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## ABSTRACT

This booklet introduces students to a wide range of works of classical liberal scholarship. The works described can be used in researching term papers, theses, and dissertations; each book and article provides valuable insights and information that can make the difference between an "A" and a "B" paper. The tradition of classical liberalism reflects the thought of individuals who value peace, individual liberty and freedom of thought, speech, and action. This annotated bibliography provides a brief introduction to works with the following divisions: (1) "The Heritage of Classical Liberalism"; (2) "History"; (3) "Economics"; (4) "Philosophy and Social Theory"; (5) "Property Rights"; and (6) "Selected Issues" (which include: the environment, urban issues; race and ethnic conflict; international trade and relations; poverty and self-help; economic development; social analysis; cartels--business and labor; depressions, monetary policy and economic cycles; the industrial revolution; feminism; public goods; privatization; law and the "Free Society"; education; health, safety, and regulation; personal liberties; freedom of expression; socialism and state economic planning; liberty and languages; war and peace; and polycentric law). (EH)

# A Guide to Classical Liberal Scholarship

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**IHS The Institute for Humane Studies**  
**at George Mason University**



*A Guide to*  
*Classical Liberal Scholarship*

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## Introduction

This booklet is intended to introduce students to the wide range of classical liberal scholarship. More important, the works described can be used in researching term papers, theses, and dissertations; each book and article provides valuable insights and information that can make the difference between an "A" paper and a "B" paper. Further, they provide opportunities to combine school work with attaining a richer understanding of social, economic, and political processes.

The tradition of classical liberalism reflects the thoughts of men and women who value peace, individual liberty, and freedom of thought, speech, and action. It is represented in the world of action by American revolutionaries such as Thomas Paine and George Mason, by the Jeffersonian Republicans and the Jacksonian "Loco Focos," by French free traders and peace activists such as Frédéric Bastiat and Gustave de Molinari, by English free trade anti-imperialists such as Richard Cobden and John Bright, and by countless others who have devoted their efforts to the cause of human liberty. In the history of ideas, classical liberalism is represented by scholars and other intellectuals as diverse as Immanuel Kant and Wilhelm von Humboldt, Adam Smith and Isabel Paterson, Madame de Staël and Albert Jay Nock.

The distinction between the worlds of action and ideas is not as clear as this might suggest, however, for each has affected the other. Thought and reflection are actions in the world; they change the world as they reflect it. Classical liberalism remains a continuing force both in political life (broadly speaking) and in intellectual life. Indeed, recent years have seen a remarkable efflorescence of classical liberal thought, as the world has begun to recover from the collectivist nightmares of the twentieth century, nightmares brought on by the eclipse of classical liberalism toward the end of the last century and its replacement by various nationalist, racist, collectivist, and statist ideologies.

Thinkers such as the Nobel Laureates F. A. Hayek, Milton Friedman, and James Buchanan, who have carried the tradition of classical liberalism through the middle years of the century, are being joined by hundreds of

younger intellectuals, journalists, and academics at universities, publications, and think-tanks around the world. A large and growing international network of scholars is advancing the frontiers of thought in many disciplines, from anthropology to economics to history to jurisprudence. These advances have been reflected in the growing trend toward denationalization and privatization of state-owned industries around the world—from the former communist bloc to South America to Africa to North America and western Europe; in the growing awareness of the importance of individual rights and the rule of law in legal systems around the world; and in the struggles over freedom of trade.

The agenda for social, economic, and political change is increasingly being set by classical liberal thinkers.

But the conflict between liberty and power is far from over. Indeed, as the English historian Lord Acton characterized it, the struggle may be perpetual; in his *Lectures on Modern History*, Acton stated, “The passion for power over others can never cease to threaten mankind, and is always sure of finding new and unforeseen allies in continuing its martyrology.” The contest between liberty and power involves every thinking person.

It is a contest in which the student has a special place. The writing of a term paper or an essay in a college newspaper, the publication of a journal article or book, the making of a public speech—all can contribute to the process of substituting liberty for coercion, production and exchange for violence and “redistribution,” peace for war. The advancement of our understanding of the spontaneous and voluntary ordering of complex social systems, of the historical development of liberty, of the “hidden” history of voluntary mutual aid and self-help, and of many other questions will find its true realization in the changes in social and political processes they bring about.

This introductory guide to scholarship serves as an invitation to join an active international community of scholars dedicated to the classical liberal ideals of liberty, justice, and peace. The topics and works described below will suggest many research programs for students. A topic researched for an undergraduate term paper often becomes the basis for a doctoral dissertation, launching a successful career in the world of academia. Or it can shape a career of a journalist, a lawyer, a policy-maker, or a member of the clergy.

***A Guide to Classical Liberal Scholarship* will prove rewarding to students at both the graduate and undergraduate levels. Many works listed will introduce the reader to an exciting new world of thought and scholarship. Others provide concise answers to specialized problems. In either case, this guide is a valuable tool for student scholarship. The guide provides by no means a complete listing of works in the classical liberal tradition, nor a comprehensive overview of what is an expanding and evolving tradition. The pleasure is left to the user of following up on the ideas, citations, research suggestions, clues, leads, and opportunities presented by the works listed in this modest guide.**

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## About the Institute for Humane Studies

The Institute for Humane Studies is an independent scholarly center promoting the study of liberty across a broad range of academic and professional disciplines. The Institute is firmly grounded in the principles of classical liberalism, which include the recognition of inalienable individual rights and the dignity and worth of each individual; protection of those rights through the institutions of private property, contract, and the rule of law, and through freely evolved intermediary institutions; and the advocacy of the ideal of voluntarism in all human relations, including support for the virtues of the unhampered market mechanism in economic affairs and the goals of free trade, free migration, and peace.

The Institute's particular interest is in the humane sciences, those disciplines that traditionally deal with the moral and economic choices involved in human affairs. The concept of liberty, including the presumption of freedom of choice, is clearly central to those disciplines. Among them are included history, jurisprudence, economics and political economy, moral and political philosophy, psychology, and sociology.

All qualified individuals are considered for Institute programs without regard to race, creed, color, gender, national or ethnic origin, or handicap.

Among the programs of the Institute are the Claude R. Lambe Fellowships, which offer financial support to undergraduate and graduate students, the Felix Morley Memorial Prizes for college-age journalism, which reward outstanding published articles and essays; and the Liberty & Society summer seminars, which present an interdisciplinary one-week introduction to classical liberal thought. Through our affiliate based in Paris, IHS Europe, IHS offers seminars and other programs throughout Europe. Close cooperation is also maintained with similar organizations offering seminars in many languages.

Of special interest to readers of this guide may be the *Humane Studies Review (HSR)*, an interdisciplinary review of "cutting-edge" scholarship that bears on the concerns of peace and individual liberty. *HSR* is published three times during the North American academic year. Each issue contains a bibliographical review essay, which offers a concise guide to the literature in a field and suggestions for research papers; a

**“Current Issues” feature, which identifies an urgent problem in one of the humane sciences and suggests opportunities for research and writing; and a review of one or more important recent books. In addition, each issue contains several pages of “Crosscurrents,” short “mini-essays” that bring to the reader’s attention new books, journal articles, or intellectual controversies, with suggestions for exploiting the opportunities they represent.**

**Many of the books cited in this Guide, in addition to hundreds of others, are available through Laissez Faire Books, a division of the Center for Independent Thought. For a free catalog, write to Laissez Faire Books, 938 Howard Street, #202, San Francisco, CA 94103, or call 1-800-326-0996, or send a faxed request to 1-415-541-0597.**

## THE HERITAGE OF CLASSICAL LIBERALISM

“What Is Still American in the Political Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson?” by Joyce Appleby in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 39 (April 1982). Appleby reveals the liberalism of Jefferson, who was strongly influenced by the French liberal Destutt de Tracy, and critically examines competing interpretations of Jefferson as a “classical republican.”

*On Classical Liberalism and Libertarianism*, by Norman P. Barry (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1987). A useful overview of liberalism that includes modern figures.

*Western Liberalism: A History in Documents from Locke to Croce*, ed. by E. K. Bramsted and K. J. Melhuish (New York: Longman, 1978). A valuable selection of original sources on liberal thought; includes translations of French, German, and Italian works.

*New Individualist Review* (1961-1968; reprint; Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1981). Contains excellent essays on the lives and thought of influential classical liberals, including Benjamin Constant and Wilhelm von Humboldt (both by historian Ralph Raico).

*The Origins of English Individualism*, by Alan Macfarlane (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978). Macfarlane, an anthropologist and historian, demonstrates that individualism and the market order are not recent inventions, but have roots stretching far back into history. This work overturns the traditional division of the history of the west into starkly distinguished “feudal” and “capitalist” periods.

*The Levellers in the English Revolution*, ed. by G. E. Aylmer (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975). Valuable collection of documents in the history of liberalism; includes Richard Overton’s important essay, “An Arrow Against All Tyrants,” which presents the case for each person’s “self ownership” as a foundation for property rights.

*The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, by Bernard Bailyn (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967). Bailyn shows the sources of American Revolutionary thought, placing special emphasis on the libertarian ideas of Trenchard and Gordon.

*Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s*, by Joyce Appleby (New York: New York University Press, 1984). An important contribution to our understanding of the liberal, anti-statist program of the Jeffersonian Republicans. Appleby has refuted the interpretations of the Jeffersonians as "classical republicans" uninfluenced by the ideas of liberalism.

*The Transatlantic Persuasion: The Liberal Democratic Mind in the Age of Gladstone*, by Robert Kelley (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969). An examination of cosmopolitan liberalism and the movement for free trade.

*Benjamin Constant and the Making of Modern Liberalism*, by Stephen Holmes (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984). A sympathetic study of a great French liberal thinker.

*The British Political Tradition*, vol. 1, "The Rise of Collectivism," 1983; vol. 2, "The Ideological Heritage," 1983; vol. 3, "A Much Governed Nation," parts 1 and 2, 1987, by W. H. Greenleaf (New York: Methuen). A magisterial work on the development of British political thought, framed by the conflict between libertarianism and collectivism. Important for understanding the development of liberalism in English speaking countries.

*Individualism and Nationalism in American Ideology*, by Yehoshua Arieli (Baltimore: Penguin, 1966). Arieli shows the growth of Lockean liberalism in the new American republic and the later conflict between statist nationalism and liberalism.

*Cato's Letters*, ed. by Ronald Hamowy (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1994). This is a newly edited and annotated edition of the enormously important set of pamphlets and essays by the radical Whig authors John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, who popularized the classical liberal ideas of John Locke. These essays were especially important in the spread of revolutionary ideas in America.

*The Scottish Enlightenment and the Theory of Spontaneous Order*, by Ronald Hamowy (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987). A valuable overview of the scientific advances made toward our understanding of social order by the thinkers of the Scottish Enlightenment, including Adam Ferguson, Bernard Mandeville, David Hume, and Adam Smith.

*All Mankind is One: A Study of the Disputation Between Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in 1550 on the Intellectual and Religious Capacity of the American Indians*, by Lewis Hanke (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974). A detailed and useful study of one of the most important chapters in the history of the emergence of the ideas of inalienable individual rights. The early pioneers of classical liberalism in the Spanish School of Salamanca not only developed advanced theories of the market, but also of the universally valid individual human rights on which free markets rest.

## HISTORY

*The European Miracle*, by E. L. Jones (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981). A remarkable book that shows how the political fragmentation (or “anarchy”) of Europe provided the conditions for economic growth, as principalities competed among each other for merchants. Compares Europe with Asia, India, and the Ottoman Empire.

*Freedom and Domination*, by Alexander Rustow (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980). A wide ranging critique of culture by a prominent German classical liberal opponent of Hitler. An excellent starting place for the study of the history of freedom.

*How the West Grew Rich*, by Nathan Rosenberg and L. E. Birdzell, Jr. (New York: Basic Books, 1986). Shows the role of liberty and free movement of labor, capital, and ideas in lifting the masses of the population out of poverty.

*Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition*, by Harold J. Berman (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983). This sweeping historical work offers a rich understanding of the development of the western legal system, including such concepts as the rule of law. Berman shows how the competition among overlapping jurisdictions and sources of law (for example, urban law, feudal law, canon law, manorial law, folk law, mercantile law, and royal law) resulted in the emergence of liberty in the West.

*Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Growth of Trade*, by Henri Pirenne (1925; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974). This important work by a renowned Belgian historian shows the roots of western liberty in the formation of the medieval cities and revolutionary communes, which were based on trade and production rather than feudal exploitation.

*Capitalism and the Historians*, ed. by F. A. Hayek (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954). An important work that explodes many myths about the industrial revolution.

*Crisis and Leviathan: Critical Episodes in the Growth of American Government*, by Robert Higgs (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). A widely respected economic historian shows how American government has grown in the twentieth century. Includes useful presentations of various theories of state growth; the chapters on the political economy of war are especially valuable.

*Modern Times: The World from the Twenties to the Nineties*, by Paul Johnson (New York: Harper Collins, 1991). A history of the rise of the twentieth century state and its powers of destruction.

*The Decline of American Liberalism*, by Arthur Ekirch (New York: Atheneum, 1955). Displays the effects on liberalism of the growth of the welfare-warfare state.

*The Triumph of Conservatism*, by Gabriel Kolko (New York: Free Press, 1963). Shows how the economic regulations of the "Progressive" Era stemmed from the attempts by business groups to escape from market competition and garner monopolies and privileges through government regulation.

## ECONOMICS

*The Fallacy of the Mixed Economy*, by Stephen Littlechild (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1979; 2nd ed., London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 1986). A short and readable critique of economic policy.

*Principles of Economics*, by Carl Menger (1871; New York: New York University Press, 1981). The classic statement of economic theory by the founder of the Austrian school of economics.

*Tomorrow, Capitalism*, by Henri Lepage (La Salle, Ill.: Open Court, 1982). An exciting introduction to the new political economy; Lepage provides a very readable introduction to the economics of property rights, public choice economics, the “new economic history,” resource economics, and more.

*The Wealth of Nations*, by Adam Smith (1776; Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1981). The classic work on economics that changed the world. Demonstrated the value of division of labor, market exchange, and the spontaneously ordered “great society.”

*A Treatise on Political Economy*, by Jean-Baptiste Say (1821; New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1971). The classic treatise of the leading French economist. Includes the statement of “Say’s Law,” which demonstrates that there can be no general “overproduction” in a market economy with a free price system, as each good produced creates effective demand for other goods.

*Human Action*, by Ludwig von Mises (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949; 3d rev. ed., Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1966). The masterwork of one of the greatest of the Austrian economists; starts with first principles and proceeds to such topics as the price system, monetary economics, business cycles, and economic calculation.

*Economics in One Lesson*, by Henry Hazlitt (1946; rev. ed., New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1985). A very readable introduction to economic thinking, focusing on the crucial insight of the “seen and the unseen.”

*University Economics: Elements of Inquiry*, by Armen A. Alchian and William R. Allen (3d ed., Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1972). This well written and accessible textbook is undoubtedly one of the best available introductions to economics. It is thorough, clear, and concise.

*Free to Choose*, by Milton and Rose Friedman (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986). A strong statement of personal and economic liberty by two leading defenders of individual liberty.

*Man, Economy, and State*, by Murray N. Rothbard (Los Angeles: Nash Publishing, 1972). A comprehensive treatment of economics, from the most basic level to price theory, monopoly, monetary theory, and more. In the tradition of *Human Action* by Ludwig von Mises, *Man, Economy, and State* is a rare thing in modern economics—a systematic treatise.

*The Economic Way of Thinking*, by Paul Heyne (6th ed., New York: Macmillan, 1991). Heyne's widely used textbook is a helpful overview of economic science and an accessible introduction to economic analysis.

*Economic Sophisms*, Frederic Bastiat (1845; Irvington-On-Hudson, N.Y.: Foundation for Economic Education, 1968). This witty and brilliant collection of essays explodes myth after myth about protectionism, subsidies, and other forms of state interventionism.

*The Economics of Rights, Co-operation and Welfare*, by Robert Sugden (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986). A valuable introduction to game theory and an exciting treatment of the spontaneous emergence of cooperation; suggests that order can emerge without an overarching and coercive ordering power.

*Price Theory*, by David Friedman (2d ed., Cincinnati: South-Western Publishing Co, 1989). This is probably the most fun intermediate textbook in economics; Friedman uses colorful examples and a lively style to make understandable complex insights in economics. This book is very useful for understanding how markets work and how economics can help us understand institutions such as law, voting, and marriage.

*Capitalism*, by Arthur Seldon (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1990). Seldon offers a powerfully argued case for the free market.

## PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL THEORY

*Capitalism and Freedom*, by Milton Friedman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962). A clear statement of the economics of the free society, including the relationship between “economic” liberty and “civil” liberty.

*In Pursuit of Happiness and Good Government*, by Charles Murray (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988). The author of *Losing Ground*, having criticized statist institutions, turns his attention to an exposition of the form of a free society.

*The Twilight of Authority*, by Robert Nisbet (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975). The renowned sociologist looks at the replacement of forms of social authority by the “authority” of the state. Examines the atomizing effects of statism and the debilitating effects of militarism and collectivism.

*Selected Essays on Political Economy*, by Frederic Bastiat (Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y.: Foundation for Economic Education, 1964). This edition includes the French liberal and free-trade leader’s brilliant essays on “What Is Seen and What Is Not Seen,” “The Law,” and “The State.”

*The Foundations of Bioethics*, by H. Tristram Engelhardt, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). A full-scale treatment of problems in bioethics, this work begins by laying a groundwork for rights that is universal and can offer common ground for a great diversity of moral viewpoints.

*Benjamin Constant: Political Writings*, ed. by Biancamaria Fontana (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988). This collection of writings by the great French political philosopher includes his seminal essay, “The Liberty of the Ancients Compared with That of the Moderns,” which defends modern liberty against the claims of the coercive communitarians. An effective response to modern coercive communitarians in political thought like Alasdair Macintyre, Michael Sandel, and Charles Taylor.

*Our Enemy, the State*, by Albert Jay Nock (1935; reprint, New York: Libertarian Review Foundation, 1989). Nock’s book is a persuasive

presentation of the predatory theory of state power. This edition also includes the eloquent essay, "On Doing the Right Thing."

*The God of the Machine*, by Isabel Paterson (1943; reprint, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1993). A devastating critique of collectivism and defense of individualism.

*A Commentary and Review of Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws*, by Destutt de Tracy (1811; New York: Burt Franklin, 1969). This work, translated by Thomas Jefferson, offered a strong liberal statement of the principles of government, in the form of a criticism of Montesquieu.

*Social Statics*, by Herbert Spencer (1850; New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1954). A classic statement of liberal rights theory based on the "law of equal freedom"; includes his important essay, "The Right to Ignore the State."

*The Logic of Liberty*, by Michael Polanyi (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1951). A noted scientist looks at the spontaneous and "unplanned" growth of science and draws inferences for the free and spontaneous development of other social orders. A classic of social theory.

*Second Treatise of Government (or An Essay Concerning Civil Government)*, by John Locke (1690; student edition, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988). The classic statement of individual rights, justly acquired property, and limited government.

*The Limits of State Action*, by Wilhelm von Humboldt (1854; 1969; reprint, Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1993). The work that profoundly influenced Mill's essay, *On Liberty*. Humboldt's work is remarkable for its statement of the relationship between freedom and the development of personality.

*Liberalism*, by Ludwig von Mises (Kansas City: Sheed Andrews and McMeel, 1978; Irvington-on-Hudson: Foundation for Economic Education, 1985). A strong statement of liberal principles by a prominent Austrian economist and liberal thinker.

*Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, by Robert Nozick (New York: Basic Books, 1974). The book that helped to launch the recent revival of political

philosophy. A rewarding work, especially interesting for its construal of rights as “side constraints.”

*Persons, Rights, and the Moral Community*, by Loren E. Lomasky (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). Lomasky’s work is at the center of a major current controversy in moral and political theory: the status of rights and the relationship of the individual to the community. Lomasky presents a liberal, individualistic theory of rights based on an understanding of persons as “project pursuers.” Highly recommended for students in moral and political philosophy, social theory, and political science.

*The Man versus the State*, by Herbert Spencer (1884; Indianapolis, Liberty Classics, 1982). A warning against encroaching statism and the “New Toryism” by an English classical liberal.

*The Road to Serfdom*, by F. A. Hayek (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944). One of the books that launched the modern classical liberal/libertarian movement. Looks at the relationship between economic statism and liberty, concluding that the two are incompatible. Hayek received the Nobel Prize for economics in 1974.

*For A New Liberty*, by Murray Rothbard (New York: Collier Books, 1978). A sweeping case for liberty, drawing from history, moral and political philosophy, and economics.

*The State*, by Franz Oppenheimer (New York: Free Life Editions, 1975). Shows how the state is rooted in conquest and perpetuates conflict.

*The Fatal Conceit: The Errors of Socialism*, by F. A. Hayek (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988). An excellent introduction to the thought of one of the century’s preeminent social thinkers, this work spans economics, history, philosophy, ethics, and more. Controversial and very interesting.

*The Counter-Revolution of Science: Studies in the Abuse of Reason*, by F. A. Hayek (1952; reprint, Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1979). A seminal study of the roots of socialism in a fatal misunderstanding of social processes. An important work in intellectual history and a serious contribution to the study of our society.

*The Lysander Spooner Reader*, ed. by George H. Smith (San Francisco: Fox & Wilkes, 1992). Lysander Spooner was an abolitionist enemy of slavery, constitutional scholar, and opponent of state power. This volume includes Spooner's "Essay on the Trial by Jury," arguing for the rights of juries to nullify unjust laws, his famous "No Treason: The Constitution of No Authority," and his brilliant argument for personal liberty, "Vices Are Not Crimes."

*The Ethics of Redistribution*, by Bertrand de Jouvenel (1951; reprint, Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1990). Jouvenel shows not only how disappointing the results of coercive redistribution are, but how income redistribution has come to mean "far less a redistribution of free income from the richer to the poorer, as we imagined, than a redistribution of power from the individual to the State." This book is very important for understanding the modern welfare state.

*The Ethics of Liberty*, by Murray N. Rothbard (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1982). This work is an attempt to provide a synthesized ethical foundation for the free society, dealing with both general principles and specific problems.

*Envy*, by Helmut Schoeck (Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1987). Schoeck provides an important and comprehensive sociological study of envy as a force generating social conflict.

*In Defense of Modernity: Role Complexity and Individual Autonomy*, by Rose Laub Coser (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991). Coser presents a powerful defense of modern liberal society against its coercive-communitarian critics. This book is usefully read in conjunction with the essays of Benjamin Constant.

## PROPERTY RIGHTS

*The Natural and Artificial Right of Property Contrasted*, by Thomas Hodgskin (1832; Clifton, N.J.: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1973). An important statement of the origins and extent of the right to property by a radical individualist. Includes his famous attack on feudal property and his defense of justly acquired property and the free market.

*The Economics of Property Rights*, ed. by Eirik G. Furubotn and Svetozar Pejovich (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, 1974). A very important collection of essays, including Demsetz's seminal essay, "Toward a Theory of Property Rights."

*The Myth of Social Cost*, by Steven N.S. Cheung (London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 1978). A rigorous critique of traditional welfare economics and a realistic statement of market solutions to alleged defects.

"Life, Liberty, and Property," by David Kelley in Ellen Frankel Paul, Jeffrey Paul, and Fred D. Miller, Jr., eds., *Human Rights* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1984). A strong statement of the philosophical case for property rights.

"Natural Property Rights as Body Rights," by Samuel C. Wheeler, III, in *Nous* 14 (1980). Wheeler offers a theory of rights to tangible property based on our rights of self-ownership.

*Second Treatise of Government (or An Essay Concerning Civil Government)*, by John Locke (1690; student edition, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988). A powerful argument for the right to property, based on our property in ourselves.

*Takings: Private Property and the Right of Eminent Domain*, by Richard Epstein (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985). A careful rights-oriented interpretation of the "takings clause" of the U.S. Constitution. A substantial work in political philosophy.

*The Economics of Rights, Cooperation, and Welfare*, by Robert Sugden (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986). This extremely important book updates and extends David Hume's arguments on property. Sugden uses game theory (at an accessible level) to show how property rights and conventions (laws) can emerge spontaneously, without a central coordinating agency.

*Natural Law and the Theory of Property: Grotius to Hume*, by Stephen Buckle (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). An outstanding introduction to the modern natural law jurisprudence of property rights. This book is extremely important for understanding the foundations of modern civil society.

## SELECTED ISSUES

### *Environment*

*Water Crisis: Ending the Policy Drought*, by Terry Anderson (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1983). An application of economic principles to water policy, showing how government management leads to pollution and overuse; suggests an environmentally sound free market alternative.

*The Ultimate Resource*, by Julian Simon (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981). Places the human capacity for entrepreneurship and creativity at the center of the solutions to current environmental and resource problems.

"The Tragedy of the Commons," by Garrett Hardin in *Science* 162 (1968): 1243-48. Classic statement of how "common ownership" leads to overuse of resources; suggestive of a private property alternative that would stop environmental decay.

"Ackerman and Hassler's Clean Coal/Dirty Air," by Robert Crandall in *Bell Journal of Economics* 12 (Autumn 1981): 677-82. Shows how bureaucratic/political environmental management suffers from "rent seeking," i.e., pursuit of privilege by special interests rather than simple concern for environmental quality.

*Free Market Environmentalism*, by Terry L. Anderson and Donald R. Leal (San Francisco: Pacific Research Institute, 1991). This brief work is the best introduction to the property rights approach to environmentalism, which focuses attention on institutions and incentives, rather than simply good intentions. This book is not only excellent for understanding ecological issues, but also serves as a good introduction to the economics of property rights and institutions.

*Economics and the Environment: A Reconciliation*, ed. by Walter Block (Vancouver, B.C.: Fraser Institute, 1990). This volume presents a useful collection of essays on general and specific themes concerning the environment.

*Visions Upon the Land: Man and Nature on the Western Range*, by Karl Hess, Jr. (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1992). Weaving together history, cultural analysis, and modern illustrative examples, Hess shows that federal western land policies have served to degrade the environment.

### *Urban Issues*

*The Economy of Cities*, by Jane Jacobs (New York: Random House, 1969). This path breaking work showed how the spontaneous development and growth of cities fit patterns different from those imposed by "urban planners" and statist technocrats.

*The Life and Death of Great American Cities*, by Jane Jacobs (New York: Random House, 1961). Jacobs's work presented a powerful challenge to "urban renewal" through bulldozers, public housing projects, and imposition of "planning."

*Land Use Without Zoning*, by Bernard Siegan (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1972). Siegan shows the negative effects of zoning and offers free market alternatives to zoning, including contractually restrictive covenants. Contains valuable case studies of communities without zoning, including Houston, Texas.

*Rent Control: A Popular Paradox*, ed. by M. A. Walker (Vancouver, B.C.: Fraser Institute, 1975). Contains valuable essays by various authors (including three Nobel Laureates), including studies of rent control in Great Britain, Austria, Sweden, Canada, France, and the U.S.

*The Excluded Americans: Homelessness and Housing Policies*, by William Tucker (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Gateway, 1990). Tucker presents evidence that homelessness is largely the result of rent controls and zoning policies that destroy low-income housing.

"The Formation of Urban Infrastructure Through Non-Governmental Planning: The Private Places of St. Louis," by David T. Beito with Bruce Smith in *Journal of Urban History* 16 (May 1990): 263-303. This study shows how voluntary action provided and still provides roads, safety, and other public goods.

“Government by Contract,” by Donald Boudreaux and Randall Holcombe in *Public Finance Quarterly* 17 (July 1989). The authors show how voluntary organization through covenant committees, neighborhood associations, and development corporations provide most of the functions we have come to associate with the state.

### *Race and Ethnic Conflict*

*Changing Course: Civil Rights at the Crossroads*, by Clint Bolick (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1988). Bolick chronicles the change in the American civil rights movement from its roots in natural-law theories of human rights to advocacy of state control. The real civil rights problems today are state barriers to voluntary action.

*Markets and Minorities*, by Thomas Sowell (New York: Basic Books, 1981). The best overall treatment of the economics of race.

*The State Against Blacks*, by Walter Williams (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982). Looks at the two-sided nature of the welfare state, consisting on the one hand of restrictions on economic opportunity (e.g., minimum wage and licensing laws) and, on the other, of subsidized leaf raking jobs and welfare payments to buy the loyalty of the oppressed. A very important work combining economics, history, and political analysis.

*The Economics and Politics of Race: An International Perspective*, by Thomas Sowell (New York: William Morrow, 1983). Another important work by one of the leading social scientists looking at race.

*The Other Side of Racism: A Philosophical Study of Black Race Consciousness*, by Anne Wortham (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1981). An important study by a sociologist of racism and race relations, arguing that racial harmony is attained through individual rights and the spontaneous order of a free society.

“Racism, Slavery, and Free Enterprise: Black Entrepreneurship in the United States Before the Civil War,” by Juliet E. K. Walker in *Business History Review* 60 (Autumn 1986). Shows how, even under the oppressions of bondage, slaves exhibited entrepreneurial alertness and creativ-

ity. An important work in social history; also isolates the entrepreneurial function and reveals it as an “ideal type” independent of property ownership. Shows how the existence of markets ameliorated the effects of a nonmarket institution.

“Southern Labor Law in the Jim Crow Era: Exploitative or Competitive?” by Jennifer Roback in *University of Chicago Law Review* 51 (Fall 1984). Shows how state power was used to achieve what was unachievable in the market: segregation and racial subjugation.

“The Political Economy of Segregation: The Case of Segregated Streetcars,” by Jennifer Roback in *Journal of Economic History* 46 (December 1986). Examines the case of streetcar segregation and shows how state coercion was necessary to overcome the natural integrating force of the market.

*Competition and Coercion: Blacks in the American Economy, 1865-1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980). Higgs shows that, despite the barriers of discrimination and the legacy of slavery, blacks in the American South after the Civil War were able to improve their economic condition through the institutions of the market; government intervention, in the forms of “Jim Crow Laws” and other attacks on the market, attempted to slow or reverse this progress.

*Forbidden Grounds: The Case Against Employment Discrimination Laws*, by Richard A. Epstein (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992). Epstein provides a powerful argument for repeal of “anti-discrimination” laws governing the private workplace.

*The Economic Consequences of Immigration*, by Julian Simon (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1989). Simon refutes myths about immigration and shows how open borders and free trade lead to more harmony among nations and groups.

### *International Trade and Relations*

*The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950-1350*, by Robert S. Lopez (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976). Explains how an economically backward Europe was transformed by the revolutionary

expansion of trade that led to “a thousand years of virtually uninterrupted growth.”

*Free Trade: Necessary Foundation for World Peace*, ed. by Joan Kennedy Taylor (Irvington-On-Hudson, N.Y.: Foundation for Economic Education, 1986). A collection of essays showing the close relationship between free trade and peace; “where goods cannot cross borders, armies will.”

*Protection or Free Trade*, by Henry George (1886; various editions). Still one of the best statements of the free trade position, with logical refutations of protectionist fallacies.

*Endless Enemies*, Jonathan Kwitny (New York: Congdon and Weed, 1984). Shows how foreign interventionism subverts the market and creates enemies for Western society.

*The World Between the Wars, 1919-39: An Economist's View*, by Joseph S. Davis (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975). The best economic history of the interwar period, both in America and on the international scene. Looks at the Depression, government's response, protectionism, and more. A crucially important book.

*A History of the World Economy: International Economic Relations Since 1850*, by James Foreman-Peck (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble, 1983). A history of world trade that shows the benefits of free trade.

*The Fair Trade Fraud*, by James Bovard (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991). This book presents a careful and very readable analysis and refutation of myths about international trade.

*Tyranny Unmasked*, by John Taylor (1822; reprint, Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1992). A devastating attack on the protective tariff and mercantilist policies in particular, and on statism in general, by the foremost philosopher of the Jeffersonian radicals of the early national period in American history.

## Poverty and Self-Help

*Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950-1980*, by Charles Murray (New York: Basic Books, 1984). State welfarism leads to dependency and ruined lives, according to this carefully researched and influential work.

*Reinventing Civil Society: The Rediscovery of Welfare without Politics*, by David Green (London: Institute of Economic Affairs Health and Welfare Unit, 1993). Describes how voluntary associations and institutions once provided welfare but were crowded out by the emerging welfare state.

*Working Class Patients and the Medical Establishment: Self-Help in Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to 1948*, by David Green (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985). An examination of the functioning of voluntary medical care in Britain before National Health Insurance; state medicine was imposed to serve the cartelizing tendencies of the medical profession and resulted in higher costs, lower quality, and diminished consumer sovereignty.

*The Friendly Societies in England, 1815-1875*, by P.H.J.H. Gosden (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1961). An historical look at the voluntary alternative to statist welfare systems.

*The Conquest of Poverty*, by Henry Hazlitt (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1973). How the market creates prosperity and eliminates poverty.

“Voluntary Organizations and the Welfare State,” by Robert Sugden, in *Privatisation and the Welfare State* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1984), ed. by Julian Le Grand and Ray Robinson. A careful economic examination of the functioning of voluntary versus coercive welfare institutions.

*The Rule of Experts: Occupational Licensing in America*, by S. David Young (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1987). A look at licensing laws, which restrict entry to professions and deny opportunities for economic and social advancement to the poor, at the same time that they harm consumers.

“Support of the Elderly Before the Depression: Individual and Collective Arrangements,” by Carolyn L. Weaver in *Cato Journal* 7 (Fall 1987): 503-525. Weaver shows the variety of voluntary arrangements that people used to provide for retirement and old age care.

*Reclaiming the American Dream: The Role of Private Individuals and Voluntary Associations*, by Richard C. Cornuelle (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1993). This book is one of the most important studies of the voluntary independent sector available, showing how it has operated (and still does) and stressing the importance of the voluntary sector as a bulwark against state coercion.

“Mutual Aid for Social Welfare: The Case of American Fraternal Societies,” by David T. Beito in *Critical Review* 4(Fall 1990): 709-36. Beito provides valuable information on the functioning of fraternal societies in America before their replacement by the welfare state. He reveals the special significance of voluntary organizations among immigrant groups and African-Americans.

### *Economic Development*

*Privatization and Development*, ed. by Steve H. Hanke (San Francisco: ICS Press, 1987). A valuable collection of essays on privatization in the developing world, including studies of specific sectors, case studies, and the role of private property rights in development.

*The Private Provision of Public Services in Developing Countries*, by Gabriel Roth (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). A careful and readable study of the prospects for privatization in developing nations, including case studies of education, electricity, health, telecommunications, urban transport, and water and sewage.

*Dissent on Development*, by P. T. Bauer (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971 and 1976). A clear and convincing critique of the statist model of economic development; demolishes one argument after another.

“The Importance of Political Participation for Sustained Capitalist Development,” by Grace Goodell in *European Journal of Sociology* 26 (1985). Shows how economic growth rests on a foundation of legal and

economic institutions that involve entrepreneurs, savers, investors, and consumers in economic decision-making in a market economy. Goodell provides the context for us to understand why "foreign aid" does not result in economic growth in third world countries.

*The Poverty of Development Economics*, by Deepak Lal (London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 1983). Analyzes the major currents of development economics, offering a liberal free-market alternative.

*Development Economics on Trial*, by Polly Hill (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986). An economic anthropologist shows how development "experts" misconstrue the meaning of indigeneous and spontaneously evolved market mechanisms, with disastrous consequences.

*Development Without Aid: Growth, Poverty, and Government*, by Melvyn B. Krauss (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1983). The biggest obstacle to development in the Third World is the state, both local states and the aid-granting welfare states of the industrialized nations.

"Development Economics After 40 Years," special issue of *Cato Journal* 7 (Spring/Summer 1987). Includes many articles on kleptocracy (the rule of thieves) in developing nations, and the role of the state in hindering, and the market in advancing, economic prosperity.

*The Peasant Betrayed: Agriculture and Land Reform in the Third World*, by John P. Powelson and Richard Stock (Boston: Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain, 1987). Reveals the damaging effects of land reform plans administered by the state. The net effect is usually to concentrate authority and power in the central state.

*The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam*, by Samuel Popkin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979). Offers a "political economy" approach to understanding peasant societies that contrasts with the anti-market "moral economy" approach. Considers peasants as "rational problem solvers."

*Prosperity vs. Planning*, by David Osterfeld (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). Osterfeld shows how state interventionism in poorer nations has perpetuated poverty and prevented the emergence of institutions necessary for prosperity.

*Our Enemy the State*, by Albert Jay Nock (1935; reprint, New York: Libertarian Review Foundation, 1989). An eloquent case for liberty by one of the great modern English stylists. As Nock remarks, "Taking the State wherever found, striking into its history at any point, one sees no way to differentiate the activities of its founders, administrators, and beneficiaries from those of a professional criminal class."

*The Political Writings of Richard Cobden* (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1969). A useful collection of the political writings of the great English free trade anti-imperialist. Includes his classic essay, "How Wars Are Got Up in India."

*The State*, by Anthony de Jasay (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1985). De Jasay proposes a theory of state action that looks at the state as having ends and a kind of will of its own. This book offers a very insightful and revealing way of thinking about the state.

*The Rise and Fall of the Elites: An Application of Theoretical Sociology*, by Vilfredo Pareto (Totowa, N.J.: Bedminster Press, 1968). A classic treatment by the famous Italian economist and sociologist of the circulation of elites in free societies and of the attempts by such elites to cement their positions through state power.

*The State*, by Franz Oppenheimer. See the discussion in the section on Philosophy and Social Theory above.

"A Theory of the Origin of the State," by Robert Carneiro in *Science* 169 (August 1970). A sociological treatment of the emergence of states, focusing on geographical factors.

*Freedom and Domination: A Historical Critique of Culture*, by Alexander Rustow (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980). An important work for understanding the origins of the state and of social stratification. See the discussion in the section on History above.

*Political Parties*, by Robert Michels (New York: Free Press, 1962). The classic study of oligarchy in social organization, including the clearest statement of "The Iron Law of Oligarchy."

*The State Against Blacks*, by Walter Williams. See the discussion in the section on Race and Ethnic Conflict above.

*Political Control of the Economy*, by Edward Tufte (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978). A careful and detailed study of the political business cycle in America, revealing how governments manipulate the economy to ensure reelection.

*The Ruling Class*, by Gaetano Mosca (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939). A classic work of political science on the emergence of ruling elites in political structures.

*Vilfredo Pareto: Sociological Writings*, ed. by S. E. Finer (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1976). A well edited selection of Pareto's writings on sociology; the best of his writings on "spoliation" are on pages 114-120, 137-142, 162-164, 270, 276-278, 315, and 317-318.

"'La Scienza delle Finanze': The Italian Tradition in Fiscal Theory," by James Buchanan, in his *Fiscal Theory and Political Economy: Selected Essays* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960). The best introduction to the Italian fiscal theorists by the Nobel Laureate economist and pioneer of modern "public choice" economics. This essay is crucial to understanding public choice.

"The Fundamental Principles of a Pure Theory of Public Finance," by Giovanni Montemartini in *Classics in the Theory of Public Finance*, ed. by Richard A. Musgrave and Alan T. Peacock (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967). Offers a theory of political entrepreneurship based on a predatory theory of the state.

*On Power*, by Bertrand de Jouvenel (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962). A valuable study of the origins and functioning of power by a prominent French classical liberal.

*A New History of Leviathan*, ed. by Murray N. Rothbard and Ronald Radosh (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1972). A valuable collection of essays on the emergence of twentieth-century leviathan.

## *Cartels: Business and Labor*

*The Triumph of Conservatism*, by Gabriel Kolko. See the discussion in the section on History above.

*Railroads and Regulation: 1877-1916*, by Gabriel Kolko (New York: W. W. Norton, 1965). Shows how the railroads received governmental aid and restrictions on competition.

*Antitrust Policy: The Case for Repeal*, by Dominick Armentano (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1986). A concise statement of the distorting effects of antitrust laws.

*Antitrust and Monopoly: Anatomy of a Policy Failure*, by Dominick Armentano (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1982). Armentano offers a historical and economic indictment of antitrust laws.

*Concentration, Mergers, and Public Policy*, by Yale Brozen (New York: Macmillan, 1982). A thoroughgoing study of industrial concentration that refutes many myths about the "necessity" of state action to overcome monopoly; the state is the principal source of monopoly.

*In Defense of Industrial Concentration*, by John S. McGee (New York: Praeger, 1971). Argues that the existence of industrial concentration *per se* does not justify antitrust action.

"Predatory Price Cutting: The Standard Oil (N.J.) Case," by John S. McGee in *Journal of Law and Economics* 1 (October 1958): 137-69. Examines the charges of "predatory pricing" (where large firms allegedly sell below cost to drive competitors from the market and then raise prices drastically to reap monopoly profits) in a celebrated antitrust case; shows that the model of predatory pricing is incoherent.

*Crisis and Leviathan*, by Robert Higgs. See the discussion in the section on History above.

*The Mirage of Oil Protection*, by Robert L. Bradley, Jr. (New York: University Press of America, 1989). Bradley offers a detailed and highly informative history of oil tariffs and other attempts to create "energy self-sufficiency", carefully bringing together history and economic analysis.

## *Depressions, Monetary Policy, and Economic Cycles*

*Unemployment and Monetary Policy: Government as Generator of the "Business Cycle"*, by Friedrich A. Hayek (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1979). Shows how state control of the monetary system can send misleading signals to economic agents, leading to misallocation of resources and corrective economic cycles. Includes his Nobel Prize acceptance speech, "The Pretence of Knowledge."

*Banking and the Business Cycle: A Study of the Great Depression in the United States*, by C. A. Phillips, T. F. McManus, and R. W. Nelson (1937; New York: Arno Press, 1972). This careful study of the causes of the Great Depression shows how monetary mismanagement led to economic disruption.

*A Monetary History of the United States, 1867-1960*, by Milton Friedman and Anna J. Schwartz (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963). A classic work of economic history, including a look at the relationship between monetary policy and economic cycles.

*The Myth of the Great Depression, 1873-1896*, by S. B. Saul (2d ed., London: Macmillan, 1985). Shows that the downward trend in prices of the last quarter of the nineteenth century in England did not constitute a "depression." International competition and increased production led to many business failures and economic readjustment; such dynamic change should be distinguished from economic cycles or depressions.

*The Economics of Inflation: A Study of Currency Depreciation in Post-War Germany*, by Costantino Bresciani-Turroni (1937; reprint, Clifton, N.J.: Augustus M. Kelley, 1968). Shows the devastating effects of state money-creation.

*Free Banking in Britain: Theory, Experience, and Debate, 1800-1845*, by Lawrence H. White (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984). White examines the Scottish experience with free, unregulated banking and money issue, showing it to have been more stable and efficient than central banking dominated by the state.

*The Theory of Free Banking: Money Supply Under Competitive Note Issue*, by George A. Selgin (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield,

1988). A major advance in monetary theory, Selgin's book shows how a free market monetary system operates. Offers a program for a stable monetary system without economic cycles.

*America's Great Depression*, by Murray Rothbard (1963; reprint, Los Angeles: Nash Publishing, 1972). Explains the Great Depression as the result of governmental manipulation of the supply of money and credit; also shows how the New Deal prolonged the depression.

"Herbert Hoover and the Myth of Laissez-Faire," by Murray Rothbard, in Ronald Radosh and Murray Rothbard, eds., *A New History of Leviathan* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1972). A corrective to the view of Herbert Hoover as a "free marketeer"; Hoover was an avid statist whose policies prefigured those of Roosevelt.

"The New Deal, National Socialism, and the Great Depression," by John A. Garrity in *American Historical Review* 78 (October 1973). Points out the striking similarities between the American New Deal and European fascist economic policies.

*Out of Work: Unemployment and Government in Twentieth Century America*, by Richard K. Vedder and Lowell E. Gallaway (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1993). This important historical study, which was written from a highly informed "Austrian" perspective, shows how governmental interventions into labor markets (both "microeconomic" and "macroeconomic") have created unemployment.

*The Rationale of Central Banking*, by Vera Smith (1936; Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1990). A classic critique of the arguments for centralized state banking.

### *The Industrial Revolution*

*The European Miracle*, by E. L. Jones. See the discussion in the section on History above.

*The Industrial Revolution, 1760-1830*, by T. S. Ashton (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948). A renowned economic historian refutes the myth of "immiseration" accompanying the industrial revolution.

*Capitalism and the Historians*, ed. by F. A. Hayek . See the discussion in the section on History above.

*How the West Grew Rich*, by Nathan Rosenberg and L. E. Birdzell, Jr. See the discussion in the section on History above.

*The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, by Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982). An engrossing and scholarly account of the growth of a market society, with its attendant elimination of privileges and increase in social mobility.

*The Causes of the Industrial Revolution*, by Ronald Max Hartwell (London: Methuen, 1967). A useful general introduction to the study of the industrial revolution by a noted economic historian.

*Child Labor and the Industrial Revolution*, by Clark Nardinelli (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990). An economic historian looks at the participation by children in the workforce before, during, and after the industrial revolution and concludes that the growth of the market, rather than child labor laws, diminished child labor.

### *Feminism*

*Freedom, Feminism, and the State*, ed. by Wendy McElroy (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1991). A collection of individualist feminist writings—both historical and contemporary—edited by a feminist scholar.

*A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, by Mary Wollstonecraft (1792; New York: W. W. Norton, 1967). This stirring case for the rights of women by a radical individualist launched the movement for equal rights.

*A Wollstonecraft Anthology*, edited by Janet M. Todd (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977). Contains a useful biographical introduction as well as excerpts from her reply to Edmund Burke (*A Vindication of the Rights of Men*) and her case for the rights of women (*A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*).

*An American Anarchist: The Life of Voltairine de Cleyre*, by Paul Avrich (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978). The story of a courageous feminist individualist (author of *Anarchism and American Traditions*) who participated in the major political movements of the turn of the century.

*Reclaiming the Mainstream: Individualist Feminism Rediscovered*, by Joan Kennedy Taylor (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1992). An important restatement of feminist thought, returning it to its roots as an individualist movement, with applications to contemporary problems, such as sexual harassment, affirmative action and comparable worth, sexual and reproductive choice, and more.

*Forbidden Grounds: The Case Against Employment Discrimination Laws*, by Richard A. Epstein (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1992). Epstein provides a powerful argument for repeal of "anti-discrimination" laws governing the private workplace.

*In Defense of Modernity: Role Complexity and Individual Autonomy*, by Rose Laub Coser (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991). Coser presents a powerful defense of modern liberal society against its coercive-communitarian critics, with special emphasis on the liberation of women in modern complex society.

*Gender Justice*, by David L. Kirp, Mark G. Yudoff, and Marlene Strong Franks (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986). An interesting and useful look at issues involved in attaining equality between the sexes.

*Equity and Gender: The Comparable Worth Debate*, by Ellen Frankel Paul (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1989). A careful and critical look at the case for determining wages through the state rather than the market.

### *Public Goods*

*Public Goods and Market Failures: A Critical Examination*, ed. by Tyler Cowen (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1992). A very useful collection of articles on the theory of "market failure," including critical assessments, empirical studies, and contrasts with "government failure."

Essays include classics by Paul Samuelson, James Buchanan, Ronald Coase, Harold Demsetz, and others.

“Public Goods and their Institutional Context: A Critique of Public Goods Theory,” by Tyler Cowen in *Review of Social Economy* 43 (April 1985). Perhaps the most powerful legitimating rationale for governmental action today is the assertion that the market cannot produce certain goods and that through government we all agree to coerce ourselves to produce these goods. Cowen provides a useful corrective to this theory of public goods.

“Equal Access vs. Selective Access: A Critique of Public Goods Theory,” by Kenneth Goldin in *Public Choice* 29 (Spring 1977). Shows how the “publicness” of a good is not an inherent characteristic of the good itself, but of the manner in which it is produced. Any good can be either a public good or a private good, depending on the choice of production methods. (Included in *Public Goods and Market Failures*, ed. by Tyler Cowen.)

“The Lighthouse in Economics,” by Ronald H. Coase in *Journal of Law and Economics* 17 (October 1974); reprinted in Coase, *The Firm, the Market, and the Law* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988). An important study of how what was until recently commonly cited as a public good incapable of production on the market (because consumers could not be excluded) was indeed produced through methods of exclusion (fees charged at ports). (Included in *Public Goods and Market Failures*, ed. by Tyler Cowen.)

“Tie-Ins and the Market Provision of Public Goods,” by Daniel Klein in *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy* 10 (Spring 1987). Shows how “public” goods are produced by being “bundled” with “private” goods; gives numerous examples.

“Free Ride, Free Revelation, or Golden Rule?,” by Earl R. Brubaker in *Journal of Law and Economics* 17 (April 1975). Shows how the problem of revelation of demand is overcome in cases where “free riding” can make provision of public goods difficult. (Included in *Public Goods and Market Failures*, ed. by Tyler Cowen.)

“Public Goods and the Theory of Government,” by Joseph P. Kalt in *Cato Journal* 1 (1981). Shows the incoherence of the contractarian “public goods model” of state action. If coercion is needed to produce public goods, and the existence of a provider of public goods (i.e., the state) is itself a public good, then the establishment of the state would require coercion. Highly recommended.

*Social Contract, Free Ride*, by Anthony de Jasay (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989) This is a very accessible and brilliant treatment of the “public goods” justification of the state. Jasay criticizes careless use of game theory in finding omnipresent “market failure,” and shows the self-defeating nature of social contract arguments that justify the coercive state.

*The Limits of Government: An Essay on the Public Goods Argument*, by David Schmidtz (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1991). Schmidtz shows how the “free rider” problem is overcome in voluntary market arrangements through “conditionally binding assurance contracts”; this is a careful treatment of a difficult problem, using game theory and experimental economics at an accessible level. The book also includes useful and interesting ideas on property rights and on justification in political theory.

### *Privatization*

*Privatization and Development*, ed. by Steve H. Hanke (San Francisco: ICS Press, 1987). See the discussion in the section on Economic Development above.

*The Private Provision of Public Services in Developing Countries*, by Gabriel Roth (New York: Oxford University Press for the World Bank, 1987). See the discussion in the section on Economic Development above.

*When Government Goes Private: Successful Alternatives to Public Services*, by Randall Fitzgerald (New York: Universe Books, 1988). A fact-filled treatment of the alternative to governmental provision of services; ranges over parks, housing, transportation, hospitals, law, water, air traffic control, and much, much more.

*Prospects for Privatization*, ed. by Steve Hanke (New York: Academy of Political Science, 1987). A very valuable collection of essays on privatization, including specific case studies (e.g., subways, airports, welfare, water, social security), political science and economics essays, and status reports on privatization at various levels of government.

*Privatization: Tactics and Techniques*, ed. by Michael A. Walker (Vancouver, B.C.: Fraser Institute, 1988). Drawing primarily on British and Canadian experience, the contributors to this volume show why and how voluntary organization can replace state action.

### *Law and the Free Society*

*The New Right vs. the Constitution*, by Stephen Macedo (rev. ed., Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1988). A rights-oriented challenge to the jurisprudence of original intent, especially in the morally sceptical version of Robert Bork and Chief Justice William Rehnquist. Offers a “principled judicial activism” that would protect “civil” and “economic” liberties.

*Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition*, by Harold Berman (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983). See the discussion in the section on History above.

*Freedom and the Law*, by Bruno Leoni (1961; 3d ed., Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1991). An examination of the relationship between law and freedom by one of the early pioneers of the study of law and economics; shows how law emerges spontaneously from a common law legal process and why government-enacted legislation is incompatible with the free society and the market economy. The new edition includes valuable essays such as “The Law as Individual Claim” and “Voting versus the Market.”

*Takings: Private Property and the Right of Eminent Domain*, by Richard Epstein (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985). See the discussion in the section on Property Rights above.

“Pursuing Justice in a Free Society: Part One—Power vs. Liberty; Part Two—Crime Prevention and the Legal Order,” by Randy E. Barnett in

*Criminal Justice Ethics* Summer/Fall 1985, Winter/Spring 1986. A detailed consideration of what rights we have, what form a legal system that protects rights should take, and how such a system would operate.

*Economic Liberties and the Judiciary*, ed. by James Dom and Henry Manne (Fairfax, Va.: George Mason University Press, 1987). A collection of essays on the proper role of the judiciary in a free society, with special attention to the protection of economic rights.

*The Law Merchant: The Evolution of Commercial Law*, by Leon E. Trakman (Littleton, Colo.: Fred B. Rothman & Co., 1983). This is a very important study of the spontaneous evolution of commercial law, a system of law created outside of the state by merchants and founded on the principle of freedom of contract. The work traces the development and functioning of commercial law from the medieval merchant fairs up to contemporary international oil contracts.

*The Rights Retained by the People*, ed. by Randy E. Barnett, 2 vols. (Fairfax, Va.: George Mason University Press, 1989-93). The Ninth Amendment to the United States Constitution that "[t]he enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." In other words, we have more rights than are enumerated in positive law. Barnett has assembled the best work on the natural rights background to the United States Constitution into two useful volumes of articles, essays, historical background materials, and more.

### *Education*

*Education and the State: A Study in Political Economy*, by E. G. West (2d ed., London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 1970). Shows how state education was superimposed on and has suppressed an emerging structure of voluntary education. Includes excellent historical and economic analysis of state education.

*Education by Choice: The Case for Family Control*, by John E. Coons and Stephen D. Sugarman (Berkeley: University of California, 1978). A detailed case for introducing competition and choice into the provision of education.

*Compelling Belief: The Culture of American Schooling*, by Stephen Arons (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1983). Shows how values and culture are transmitted through education and why we should insist on “separation of school and state.”

*The Twelve Year Sentence*, ed. by William F. Rickenbacker (La Salle, Ill.: Open Court, 1974). A collection of essays on compulsory state schooling by lawyers, educators, historians, and economists.

*The American School, 1642-1985*, by Joel Spring (New York: Longman, 1986). Shows how state schooling has been used to the political advantages of certain groups; reveals state schooling as a powerful tool of social control.

*Beyond Public Education*, by Myron Lieberman (New York: Praeger, 1986). Offers a devastating critique of state schooling and a free market alternative.

*The Myth of the Common School*, by Charles Leslie Glenn, Jr. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988). Glenn traces the origins of the state “common school” system in the United States during the early nineteenth century and shows how it undermined a vibrant and diverse voluntary educational system.

*Liberating Schools: Education in the Inner City*, by David D. Boaz (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1991). A clear statement of the failure of coercive state schooling and of a variety of free-market alternatives.

### *Health, Safety, and Regulation*

*Patient Power: Solving America's Health Care Crisis*, by John C. Goodman and Gerald L. Musgrave (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1992). The authors provide a very thorough analysis of the issues in health-care financing and a well argued case for “Medical Savings Accounts” that would reinstate the power of patients as purchasers.

“Compassion vs. Control: FDA Investigational Drug Regulation,” by Dale Gierenger in *Policy Analysis* no. 72, May 20, 1986 (Washington,

D.C.: Cato Institute). Gierenger subjects FDA drug regulation to critical scrutiny and offers a free-market alternative.

*Regulation of Pharmaceutical Innovation: The 1962 Amendments*, by Sam Peltzman (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1974). A pioneering study of the effects of state regulation of the drug industry, showing how safety regulations can actually decrease safety.

*Searching for Safety*, by Aaron Wildavsky (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1988). A critique of conventional wisdom on risk analysis that is critical of attempts to eliminate risk through regulation, offering instead suggestions for a broad range of risk strategies compatible with the market.

*Free to Choose*, by Milton and Rose Friedman (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980). Chapter 7 (“Who Protects the Consumer?”) and Chapter 8 (“Who Protects the Worker?”) show how health and safety regulation often results in the opposite of its ostensible end and how the stated ends of regulation can be better met through voluntary market means.

*Unnatural Monopolies: The Case for Deregulating Public Utilities*, ed. by Robert W. Poole, Jr. (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1985). Includes useful essays on the economics of natural monopoly, private contracting, electric utilities, and antitrust law and deregulation.

“The Perils of Regulation: A Market-Process Approach,” by Israel Kirzner, in his *Discovery and the Capitalist Process* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985). Shows how state regulation interferes with the beneficial operation of the market process of entrepreneurial discovery.

*Liability: The Legal Revolution and Its Consequences*, by Peter W. Huber (New York: Basic Books, 1988). Shows how contract law can deal with problems of safety and liability.

## *Personal Liberties*

“Is Our Morality Disintegrating?” by John Kekes in *Public Affairs Quarterly* 1 (January 1987). Kekes argues that changes in modern life reflect a turn from a “monistic” morality to a “pluralistic” morality, not a rejection of morality itself. People pursue different visions of the good life within the framework provided by individual liberty; coheres well with the presentation of “competing utopias” in Robert Nozick’s classical liberal work, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*.

*The Establishment Clause: Religion and the First Amendment*, by Leonard W. Levy (New York: Macmillan, 1986). Levy surveys the history of church-state relations in America and shows why and how church and state are intended to be separate.

*Dealing with Drugs: Consequences of Government Control*, ed. by Ronald Hamowy (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, 1987). A collection of essays by law enforcement personnel, physicians, historians, economists, and others on the effects of drug prohibition; a convincing case for legalization.

*Vices Are Not Crimes*, by Lysander Spooner (1875; reprinted in *The Lysander Spooner Reader*, ed. by George H. Smith [San Francisco: Fox & Wilkes, 1992]). A leading nineteenth century abolitionist, temperance advocate, and libertarian argued against legal prohibition of alcohol; the strong moral case for liberty and toleration has lost none of its force in the intervening years.

*The American Family and the State*, ed. by Joseph Peden and Fred Glahe (San Francisco: Pacific Institute, 1986). A collection of essays on the ways the state has intervened in family life; critical of both “secular humanists” and “fundamentalists” who seek to use the state to impose their vision of the good society on others.

*Sex and Reason*, by Richard Posner (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992). Posner, a law professor and federal judge, looks at laws governing sexual behavior and concludes, largely on utilitarian grounds, that individual rights and self ownership should be the rule.

*The Economics of Prohibition*, by Mark Thornton (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991). Thornton shows how prohibition leads to criminality and gives organized violence a comparative advantage in supplying prohibited substances. As Thornton demonstrates, the murder rate in the United States dropped for eleven consecutive years after the repeal of prohibition of alcohol; basically the same result could be expected following the repeal of narcotics prohibition.

*Bargaining with the State*, by Richard Epstein (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). This work examines the threats to liberty that arise through the power of the state selectively to distribute benefits and favors, ranging from licenses to tax exemptions, art subsidies, abortion funding, and much else.

*Our Right to Drugs*, by Thomas Szasz (New York: Praeger, 1992). The renowned pro-liberty psychiatrist provides strong arguments for legalization, including much fascinating historical material.

### *Freedom of Expression*

*Freedom of the Press from Zenger to Jefferson*, ed. by Leonard W. Levy (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966). A compendium of the classic American statements on freedom of the press, including texts by Hamilton, Franklin, Madison, Jefferson, Wilson, Adams, and others.

*Freedom of the Press from Hamilton to the Warren Court*, ed. by Harold I. Nelson (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967). Follows on the Levy book and includes documents on censorship during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (covering the conflicts over slavery, war, obscenity, birth control, and other pretexts for suppression of free speech).

*The Emergence of a Free Press*, by Leonard W. Levy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). An excellent history of the struggle in America for a free press; the account of the adoption of the First Amendment provides a valuable understanding of the struggle for a Bill of Rights.

*Advertising and the Market Process*, by Robert B. Ekelund, Jr., and David S. Saurman (San Francisco: Pacific Institute, 1988). An important

freedom of speech issue is the status of commercial speech. Two thoughtful economists defend advertising against the claims of its critics.

*American Broadcasting and the First Amendment*, by Lucas A. Powe (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987). Shows how state control of expression through licensing of the press—a practice that prompted the movement for a free press—has been reinstated in the electronic media; a strong case for freedom of expression through a free market and private property rights.

*Telecommunications in Crisis: The First Amendment, Technology, and Deregulation*, by Edwin Diamond and Norman Sandler, and Milton Mueller (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1983). Calls for an end to state control of the electronic media and deregulation through allowing freely transferable property rights in broadcasting.

*Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776: The Rise and Decline of Government Control*, by Frederick Seaton Siebert (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952). Shows how the English state used economic controls to assert control over expression and to stifle religious and political dissent.

*Kindly Inquisitors*, by Jonathan Rauch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). Rauch shows how important freedom of inquiry is to the discovery process, in science, politics, art, culture, and other areas; this book provides useful responses to the “politically correct” movement without throwing the baby out with the bathwater.

### *Socialism and State Economic Planning*

*Time Will Run Back*, by Henry Hazlitt (New York: University Press of America, 1986). Originally published as *The Great Idea*, this book by one of America’s leading economic journalists is crucial to understanding current developments in communist countries. Written as a novel, it traced the path by which socialism is likely to unravel and develop toward a market economy. (As the Hungarian Communist Party official is alleged to have answered when asked “What is socialism?,” “Socialism is a transitional phase in the dialectical progress of society—a long, difficult, and very painful transition from capitalism to....capitalism.”)

*Rivalry and Central Planning: The Socialist Calculation Debate Reconsidered*, by Don Lavoie (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985). The best scholarly overview of the debate over economic calculation. Shows how the “market socialists” misunderstood the essence of the critique of central planning offered by Mises and Hayek.

*Economic Calculation in the Socialist Society*, by Trygve J.B. Hoff (1949; reprint, Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1981). A thorough review of the problems of economic calculation under socialism, showing why socialism leads to chaos.

*Socialism*, by Ludwig von Mises (1936; Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1981). The classic work demonstrating that socialism cannot meet human needs because it cannot solve the problem of “economic calculation,” of how to translate value preferences into a system for allocating scarce resources among competing needs.

*National Economic Planning: What is Left?*, by Don Lavoie (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, 1985). Lavoie reviews more recent proposals for state planning and subjects them to withering criticism.

*Collectivist Economic Planning*, ed. by F. A. Hayek (1935; Clifton, N.J.: Augustus M. Kelley, 1975). A collection of the classic essays from the economic calculation debate. Includes the 1920 Mises article that launched the debate.

*Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine*, by Robert Conquest (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). A chilling look at forced collectivization by a prominent historian of the Soviet Union.

*From Marx to Mises*, by David Ramsay Steele (La Salle, Ill.: Open Court, 1992). A well-informed history and exposition of the economic calculation debate.

### *Liberty and Language*

“Politics and the English Language,” by George Orwell (1946). In George Orwell, *A Collection of Essays* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday &

Co., 1954). This delightful essay shows the connection between plain speech and liberty. An eloquent warning against inflated language.

*Liberty and Language*, by Geoffrey Sampson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979). An argument from the nature of language for classical liberalism.

### *War and Peace*

*A Search for Enemies: America's Alliances after the Cold War*, by Ted Galen Carpenter (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1992). Carpenter shows how budgets and alliances, and not mission, drive American foreign policy; as the reason behind American military alliances (the communist threat) collapses, new enemies must be found to justify maintaining an enormous military force. Carpenter presents an alternative strategy of strategic independence.

*The Society of Tomorrow*, by Gustave de Molinari (1904; reprint: New York: Garland, 1972). A visionary program for a society of peace, liberty, and prosperity. Molinari, editor of the influential *Journal des Économistes*, shows the relationship between liberty, free trade, and peace.

*As We Go Marching*, by John T. Flynn (1944; New York: Free Life Editions, 1973). A warning against a "good" American fascism brought about by permanent national crises, bureaucratic management of the economy, and accumulation of state power. Shows how important the creation of foreign enemies is to the maintenance of domestic power.

*Mammon and the Pursuit of Empire: The Economics of British Imperialism, 1860-1912*, by Lance E. Davis and Robert A. Huttenback (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988). A careful examination of the claim that imperialism was profitable for the English people; implicitly refutes Marxian claims that "capitalism" leads to imperialism and proves the truth of the arguments of classical liberals such as Richard Cobden and John Bright that imperialism was against the interests of the taxpaying and productive sectors of British society.

“Why Was British Growth So Slow Before the 1820’s?”, by Jeffrey G. Williamson, in his *Did British Capitalism Breed Inequality?* (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1985). Williamson demonstrates that war and economic growth are incompatible, and that the Industrial Revolution was interrupted and temporarily reversed by the Napoleonic Wars.

*On War and Morality*, by Robert Holmes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989). Holmes looks at the moral issues involved in conventional and nuclear wars. He looks at “just war” theories and their criticisms, including classical liberal perspectives.

*Advance to Barbarism*, by F. J. P. Veale (Appleton, Wis.: C. C. Nelson Publishing Co., 1953). This is a chilling account of the growth of total war among nation states, in which states wage war on the subject populations of other states. Contrasts “modern” practices with the tradition of international law developed by Vattel, Grotius, Blackstone, and others.

*The Problem of War in Nineteenth Century Economic Thought*, by Edmund Silberner (1946; reprint, New York: Garland, 1972). This is a detailed study that includes extensive discussion of English and French liberal doctrines.

“War Making and State Making as Organized Crime,” by Charles Tilley, in Evans, Roueschemeyer, and Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990). The author shows the striking parallels between state making and organized crime. The growth of state power is inseparable from war.

### *Polycentric Law*

*The Enterprise of Law*, by Bruce Benson (San Francisco: Pacific Research Foundation, 1990). Benson, a lawyer and economics professor, shows how the takeover by the state of law provision has led to disorder and chaos. This work contains useful histories of tort and criminal law, as well as anthropological evidence of the functioning of customary law and economic analysis of law and criminality.

*Bloodtaking and Peacemaking: Feud, Law, and Society in Saga Iceland*, by William I. Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990). This

is a fascinating study of how a fully private system of concurrent jurisdictions, based on restitution rather than retribution, functioned to protect public order and individual rights.

*Medieval Iceland*, by Jesse Byock (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). This book, in addition to being a fascinating study of a rich culture, shows how the Icelandic "Things" were neither kin-based nor geographical monopolies, but voluntary associations to provide protection of rights and order.

*The Law Merchant: The Evolution of Commercial Law*, by Leon E. Trakman (Littleton, Colo.: Fred B. Rothman & Co., 1983). See the discussion in the section on Law and the Free Society above.

*Without the Law: Administrative Justice and Legal Pluralism in Nineteenth-Century England*, by H.W. Arthur (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985). This book looks at the growth of private arbitration services in Victorian England and the revival of old jurisdictions as ways of circumventing the state.

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