing a Newsletter and organizing seminars.

Economic Research Council,  
C/o 55 Park Lane,  
London W1Y 3DH

Issues a number of publications as well as organizing occasional seminars. Also publishes *Britain and Overseas*, a quarterly journal advocating a liberal policy in the area of foreign trade.

ESSRA School of Economic Studies,  
177 Vauxhall Bridge Road,  
London, S.W.1

Organizes courses promoting Henry George's variant of economic liberalism (which advocated a single tax on land). Also publishes a journal, *Land and Liberty*, devoted to the subject.

Ethics and Public Policy Center,  
1211 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.,  
Washington, D.C. 20036,  
U.S.A.

Connected to Georgetown University. Publishes monographs on ethical and policy issues.

The Foundation for Economic Education,  
Irvington-on-Hudson,  
New York 10533,  
U.S.A.

Essentially educational body focusing its efforts upon the intelligent layman and undergraduate-level student. Publishes a monthly digest-size journal, *The Freeman* (available free) which, while somewhat elementary in approach, usually features at least one scholarly item in each issue.

The Fraser Institute,  
626 Bute Street,  
Vancouver,  
British Columbia,  
Canada V6E 3M1

The Canadian equivalent of Britain's Institute of Economic Affairs. Publishes a rapidly growing number of studies of contemporary economic problems and policies, some of which will also be of interest to the non-Canadian reader.

The Free Market Foundation,  
57 Glenhove Road,  
Melrose, 216,  
South Africa

Concerned with promoting the free market against South African socialism, both in its economic and racial collectivist manifestations. Associated with *The Individualist* magazine (q.v.).

Heritage Foundation,  
513, C. Street, N.E.,  
Washington, D.C. 20002,  
U.S.A.

A conservative policy study body. Publishes a very wide range of reports and papers as well as a quarterly journal, *Policy Review*.

Hillsdale College,  
Hillsdale,  
Michigan 49242,  
U.S.A.

Small but dynamic and high quality liberal arts college with a distinct classical liberal orientation. Publishes a number of interesting books in history, economics and social criticism, a free monthly newsletter, *Imprimis*, and tape cassettes of scholarly seminars.

Hoover Institution for the Study of War, Revolution and Peace,  
Stanford University,  
Stanford,  
California 94305,  
U.S.A.



As well as its research activities, publishes a number of major scholarly studies.

Institute for Contemporary Studies,  
260 California Street,  
San Francisco,  
California 94111,  
U.S.A.

Publishes scholarly studies of economic problems and policies, some of which are of interest to non-American readers, as well as a magazine *Taxing and Spending*.

Institute of Economic Affairs,  
2 Lord North Street,  
London, S.W.1.

The major source of Classical Liberal and market-oriented economic studies in Britain. Virtually single-handedly responsible for the shifting of direction of academic and informed public opinion on numerous issues. Publishes a steady stream of scholarly and lucid papers and books on contemporary economic problems and policies.

Institute For Humane Studies,  
1177 University Drive,  
Menlo Park,  
California 94025,  
U.S.A.

A very active research, educational, and publishing body. Provides research fellowships and scholarships at its library, organises conferences and seminars, and publishes numerous valuable academic papers and books in all disciplines. Its 'Law and Liberty' research project also issues a 'Law and Liberty' newsletter. The Institute's orientation is very much toward 'Austrian' economics and the revival of Liberal revisionist historical approaches.

Institute for Law and Policy Analysis,  
Suite 305,  
First Center Building,  
Winston-Salem,  
North Carolina 27104,  
U.S.A.

New research body concerned particularly with issues of labour law and history.

Institute For the Study of Conflict,  
12A Golden Square,  
London, W.C.2.

Publishes a wide range of valuable studies of foreign affairs, political conflict, and subversion.

Intercollegiate Studies Institute,  
14 South Bryn Mawr Avenue,  
Bryn Mawr,  
Pennsylvania 19010,  
U.S.A.

Organises regular scholarly seminars and summer schools. Makes available a number of lectures on videocassette. Publishes an interesting quarterly academic journal, *The Intercollegiate Review*, which features both classical liberal-free market and 'Burkean' conservative material, and *The Academic Reviewer*, an irregular review of academic books.

International Centre for Economic Policy Studies,  
20 West 40 Street,  
New York,  
New York 10018,  
U.S.A.

A new research body similar to the IEA. Publishes monographs on various economic issues.

International Institute for Economic Research,  
Westwood Center,  
Suite 1625,  
1100 Glendon Drive,  
Los Angeles,  
California 90024,  
U.S.A.

Publishes a number of both original and reprinted papers on economic issues.

Law and Economics Center,  
University of Miami School of Law,  
P.O. Box 248000,  
Coral Gables,  
Florida 33124,  
U.S.A.

Concerned with inter-relationship of law and economics. Issues a number of monographs on the subject.

Libertarian Law Council,  
14652 Deervale Place,  
Sherman Oaks,  
California 91403,  
U.S.A.

Issues an occasional newsletter, *Libertarian Law Notes*.

Lincoln Institute For Research and Education,  
1735 De Sales Street, N.W.,  
Washington, D.C. 20036,  
U.S.A.

A new research body concerned with the relevance of the free market for blacks. Also publishes a quarterly journal, *Lincoln Review*.

Carl Menger Society,  
c/o 52 Shaftesbury Avenue,  
London, W.1.

Organises regular meetings and conferences on the Austrian tradition of political economy.

Rockford College,  
Rockford,  
Illinois 61101,  
U.S.A.

Another small but vigorous liberal arts college with classical liberal and – perhaps more markedly – ‘Burkean’ conservative leanings. Publishes a monthly newsletter, *Widening Horizons*, as well as a series of polemical pamphlets, “The Rockford Papers”.

Thomas Jefferson Research Center,  
1143 North Lake Avenue,  
Pasadena,  
California 91104,  
U.S.A.

Concerned with the wider social and economic relevance of humanistic psychology. Publishes reports and books on community self-help, character education and leadership skills, human potential, etc. Also publishes a *Research Letter*.

Trade Policy Research Institute,  
1 Gough Square,  
London EC4A 3DA

Concerned with a liberal approach to issues of international trade. Issues a range of books and monographs on related issues.

## 2 Journals and Magazines

*The Academic Reviewer*, q.v. Intercollegiate Studies Institute.

*Access to Energy*,  
P.O. Box 2298,  
Boulder,  
Colorado 80302,  
U.S.A.

Indispensable monthly source of accurate, scientific information refuting the anti-capitalist and technophobic distortions of collectivists and hysterical ecologists. Edited by Petr Beckman,

author of the recent work *The Health Hazards of Not Going Nuclear*.

*Against the Wall*,  
P.O. Box 444,  
Westfield,  
New Jersey 07091,  
U.S.A.

Mimeographed monthly magazine, featuring New Left writers as well as libertarians.

*An American Spectator*,  
P.O. Box 8771,  
Bloomington,  
Indiana 47401,  
U.S.A.

Generally interesting and stimulating mixture of classical liberal and conservative commentary and articles. Monthly.

*Austrian Economics Newsletter*, q.v. Centre for Libertarian Studies. Reviews, brief essays and news of developments in “Austrian” economics.

*Britain and Overseas*, q.v. Economic Research Council.

*Dandelion*,  
1985 Selby Avenue,  
St. Paul,  
Minnesota 55104,  
U.S.A.

Quarterly magazine in the tradition of classic American individualist anarchism.

*Ego*,  
Box 31312,  
San Francisco,  
California, 94131,  
U.S.A.

Quarterly journal of heroic-romantic fiction, poetry, and drama, and libertarian commentary.

*Encounter*,  
59 St. Martin's Lane,  
London, W.C.2.

Probably the only high quality general intellectual journal in this country not dominated by Marxists and socialists. Good on politics, philosophy, etc. but unfortunately weak on economics.

*The Freeman*, q.v. Foundation for Economic Education.

*Free Life*,  
C/o 40 Floral Street,  
Covent Garden,  
London, W.C.2.

Britain's only libertarian magazine, the quarterly journal of the  
Libertarian Alliance.

*The Free Nation*,  
11 Grape Street,  
London, W.C.2.

Lively fortnightly tabloid newspaper of the Freedom Association.

*Frontlines*,  
P.O. Box 40105,  
Santa Barbara,  
California 93103,  
U.S.A.

Non-sectarian Newsletter reporting on the development of the  
libertarian movement in America.

*Human Events*,  
The Congressional Building,  
422 First Street,  
South East,  
Washington, D.C. 20003,  
U.S.A.

National conservative weekly tabloid newspaper. Its coverage of  
certain economic and political issues is frequently of interest to the  
non-American reader.

*Imprimis*, q.v. Hillsdale College.

*Index on Censorship*,  
21 Russell Street,  
Covent Garden,  
London WC2B 5HP

Quarterly journal dealing with censorship throughout the world.

*Individual Liberty*, q.v. Society for Individual Liberty.

*The Individualist*,  
57 Glenhove Road,  
Melrose,  
2196,  
South Africa

With both English and Afrikaans material, this journal opposes both  
economic and racial collectivism and the statist, interventionist  
Establishment of South Africa.

*Ink*, q.v. Campus Studies Institute.

*In Pursuit of Liberty*, q.v. Centre for Libertarian Studies.  
General news and reviews regarding the growth of libertarian  
scholarship.

*Inquiry*,  
P.O. Box 19270,  
Washington, D.C. 20036,  
U.S.A.

High quality glossy weekly magazine featuring both libertarian and  
classical liberal writers as well as New Left writers concerned with  
aspects of liberty, focuses especially on 'civil liberties' and foreign  
policy issues.

*Journal of Law and Economics*,  
University of Chicago,  
1111 East 60th Street,  
Chicago,  
Illinois 60637,  
U.S.A.

Excellent quarterly scholarly journal embodying "Chicago School"  
economic analysis. The amount of seminal and major scholarship  
that has appeared in its pages is virtually unparalleled. Indispensable  
for the serious student of economics.

*Journal of Libertarian Studies*, q.v. Center for Libertarian Studies.

*Journal of Social and Political Affairs*, q.v. Council of American  
Affairs.

*Land and Liberty*, q.v. ESSRA School of Economic Studies.

*Law and Liberty*, q.v. Institute for Humane Studies.

*Libertarian Connection*,  
Lisa Dawn,  
Dawn Enterprises,  
Box 90913,  
Worldway Postal Center,  
Los Angeles,  
California 90009,  
U.S.A.

Lively mimeographed "underground" libertarian magazine,  
consisting entirely of readers' polemical exchanges on countless  
subjects.

*Libertarian Forum*,  
Box 341,  
New York,

New York 10010,  
U.S.A.

Monthly newsletter edited by Professor Murray Rothbard. Lively and stimulating political commentary, polemic and scholarship.

*Libertarian Law Notes*, q.v. Libertarian Law Council.

*Lincoln Review*, q.v. Lincoln Institute.

*Literature of Liberty: A Review of Contemporary Liberal Thought*,  
Cato Institute,  
1700 Montgomery Street,  
San Francisco,  
California 94111,  
U.S.A.

A quarterly journal which provides abstracts of scholarly work relevant to libertarian concerns, as well as lengthy bibliographical essay in each issue.

*Mercury*,  
2401 Arlington Boulevard,  
Suite 14,  
Charlottesville,  
Virginia 22903,  
U.S.A.

Bi-monthly, digest type magazine. Libertarian ideas expressed in popular general interest articles for the non-scholar.

*Minus One*,  
Basement Flat,  
91 Talbot Road, London W.11

An occasional mimeographed review of "Stirnerite" thought.

*Modern Age*,  
14 South Bryn Mawr Avenue,  
Bryn Mawr,  
Pennsylvania 19010,  
U.S.A.

Excellent quarterly scholarly journal. Generally conservative in its political, philosophical and cultural contributions, but also featuring libertarian and classical liberal contributions, especially in economics.

*National Review*,  
150 East 35th Street,  
New York,  
New York 10016,  
U.S.A.

Leading American conservative magazine, edited by William J. Buckley. A witty polemic against America's 'liberal' establishment.

*New Guard*,  
Young Americans For Freedom,  
Box 65,  
Woodland,  
Virginia 22170,  
U.S.A.

Monthly magazine of this conservative youth organisation. Includes some free market perspectives.

*New Individualist Review*,  
Box 1776,  
Chicago,  
Illinois 60690,  
U.S.A.

Leading classical liberal scholarly journal (featuring contributions from Hayek, Von Mises, Friedman, etc.) published from 1961 to 1968.

*New Libertarian Weekly*,  
Box 1748,  
Long Beach,  
California 90801,  
U.S.A.

Lively news and review weekly.

*Notes From the Underground*,  
Franson Publications,  
4291 Van Dyke Place,  
San Diego,  
California 92116,  
U.S.A.

Irregular publication of diverse libertarian views.

*The Objectivist*,  
C/o Palo Alto Book Service,  
200 California Avenue,  
Palo Alto,  
California 94306,  
U.S.A.

Published monthly from 1962 to 1971 and edited by Ayn Rand, this journal contains a plethora of incisive intellectual analysis from the radical, 'Objectivist' perspective. Essays on moral and political philosophy, epistemology, aesthetics and literature, social criticism, psychology and psychotherapy.

*The Occasional Review*, q.v. Campus Studies Institute.

*Patterns of Prejudice*,  
Institute of Jewish Affairs,

13-16 Jacob's Well Mews,  
George Street,  
London, W.1.

Bi-monthly. The best journal exposing, analysing and criticizing racist and national socialist groups.

*Peace Plans,*  
7 Oxley Street,  
Berrima,  
New South Wales,  
Australia 2577

Irregularly issued survey of libertarian and liberal ideas. Now published in microfiche only, but traditionally printed back issues still available.

*The Personalist,*  
The School of Philosophy,  
University of Southern California,  
Los Angeles,  
California 90007,  
U.S.A.

Edited by John Hospers, the eminent philosopher, this quarterly, scholarly journal has provided a much needed outlet for philosophical essays by libertarians and objectivists.

*Policy Review,*  
The Heritage Foundation,  
513 C Street,  
North East,  
Washington, D.C. 20002,  
U.S.A.

Quarterly journal of conservative, anti-communist and classical liberal policy analysis.

*The Political Science Reviewer,*  
14 South Bryn Mawr Avenue,  
Bryn Mawr,  
Pennsylvania 19010,  
U.S.A.

An annual journal of article-length reviews of recent books on law and politics, on the classical political philosophers, and on leading political science textbooks. Basically conservative or classical liberal perspectives.

*The Public Interest,*  
National Affairs, Inc.,  
10 East 53rd Street,

New York,  
New York 10022,  
U.S.A.

Quarterly journal of scholarly analysis and policy studies emanating from American "revisionist liberals", ie formerly socialist/interventionist academics who now recognize the failure of statist and collectivist policies.

*Reason,*  
Box 40105,  
Santa Barbara,  
California 93103,  
U.S.A.

Glossy, large-circulation monthly libertarian magazine. Features a wide range of both topical articles and theoretical essays.

*Reason Papers: A Journal of Interdisciplinary Normative Studies,*  
Department of Philosophy,  
State University College at Fredonia,  
New York 14063,  
U.S.A.

Irregularly issued, high quality journal of libertarian scholarship.

*Regulation,* q.v. American Enterprise Institute.  
Bi-monthly journal dealing with the issue of government regulation of the economy.

*The Samizdat Bulletin,*  
P.O. Box 6128,  
San Mateo,  
California 94403,  
U.S.A.

Monthly anthology of translations from Eastern European samizdat publications.

*St. Croix Review,*  
Religion and Society, Inc.,  
P.O. Box 244,  
Stillwater,  
Minnesota 55082,  
U.S.A.

Christian and Conservative orientation, but featuring contributions from the classical liberal and market economic perspective.

*Soviet Jewish Affairs,*  
Institute of Jewish Affairs,  
13-16 Jacob's Well Mews,  
George Street,  
London, W.1.

Informative twice-yearly journal on this subject.

*Taxing and Spending*, q.v. Institute for Contemporary Studies.  
Published five times per year. Essays on various aspects of taxation  
and state expenditure.

*The University Bookman*,  
P.O. Box 3070,  
Grand Central Station,  
New York,  
New York 10017,  
U.S.A.

Small, quarterly review of new books, edited by 'Burkean'  
conservative, Russell Kirk.

*Widening Horizons*, q.v. Rockford College.

*The World Economy*, q.v. Trade Policy Research Centre.  
A quarterly academic journal on international economic affairs, with  
a basically liberal orientation.

*World Money Analyst*,  
302 Ting Sun Commercial Centre,  
200 Lockhart Road,  
Wanchai, Hong Kong

Actually an investors' review, but containing a great deal of incisive  
general economic analysis and commentary.

### 3 Political Organizations and Pressure Groups

A number of political organizations and pressure groups publish  
material of interest. Needless to say, inclusion in this list in no way  
implies the approval of the author or the publisher.

Aims: The Free Enterprise Organization,  
40 Doughty Place,  
London WC1N 2LF

Issues a large number of booklets and pamphlets on various political  
and economic issues.

Amnesty International,  
10 Southampton Street,  
London WC2E 7HF

Publishes a wide range of reports regarding individual freedom and  
its repression throughout the world.

Association of Libertarian Feminists,  
41 Union Square West,

Suite 1428,  
New York,  
New York 10003,  
U.S.A.

Concerned with a libertarian approach to the subject and countering  
fallacious collectivist and statist nostrums. Issues a newsletter as well  
as pamphlets.

Friends of Education Voucher Experiment in Representative  
Regions, (FEVER)  
The Hon. Sec.,  
11 Foxbush,  
Hildenborough,  
Nr. Tonbridge,  
Kent

Pressure group to promote the educational voucher idea.

Libertarian Alliance,  
c/o 40 Floral Street,  
Covent Garden,  
London, W.C.2.

Issues pamphlets on various subjects as well as a quarterly magazine,  
*Free Life*.

Libertarian Health Association,  
8316 Arlington Boulevard,  
Suite 232,  
Fairfax,  
Virginia 22031,  
U.S.A.

Concerned with a libertarian analysis of the provision of health  
services. Publishes "Vital Signs", a newsletter.

The Libertarian Party,  
National Headquarter,  
1516 P Street,  
Washington, N.W., D.C. 20005,  
U.S.A.

America's third party. Publishes a newspaper as well as various issue  
papers.

Minority Rights Group,  
Benjamin Franklin House,  
36 Craven Street,  
London WC2N 5NG

Publishes a wide range of reports on minority groups – and their  
persecution – throughout the world.

National Right to Work Legal Defence Foundation,  
8316 Arlington Boulevard,  
Suite 600,  
Fairfax,  
Virginia 22038,  
U.S.A.

Concerned with union coercion and the closed shop. Issues various publications of relevance to contemporary British issues.

The Salisbury Group,  
14 Lord North Street,  
London, S.W.1.

More traditionalist Conservative group. Issues a number of pamphlets on current issues.

The Selsdon Group,  
170 Sloane Street,  
London, S.W.1.

A pressure group within the Conservative Party for more economically liberal policies. Publishes a number of pamphlets and reports.

Society for Individual Liberty,  
P.O. Box 1147,  
Warminster,  
Pennsylvania 18974,  
U.S.A.

Issues a wide range of pamphlets, as well as a newsletter, *Individual Liberty*.

Society for Libertarian Life,  
Box 4,  
Fullerton,  
California 92632,  
U.S.A.

Publishes a number of pamphlets and booklets as well as posters and badges.

Students for a Libertarian Society,  
1620 Montgomery Street,  
San Francisco,  
California 94111,  
U.S.A.

Publishes a newspaper as well as position papers and other items.

Women's Campaign For Soviet Jewry,  
148 Granville Road,  
London N.W.2.

Issues a number of informative leaflets as well as organizing positive campaign.

## 4 Bookshop

Because of the extreme difficulty in obtaining classical liberal, free market and libertarian materials, a bookshop has recently been set up. The shop is attempting to build up a completely comprehensive, non-sectarian stock of libertarian literature – books, magazines, pamphlets. It will be acting as subscription agent for virtually all the magazines listed herein as well as stocking material totally unavailable elsewhere.

The Alternative Bookshop,  
40 Floral Street,  
Covent Garden,  
London, W.C.2.

'phone: 01-836-8371