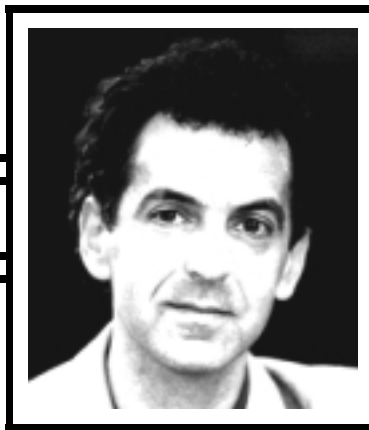


**THE NEW  
ENLIGHTENMENT:  
THE REVIVAL OF  
LIBERTARIAN IDEAS**

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**Libertarian  
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**FOR LIFE, LIBERTY AND PROPERTY**

# THE NEW ENLIGHTENMENT: THE REVIVAL OF LIBERTARIAN IDEAS

CHRIS R. TAME

“A new enlightenment will come.” — Hans Kohn, 1920<sup>1</sup>

Since the end of World War II there has emerged in almost every academic discipline or realm of thought a growing tide of opinion which we might categorise for the moment under the label — suggested by Edward Pearce — of the ‘non-left’. Whether in economics or political philosophy, ethics or aesthetics, sociology or psychology, and even in artistic endeavour, there have arisen powerful challenges to the intellectual hegemony long held by collectivist, statist and anti-capitalist thinking.

## I: Left and Right: The Unhelpful Dichotomy

I used Edward Pearce’s phrase hesitantly, since the language of “left” and “right” is profoundly unhelpful. Not only have the terms reversed their meaning (pro-free market, liberal ideas were, when the categorisation was first employed in the post-Revolutionary French Assembly placed on the “left”); this language also conceals a massive and fraudulent conceptual package deal. Thus, a group of collectivist and anti-individualist doctrines — national socialism, fascist corporatism, racial collectivism, and anti-semitism — are lumped together as “right-wing” with their polar opposites — liberalism, individualism, and capitalism. This has indeed proved a most useful weapon for Marxist and socialist opponents of liberalism, who seem well aware of the dictum attributed to Lenin that “once you have labelled something you don’t have to argue with it”. Liberalism and liberals are constantly being smeared as somehow “reactionary”, and linked with unpleasant and inhumane doctrines.

Indeed, every few years the term “the New Right” also gets dusted off and applied to some school of thought that socialist writers or journalists have suddenly deigned to notice. In my lifetime I have thus seen it applied to:

- advocates of real Burkean conservatism like the American Russell Kirk
- the half-liberal, half-authoritarian conservatism of William F. Buckley
- the religious fundamentalism and social authoritarianism of the “Moral Majority” in America
- the free-market economics of Milton Friedman and the Institute of Economic Affairs
- the National Socialism of the National Front in Britain
- the ex-Marxist French New Philosophers
- the rabidly anti-immigrant *Front National* of J. M. Le Pen in France
- the Europe-wide, quasi-Nietzschean, anti-capitalist organisation GRECE
- contemporary classical liberalism, libertarianism and anarcho-capitalism
- the writings of “sociobiologists” (theorists of evolutionary biology and psychology — many of whom are social democratic statist)
- various researchers into genetics or intelligence — many of whom are socialists
- advocates of racism

- those disillusioned former American welfare statist (inaccurately) termed “neo-conservatives”, like Irving Kristol
- the High Toryism of Roger Scruton and other *Salisbury Review* writers.

It should be amply clear why the whole language of left and right should be disposed of *in toto*.<sup>2</sup>

## II: The New Enlightenment

A far more informative label for the post-war liberal revival would be “the new liberalism” or the now widely used neologism “libertarianism”. A phrase I find particularly suggestive, however, is “The New Enlightenment”. Liberalism was born in the Enlightenment of the 18th century. The concepts of individual liberty, individualism, the free market, and rationalism crystallised in the intellectual systems of Adam Smith and the so-called Scottish Enlightenment, the rationalism of David Hume, and the natural-rights political philosophy of John Locke. The myriad views I shall discuss in this essay resemble nothing so much as a new statement of the ideals and aspirations of the *original* Enlightenment.<sup>3</sup>

## III: The Fall and Rise of Liberalism

The concept of the New Enlightenment is also particularly fruitful in drawing attention to the question of *why* classical liberalism declined, why it was deposed by Marxism and various forms of socialism in the 20th century, and why the hopes and promises of the original Enlightenment were not fulfilled. The answer, as I argued in my essay “The Revolution of Reason”,<sup>4</sup> lay within the very ambiguities of Enlightenment liberalism itself, its inconsistencies and inner contradictions. Moreover, the contemporary revival of liberalism can very much be seen as the belated attempt to resolve those ambiguities and to restate systematic liberalism without any of its fateful errors — in the words of Michael Polanyi, “to restate the great work of the Enlightenment without danger of the traps that have so disastrously ensnared its progress in the present century”.<sup>5</sup>

## IV: Science and Freedom

Perhaps one of the most fatal ambiguities of classical liberalism lay in its concept of science. It justly celebrated the achievements of science, the liberation to be found in man’s mastery over nature. But unfortunately the ethos of *science* became transformed into the ethos of “*scientism*”, in reality a profoundly unscientific attempt to transfer the methodology of one scientific discipline to another, ignoring the crucial and distinctive attributes of their respective subjects. In the study of man and society, rational consciousness and free will hence became ruled out virtually *a priori*. The liberal ideal of the autonomous individual was subverted in various ways by the predominance of social sciences that ruled out of court the validity of introspection, and that were characterised by a militant reductionism and determinism, by methodological collectivism and holism, and by historicism. This vision of science was embodied not merely in Marxism’s claim to be “scientific socialism”, a science of society, but the idea that science endorsed or implied the concept of a “scientifically controlled” and “rationally planned” society.<sup>6</sup>

One of the major roots of the New Enlightenment and the new liberalism has thus been a sustained critique of scientism by Michael Polanyi and Karl Popper. Polanyi, a noted physical scientist before he turned his attention to the philosophy of science and to the humane sciences, explored in a number of seminal works “an alternative ideal of knowledge, quite generally”. His task of “conceptual reform” rejected not merely the “scourge of physicalism” in psychology and the life sciences — the idea that human beings are irrevocably determined by internal or external forces — but a reassessment of the very “conception of knowing” and its reconstruction upon the basis of “knowing as an active comprehension of the things known” and “the personal participation of the knower in all acts understanding”. His philosophy constituted not merely an answer to the materialistic, determinist and scepticist positions which had resulted in the “moral inversions” of nihilism and totalitarian doctrines (whether National Socialist or Marxist international socialist). He also drew out the mistaken conception of science that undergirded the concepts of the alleged scientific planning of society and economy, by his view of “tacit knowledge” — knowledge that cannot be formally written down or can only be expressed in the terms of action.<sup>7</sup> It was this epistemological approach which thus led to Polanyi’s critique of various forms of alleged planning, whether the democratic variety of Britain (a muddle) or that of the Soviet Union (tyranny). I use the word “alleged” since, as he demonstrated in his seminal studies of what actually occurs in the Soviet system — *The Contempt of Freedom* and *The Logic of Liberty* — such planning is a myth, an impossibility. The sort of knowledge necessary to make such planning possible is outside the reach of the would-be planners.<sup>8</sup>

A similar, but arguably even more impressive and systematic, philosophy was produced by another refugee to Britain, Sir Karl Popper. Again, the failings of much of the mainstream of European philosophic and scientific thought provided the stimulus, in the words of John Gray in his essay “The Liberalism of Karl Popper”, to “a defence of liberalism ... which gains much of its power from the fact that ... it is embedded in a comprehensive philosophical perspective on the nature of human knowledge, rationality and freedom of thought and action”.<sup>9</sup> Revolutionary ideologies like Marxism and fascism/national socialism were based, in Popper’s view, on pre-scientific and irrational modes of thought (although disguised by the mantle of science) that he designated as holism and historicism. His case against holistic “social engineering” stems directly from his case against holistic methodology in social science. Just as holistic methodology ignores the inevitable selectivity of observation and attempts the logically impossible task of studying social wholes, holistic social engineering attempts to centralise knowledge. This attempt is not only epistemologically impossible, but also inherently coercive and systematically self-defeating, since it walls itself off from real information and the corrective process of criticism. Popper’s “falsificationist” and “error elimination” approach sees knowledge as an evolutionary process. It is a view remarkably analogous to the functioning of the free market process, especially as outlined by Friedrich Hayek and other “Austrian School” economists.<sup>10</sup>

## V: The Autonomous Individual

Since, as the Marxist philosopher Ellen M. Wood has put it in her *The Mind and Politics*, “a conscious or unconscious conception of human nature underlies every choice of social or political values”,<sup>11</sup> it is not surprising that the success of particular political doctrines has been intimately associated with the success of related ideas in psychology and social theory. Both Polanyi and Popper rejected the deterministic or reductionist view of man, the idea that man’s behaviour is overwhelmingly dictated by forces beyond his control, whether biological, racial, psychological, social, historical or economic. Their colleague Arthur Koestler similarly carried on a sustained critique of determinism

within psychology and the life sciences and a vindication of human creativity and free will.<sup>12</sup>

At the same time there also arose a further broad movement in reaction against what Koestler called the “ratomorphic” image of man. Under the banner of “humanistic psychology” there arose a myriad school of thinkers and therapists who rejected determinism. The most distinguished figure in this movement was undoubtedly Abraham Maslow, who outlined a new “psychology of being” that did not deny our introspective experience of free will. His approach also built upon the psychology of the *healthy individual*, the “self actualising” person as an ethical ideal. This approach also temper ran through many other analytic and therapeutic schools of thought, too numerous to mention here. Although all arguably possess their fair share of weaknesses and errors, they all embodied a sound common liberatory and voluntarist image of man.<sup>13</sup>

Although many of the humanistic psychologists and therapists had no political orientation, or even an anti-liberal one, many were well aware, as Maslow put it, that their “new world view” implicitly contained “a new image of society and of all its institutions”. Maslow moved from an early socialism to, by the time of his death, an almost completely libertarian position. His disciple and biographer, Frank G. Goble, was an outright libertarian, while a growing number of explicit libertarians have also added their weight to the ranks of humanistic psychology and have integrated and extended its insights into the broader framework of libertarianism. Here one would cite the work of New York University’s Dr Thomas Szasz or Dr Nathaniel Branden, and Dr Peter R. Breggin.<sup>14</sup>

## VI: The Anomalies of Statism

Why did these counter-collectivist and counter-statist intellectual revivals not occur until after World War II? If liberalism, as I have argued above, declined essentially because of its own inherent weaknesses, why didn’t liberals recognise and correct them earlier?

Of course, Liberalism did not entirely disappear before the War. Friedrich Hayek, Ludwig von Mises, Lionel Robbins, Wilhelm Roepke, Frank H. Knight and other economists wrote the bulk of their major work in the pre-war period. But they gained mass followings and substantial influence only after it. The reason, in my view, is largely that any intellectual system needs some sort of fair intellectual crack of the whip, so to speak, before its strengths and weaknesses can be fully assessed. Before we can properly refute any view, it must be boldly conjectured — to use Popper’s terminology.

Here we might find Professor Thomas Kuhn’s concept of the paradigm particularly useful. Kuhn, a distinguished historian and philosopher of science (also influenced by Popper), argued in his influential *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* that science does not progress in the way most people assume. All scientific work takes place within what he called a “paradigm”, a fundamental conceptual world view. Scientific research is a working out, application or extension of the fundamental assumptions of the paradigm. Since any scientific paradigm is more or less related to objective reality, “anomalies” will occur, “violations of expectations”, facts that cannot satisfactorily be explained by the accepted paradigm. Eventually a *new* paradigm, arising out of the anomalies of its predecessor will become accepted (usually by a new generation of scholars, rather than the existing one).<sup>15</sup>

Collectivism and statism, in their many and varied forms, *have* had their fair crack of the whip — usually more than metaphorically. National Socialism, the fascist corporate state, racial collectivism, communist central planning, Conservative interventionism, Keynesianism, the mixed economy, the welfare state — every conceivable form of collectivism has been intellectually

elaborated (often to a tedious degree) *and* put into practice. And the results, according to whatever variety has been adopted, have been mass exterminations, repression, famine, poverty, inflation and economic decline. In other words, collectivist theories have been given plenty of time to be put to the tests of reason, while collectivist practices have generated more and more actually existing “anomalies”, effects which are simply not explicable in terms of their own conceptual theories.

It is particularly notable that the so-called American “Chicago School” developed its vindication of neoclassical economics from a background of highly detailed empirical studies of government intervention. As one leading Chicagoan, Yale Brozen, the author of many such studies, put it in his aptly titled 1965 essay, “The Revival of Classical Liberalism”:

Now that we have lived so long with government intervention in our economy, a few professional economists have begun to examine the results of that intervention. Some findings from these examinations are beginning to appear and affect, at least, the attitudes of an increasing number of scholars. If any resurgence of liberalism is occurring, this is the primary place it is apparent to me.<sup>16</sup>

Chicago scholars and their intellectual comrades at the Institute of Economic Affairs in Britain have thus built up a massive library of evidence on the effects of minimum wages and rent controls, the nature and effects of regulatory agencies, prices and wages control and virtually every form of intervention and regulation. In Milton Friedman’s theoretical and historical analyses of the supply of money and its attempted regulation — by both Keynesians and pre Keynesians — we have an impressive vindication of the quantity theory of money (“monetarism” as it is frequently, and unhelpfully, called<sup>17</sup>). Black libertarian economists and sociologists like Thomas Sowell and Walter Williams have demolished the statist analysis of ethnic minorities and its disastrous policy proscriptions.<sup>18</sup> The so-called “public choice” or “economics of politics” school, which grew out of the Chicago School, has taken the war into the enemy camp. Its analysis of the real nature and workings of the governmental, political and bureaucratic process further demonstrates the failings of the political process just as its forebears demonstrate the mythical nature of the much touted “market failure”.<sup>19</sup>

It is probably this rootedness in empirical research which explains why it has been the Chicago School rather than the “Austrian School” which has received the most attention. The Austrian School, especially as manifest in such figures as the late Ludwig von Mises, in Israel Kirzner and Murray Rothbard, possesses a methodological approach at such variance with the predominant philosophical paradigm that it has really only started to gain a wider audience after the ‘crisis period’ of statism has become so apparent. The Austrian School is being increasingly considered as individuals seek a radical alternative to the established macroeconomic and positivist paradigm.<sup>20</sup>

## VII: The Crisis Period of Statism

That we are now deeply in the crisis period of statism is apparent from the fact that the expositors of its anomalies by no means come to their work with a prior commitment to libertarian values. Thus Professor Martin Anderson, who wrote a devastating and influential critique of America’s urban renewal programme, started that study as a “liberal” (in the American sense that is, an interventionist). It was precisely that objective study that generated his opposition, turned him into a libertarian and a career as one of the Republican Party’s most influential policy experts.<sup>21</sup>

A whole school of similarly sceptical intellectuals emerged. Many of them had been involved in the creation or administration of statist policies, recognised their failure and subsequently called for a re-orientation in social policy toward the market

mechanism. They have been confusingly and inaccurately called the “neo-conservatives”. Writers like Irving Kristol, Nathan Glazer, Daniel P. Moynihan, (the Assistant Secretary of Labour under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson), Norman Podhoretz, and others frequently associated with the journals *Commentary* and *The Public Interest* are among the most notable figures in this group.<sup>22</sup> If the “neoconservatives” rebelled against aspects of statism from the very centre of the statist paradigm and policy elite, the “New Left” in America of the 1960s also largely arose as a reaction against statism and what it termed “corporate liberalism” (the technocratic, paternalist corporate state). The failure of the New Left to resolve its own internal contradictions, however, led to its dissolution, to a decline in some cases simply back into old style Marxism, into total disillusionment, or indeed to an incorporation into free market libertarianism.<sup>23</sup>

## VIII: Ayn Rand and the New Libertarian Paradigm

One of the major figures of the New Enlightenment was the Russian-born Jewish American novelist and philosopher, Ayn Rand. In some respects she stands in relation to the rest of the New Enlightenment as Locke did to the original Enlightenment. In both her philosophic novels and in a large number of non-fiction essays she attempted to create a broad philosophic system following a consistent path from metaphysics, through epistemology to ethnics and politics, and not forgetting aesthetics. In essence her approach was neo-Aristotelian (but attempting to correct the errors she perceived in its earlier forms). What made such an impact was her bold moral defence of capitalism. Rejecting the consequentialist, utilitarian or Christian approaches manifested by writers like Hayek, Henry Hazlit or Paul Johnson, she defended what she saw as a scientific morality, an ethical egoism — the “virtue of selfishness” as she termed it in the title of one book. Individuals have a right to exist for their own sake, the pursuit of their own happiness, and not for the sake of any alleged social good, or some fictitious collective or entity, whether the people, the nation, the race, the fatherland, or God.<sup>24</sup>

Although initially Ayn Rand’s approach was treated with scorn or contemptuous silence in academic circles,<sup>25</sup> all her works were bestsellers and had an enormous impact among young people. Indeed, they have probably had numerically the biggest impact in converting young people to libertarian ideas. And there are now a substantial number of young professional academic philosophers, like Tibor Machan, Eric Mack, David Kelley, Douglas Den Uyl, Douglas Rasmussen and Leonard Peikoff, explaining and developing her approach. Even Robert Nozick, whose *Anarchy, State and Utopia* has so far proved to be the libertarian work which has received the most academic attention, while rejecting the basis of the Randian moral argument had to devote a serious critical analysis to it in his discussion “On the Randian Argument”.<sup>26</sup> Her work has also provided inspiration for a growing body of artistic expression, in the mainstream novel, in science fiction, in poetry and drama, in the visual arts, in both classical and rock music.

Rand’s thought has been probably the principal instigator and inspiration of the contemporary libertarian movement, together with another very similar variant of neo-Aristotelian Natural Law/Natural Rights philosophy developed by Murray Rothbard (originally an early disciple of hers). The more radical exponents of her Objectivist philosophy, together with Rothbard and his followers and a number of other schools of libertarianism, reject her “minimal statism/limited government” views (the traditional classical liberal position) in favour of “anarcho-capitalism” or “free market anarchism”. This view holds that the monopolisation of defensive and restitutive force by the state is both an infringement of individual liberty and economically unnecessary — that the market can provide agencies of defence,

justice and law enforcement. A growing body of research in economic theory, history, jurisprudence, anthropology and sociology is being produced to support this market anarchist approach.<sup>27</sup>

### **IX: “Bliss It Was” ... Some Personal Reflections**

I have attempted to sketch some of the principal forces at work in the revival of libertarian ideas. My own experience is very much a micro version of the macro intellectual forces outlined. My own personal background was what is called “working class”, and I note with interest that many of my political colleagues share this socioeconomic origin. Our personal experience of socialism and the welfare state undoubtedly enabled us to see through their bogus claims — and the ethos of social determinism.

It is difficult to convey the excitement I and many of my friends experienced as we discovered the diverse streams of libertarian thought which emerged in our lifetime. In his influential textbook, *Economics*, Paul Samuelson quoted Wordsworth’s famous lines about the French Revolution:

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive  
But to be young was very heaven.

For Samuelson these lines summed up his excitement in discovering Keynesian ideas. But Keynes’ fallacious and feeble dilettantism pales into insignificance besides the synthesis emerging from the post-war New Enlightenment. Here were the clear explanations for the world we experienced, its successes and its many tragic failures and problems. Moreover, these were not barren unfalsifiable dogmatism but a continuing “research programme”, in which a plenitude of different discoveries were unmistakably pointing in the same direction and to the same conclusions. In a phrase, we were observing the emergence of a libertarian paradigm clearly destined to replace the statist paradigm.

### **X: The Recovery of Nerve**

But this does not, perhaps, tell the full story. Why does not everyone perceive the same truth? There are undoubtedly some interesting psychological factors at work here (and some libertarians, like André Spies, are exploring this issue). A further aspect of interest is undoubtedly the influence of “popular culture”, which, while despised by the statist intelligentsia, constitutes the real cultural alternative or “underground” of the 20th century.

The cultural mainstream for this century has been as much dominated by anti-libertarian ideas as the politico-economic mainstream. It has been characterised by the ethos of an “Age of Defeat”, as Cohn Wilson has put it in one perceptive book of that title, of “the unheroic hypothesis” or the “discussion of triviality”.<sup>28</sup> Doctrines of naturalism or realism echo collectivism’s social determinism. The traditional novel of manners evokes mainly boredom. Literary and stylistic experimentation seem devoted to little but “disillusionment, cynicism, disgust and gnawing envy” or in “making delicate picture puzzles out of the buttends of life”, as the American literary critic Henry Murray has put it. A large part of literary and cultural enterprise has also been characterised, in the words of John Weightman in “The Concept of the Avant Garde”, by “the flight from reason ... [a] disgust ... with the idea of science”, evocations of perceptual and epistemological chaos, and embodiments of crackpot philosophies and cults.<sup>29</sup>

In many of the young libertarians I meet as founder and Director the Libertarian Alliance and Secretary of the Adam Smith Club I have found an enormous alienation from the products of establishment or mainstream or “high” culture (whatever we chose to call it), or, to be more accurate, from its 20th century manifestations. As Ayn Rand put it in her essay “The New Enemies of

the Untouchables”: “When a culture is dominated by an irrational philosophy, a major symptom of its decadence is the inversion of all values.”<sup>30</sup> Rational moral values, a life-affirming sense of life, a voluntaristic image of man, have been preserved, however, in what Rand calls the “bootleg” forms of romanticism, in the adventure, detective, thriller and science-fiction genres. It is no accident that the Frankfurt School Marxist Max Horkheimer contemptuously referred to the “rhetoric of individuality” within popular culture. It is no mere rhetoric! There are no social determinist apologies for crime in the “Dirty Harry” films, only a love of justice and empathy with the victim, rather than the perpetrator. Individual integrity, honour, justice: these are the core values in so much popular culture, from the Italian westerns to kung-fu films. It is in science fiction, however, that we find those specific values that Professor Peter Gay, in his definitive work *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, attributed to the original Enlightenment — “the recovery of nerve” in humanity’s potential and destiny, “the celebration of industry” and of science and technology.

It is notable that for countless libertarians — including myself — it has been popular culture, and especially science-fiction, that have influenced and emotionally sustained us. Leading science-fiction authors like Robert Heinlein, Poul Anderson, Jerry Pournelle, Larry Niven, and F. Poul Wilson, amongst many others, consistently dramatise themes relating to the issues of rationalism versus superstition, progress versus reaction, freedom and individualism versus socialism and authoritarianism.<sup>31</sup>

It is also significant that socialism, having literally failed to deliver the goods, is increasingly abandoning the mantle of science. Its predominant tone is now one of doom-mongering, of hysterical prophecies of environmental disaster and the “limits to growth”, of rabid technophobia and opposition to progress and science. Indeed, some socialists like Robert Heilbroner explicitly call for a return to a neo-feudal, no-growth system in which a superstitious populace are manipulated — for their own good and that of “nature”, of course — by a new priestly class of ecologists.<sup>32</sup> The original Enlightenment identified itself “with sound method, progress, success, the future”, declared Professor Gay.<sup>33</sup> The inspiration many libertarians find in science-fiction and their enthusiastic commitment to the vision and role of science thus makes the title name “The New Enlightenment” even more apposite.

### **XI: The Future**

What are the prospects for this New Enlightenment? There is no inevitability in history. And while scientific paradigms generally move in the direction of increasing credibility and truth, the broader socio-political community is somewhat different from the scientific community. The scientific community has characteristics which provide an impetus to the discovery of the truth. The socio-political community, unfortunately, has characteristics which, to say the least, are not especially amenable to change. Special interest groups, the “tax eaters” who use the political means of state power to exploit their fellows, are going to be less than objective in examining either the justice or the consequences of their mode of existence, as John Burton has shown so illuminatingly in his recent essay “The Instability of the Middle Way”.<sup>34</sup>

Nevertheless, there is a power to truth. We have a powerful emergent libertarian synthesis — the beginnings of a “science of liberty” as Murray Rothbard calls it — that explains the anomalies of statism and offers a research programme of enormous promise. But it is entirely on us as individuals, on our dedication and commitment to political and intellectual struggle, that the prospects for ideological victory depend.

## NOTES

1. Hans Kohn, "Nationalism", in Arthur A. Cohen, ed., *The Jew: Essays From Martin Buber's Journal 'Der Jude', 1916-1928*, Judaic Studies Series, University of Alabama Press, 1980, p. 30.
2. The best discussion of the origins and ambiguity of the left/right spectrum are in Murray N. Rothbard, "Left and Right: The Prospects For Liberty", *Left and Right: A Journal of Libertarian Thought*, Spring 1965; Samuel Brittan, *Left or Right: The Bogus Dilemma*, Secker and Warburg, London, 1968; *idem*, "Further Thoughts on Left and Right", in *Capitalism and the Permissive Society*, Macmillan, London, 1973; and the perceptive comments by Elie Kedourie, "The History of Ideas and Guilt By Association", in *idem*, *The Crossman Confessions and Other Essays in Politics, History and Religion*, Mansell Publishing, London, 1985. To confuse things further it was indicative of the 20th century decline of liberal ideas and values that in the United States the very word liberalism reversed its meaning. Originally it designated an ideology of individualism and anti-statism but became expropriated by the 1920s by advocates of collectivism and statism. Ironically, the term "conservative", which originally designated an anti-rationalist and anti-individualist philosophy which glorified "communal" values, tradition, authority or the nation, became applied to libertarians (much to their justifiable horror). The Conservative Party in Britain has eventually come to include some libertarians as well as real conservatives.
3. The best general study of the Enlightenment remains Peter Gay's *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, 2 vols., Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1967, 1970. "The New Enlightenment" was also chosen by David Graham as the title for the six-part television series about the liberal revival made by his company, Diverse Productions, for Channel 4 in Britain and for worldwide distribution. The programme outline was written by myself, and a book of the series was authored by David Graham and Peter Clarke as *The New Enlightenment*, Macmillan, London, 1986. The phrase was also independently conceived and employed in Jerome Tuccille's penetrating *Who's Afraid of 1984?*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1975, pp. 209-215.
4. Chris R. Tame, "The Revolution of Reason: Peter Gay, The Enlightenment, and the Ambiguities of Classical Liberalism", *The Journal of Libertarian Studies*, 1(3), Summer, 1977.
5. Michael Polanyi, *Knowing and Being: Essays by Michael Polanyi* (Grene, Marjorie, ed.), University of Chicago Press, 1969, p. 5.
6. For two representative examples of this scientific, social self-regulation theme, omnipresent in 20th century thought, see Wesley Clair Mitchell, "Intelligence and the Guidance of Economic Evolution", in Mitchell et al., *Authority and the Individual*, Harvard University Press, 1937 and H. Levy, *The Universe of Science*, Watts, London, 1932, p. v. For the sake of brevity I have not included a discussion of Friedrich Hayek's critique of scientism in his *The Counter Revolution of Science*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1952, nor the fruitful personal and intellectual relationships between Hayek, Popper and Polanyi. Murray Rothbard's "The Mantle of Science", in Helmut Schoeck and J. W. Wiggins, eds., *Scientism and Values*, Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 1960, also provided an incisive critique of the pseudo-scientific nature of "scientism" and a demonstration of the conformity of libertarianism with the premises and nature of real science.
7. Michael Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge: Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy*, Routledge, London, 2nd edn., 1962. In addition to the two above cited works, Polanyi's other major works are: *Science, Faith and Society*, Oxford University Press, 1946; 2nd edn, Phoenix Books, University of Chicago Press, 1964; *The Tacit Dimension*, Doubleday, Garden City, New York, 1960; *The Study of Man*, University of Chicago Press, 1963; and (with Harry Prosch), *Meaning*, University of Chicago Press, 1975. A useful general introduction to his thought is Richard Gerwick, *The Way of Discovery: An Introduction to the Thought of Michael Polanyi*, Oxford University Press, 1977.
8. See Michael Polanyi, *The Logic of Liberty: Reflections and Rejoinders*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1951 and *The Contempt of Freedom: The Russian Experiment and After*, Watts, London, 1940, were further extended and integrated with the Austrian School view on economic calculation by Paul Craig Roberts in his *Alienation and the Soviet Economy*, New Mexico University Press, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1971. Other scholars were influenced by Polanyi in philosophy and the life sciences, as shown in Marjorie Grene, ed., *The Anatomy of Knowledge*, Routledge, London, 1969; *idem*, *Toward a Unity of Knowledge*, International Universities Press, New York, 1969; *Interpretations of Life and Mind*, Routledge, London, 1971.
9. John Gray, "The Liberalism of Karl Popper", *Government and Opposition*, 11(3), Summer 1976, p. 339. This essay, reprinted as Scientific Notes No. 2, Libertarian Alliance, London, 1985, provides an interesting account of the unity of Popper's philosophical and political approaches. Popper's classic work on the theory of knowledge and the philosophy of science remains *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, Hutchinson, London, 1959, but readers are also referred to his *Conjectures and Refutations*, Routledge, London, 1963, and *Objective Knowledge*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972. More directly addressing political issues are *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, 2 vols., Routledge, London, 1945 and *The Poverty of Historicism*, Routledge, London, 1944. P. A. Schilpp, ed., *The Philosophy of Karl Popper*, 2 vols., Open Court, La Salle, Illinois, 1974, contains a collection of papers about Popper's work, as well as his own "Replies to my Critics" and an "Intellectual Autobiography".
10. A fascinating comparison of the similarity between the Popperian concept of science and the market process can also be found in Bill Stoddard, *The Scientific Method as an Application of Economics*, Scientific Notes No. 1, Libertarian Alliance, London, 1985.
11. Ellen M. Wood, *The Mind And Politics: An Approach to the Meaning of Liberal and Socialist Individualism*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1972.
12. Koestler's anti-reductionism is elaborated in "Of Dogs and Men", "Of Geese and Men", "Of Apes and Men", and "The Poverty of Psychology" in *idem*, *Drinkers of Infinity: Essays, 1955-1967*, Hutchinson, London, 1968, and A. Koestler and J. R. Smythies, eds., *Beyond Reductionism: New Perspectives in the Life Sciences*, Hutchinson, London, 1969. A good overview of his work can be found in his own *Janus: A Summing Up*, Hutchinson, London, 1978. In spite of his rejection of Marxism and his penetrating remarks on the "delusionary streak" in human behaviour that leads to self-identification with mythical collectivities, Koestler remained politically naive. See Stephen Toulmin, "Arthur Koestler's Theodicy: On Sin, Science and Politics", *Encounter*, February, 1979.
13. Major works in humanistic psychology and therapy include: Abraham Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, Harper and Row, New York, 1954 and *Toward A Psychology of Being*, Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 2nd edn., 1968; Carl Rogers, *On Becoming A Person*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1961, and *Client-Centred Therapy*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1951; Sigmund Koch, "Psychological Science Versus The Science-Humanism Antinomy: Intimations of a Significant Science of Man", *American Psychologist*, 16(10), October, 1961; *idem*, "Reflections on the State of Psychology", *Social Research*, 38(4), Winter, 1971; Sidney M. Jourard, *The Transparent Self*, Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 1964; Joel Fagan and Irma Lee Shepherd, eds., *Gestalt Therapy Now*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1972; William Glasser, *Reality Therapy*, Harper and Row, New York, 1965; Albert Ellis, *Reason and Emotion in Psychotherapy*, Lyle Stuart, New York, 1962; Viktor Frankl, *The Will To Meaning*, Souvenir Press, London, 1971; Robert Assagioli, *Psychosynthesis*, Turnstile

- Press, Wellinborough, Northants, 1975. Viktor Frankl, in *Man's Search For Meaning: An Introduction to Logotherapy*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1959, sums up the temper of the humanistic movement very well: "Man is ultimately self determining ... What he becomes within the limits of endowment and environment — he has made out of himself. In the concentration camps, for example, in this living laboratory and on this testing ground we watched and witnessed some of our comrades behave like swine while others behaved like saints. Man has both potentialities within himself; which one is actualized depends on decisions but not on conditions." (pp. 136-7)
14. Frank G. Goble, *The Third Force*, Grossman, New York, 1970; Peter Breggin, *The Psychology of Freedom: Liberty and Love as a Way of Life*, Prometheus Books, Buffalo, New York, 1980. Nathaniel Branden, *The Psychology of Self-Esteem*, Bantam Books, New York, 1971; *idem*, *Breaking Free*, Bantam Books, New York, 1972; *idem*, *The Disowned Self*, Bantam Books, New York, 1973, *The Psychology of Romantic Love*, J. P. Tarcher, Los Angeles, 1980; *idem*, *Honouring the Self: Personal Integrity and the Heroic Potentials of Human Nature*, J. P. Tarcher, Los Angeles, 1983. Thomas Szasz's works are so voluminous that it is invidious to have to select the major ones. However, the interested reader should not fail to consult *The Myth of Mental Illness*, Paladin Books, London, 1972; *idem*, *Ideology and Insanity*, Calder and Boyars, London, 1973; *idem*, *The Ethics of Psychoanalysis*, Routledge, London, 1973.
  15. Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Chicago University Press, 2nd edn., 1970. His concept of the paradigm has been put to fruitful libertarian use by Murray Rothbard in "Ludwig von Mises and the Paradigm For Our Age", in *idem*, *Egalitarianism as a Revolt Against Nature*, Libertarian Review Press, Washington, D.C., 1974, and by Roy Childs in "Liberty and the Paradigm of Statism", in Tibor Machan, ed., *The Libertarian Alternative*, Nelson-Hall, Chicago, 1974. There is a large and growing literature, far too extensive to detail here, applying the concept to the evolution of various disciplines in both the natural and the human sciences.
  16. Yale Brozen, "The Revival of Traditional Liberalism", *New Individualist Review*, Spring, 1965, p. 6. This essay provides an excellent surveys of the early empirical Chicagoite work. Brozen has also edited a valuable anthology of Chicago scholarship, *The Competitive Economy*, General Learning Press, Morristown, New Jersey, 1975. My own essay, "The Chicago School: Lessons From The Thirties For The Eighties", *Economic Affairs*, 4(1), October, 1983, reprinted as Libertarian Reprints No. 8, 1984, also supplies a useful introduction to the origins and character of Chicagoism.
  17. Milton Friedman's work is wide-ranging. Classic examples can be found in Milton Friedman and Anna J. Schwartz, *A Monetary History of the United States, 1867-1970*, Princeton University Press, 1963; *idem*, *Essays in Positive Economics*, University of Chicago Press, 1953; *idem*, *Capitalism and Freedom*, University of Chicago Press, 1962. There is a huge body of confirmatory scholarship on "monetarism" (ie the quantity theory of money) by English and American economists. Both *The Journal of Political Economy* and *The Journal of Law and Economics* are indispensable sources of Chicago analysis, as are the publications of the Institute of Economic Affairs and the journal *Economic Affairs* in Britain.
  18. See, amongst his many works, Thomas Sowell, *Race and Economics*, Longman, London, 1975, and *The Economics and Politics of Race*, William Morrow, New York 1983. And see also Walter Williams, *The State Against Blacks*, McGraw Hill, New York, 1982.
  19. The literature of the "public choice" or "economics of politics" extension of the Chicago School is now becoming as numerous as that of its intellectual progenitor. For good introductions see, D. C. Mueller, *Public Choice*, Cambridge University Press, 1979; Gordon Tullock, ed., *Politics of Bureaucracy*, Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C., 1964; *idem*, *The Vote Motive*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1976; Gordon Tullock and Robert D. Tollison, eds., *The Theory of Public Choice: Political Applications of Economics*, Michigan University Press, 1972. Arthur Seldon, *The New Economics*, Study Guide No. 2, Libertarian Alliance, London, 1985. The public choice school is in turn part of a broader phenomenon of "economic imperialism", the vindication of the relevance of economics to the analysis of all aspects of human and social existence. See Richard B. McKenzie and Gordon Tullock, *The New World of Economics: Explorations into the Human Experience*, Richard D. Irwin, Homewood, Illinois, 2nd edn., 1978.
  20. The great representatives of the Austrian School in the 20th century are Ludwig von Mises and Frederick Hayek. As with most of the Austrians both men were polymaths, political and social philosophers as much as economists. Representative works by them are von Mises, *Human Action*, 3rd rev. edn., Henry Regnery, Chicago, 1966, and *Liberalism*, Sheed Andrews and McMeel, Kansas City, 1978; Hayek, *Individualism and Economic Order*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1949; *The Constitution of Liberty*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1960. Recent restatements of the Austrian School approach are E. G. Dolan, ed., *The Foundations of Modern Austrian Economics*, Sheed and Ward, Kansas City, 1976; Louis M. Spadaro, ed., *New Directions in Austrian Economics*, Sheed, Andrews and McMeel, Kansas City, 1978; Mario J. Rizzo, ed., *Time, Uncertainty, and Disequilibrium: Exploration of Austrian Themes*, Lexington Books/D. C. Heath, Lexington, Mass., 1979; Larry S. Moss, ed., *The Economics of Ludwig von Mises: Toward A Critical Reappraisal*, Sheed, Andrews and McMeel, Kansas City, 1976; G. P. O'Driscoll, Jr., *Economics as a Coordination Problem: The Contributions of F. A. von Hayek*, Sheed, Andrews and McMeel, Kansas City, 1977; Alex Shand, *The Capitalist Alternative: An Introduction To Neo-Austrian Economics*, Harvester Press, Brighton, 1984; W. Duncan Reekie, *Markets, Entrepreneurs and Liberty: An Austrian View of Capitalism*, Harvester Press, Brighton, 1984. The most important contemporary Austrian scholars are Israel Kirzner and Murray Rothbard. Kirzner's work has focussed particularly on entrepreneurship. See his *Competition and Entrepreneurship*, University of Chicago Press, 1973. Murray Rothbard has provided the most systematic development of Austrianism. In his *Man, Economy and State*, 2 vols, D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 1962, *Power and Market: Government and the Economy*, Institute for Humane Studies, Menlo Park, California, 1970 and in countless other books, monographs and essays Rothbard has provided a sounder Aristotelian philosophical base for Austrian methodology, extended its economic analysis, and attempted to integrate it within a broader analytic and normative "science of liberty" encompassing all the humane studies. The concept of libertarianism as "the science of freedom" can be found in his *Egalitarianism As A Revolt Against Nature*, Libertarian Review Press, Washington, D.C., 1974, p. x. Interestingly, the phrase is also used by Peter Gay as the subtitle for the second volume of his study of the original Enlightenment.
  21. Martin Anderson, *The Federal Bulldozer*, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1964, was the classic case of the American "liberal" learning from reality. Anderson's conversion to libertarianism is discussed in Beatrice Hessen, "Review of The Federal Bulldozer", *The Objectivist*, April 1966, pp. 11-12.
  22. On the so called neoconservatives, see Nigel Ashford, "The Neo-Conservatives", *Government and Opposition*, 13(3), Summer, 1981; also Norman Podhoretz, *Breaking Ranks: A Political Memoir*, Harper and Row, New York, 1979; Irving Kristol, *Two Cheers For Capitalism*, Basic Books, New York, 1978; Daniel P. Moynihan, "Where Liberals Went Wrong", in Melvin Laird, ed., *The Republican Papers*, Doubleday, Garden City, New York, 1968. In my view this trend would be better characterised by a label like "revisionist liberalism" or "chastened liberalism". The growth of a new realism about the effects and potential of state power was manifest in the work of many who were not necessarily perceived as neoconservatives: for example, Professor Jay Forrester at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Forrester described what he called "the counter-intuitive behaviour of social systems" that "should make us cautious about rushing into programs on the basis of short-term humanitarian impulses. The eventual result can be anti-humanitarian".

- tarian ... At times government programs cause exactly the reverse of the desired result" — in "The Counterintuitive Behaviour of Social Systems", *Reason*, 3(4) and 3(5), July and August 1971. Other works on the crisis in American "liberalism" were Theodore J. Lowi, *The Politics of Disorder*, Basic Books, New York, 1971; Milton Mayer, *Man v. The State*, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California, 1970; Matthew P. Dumont, "Down the Bureaucracy!", *Trans-Action*, 7(12), October, 1970; William Pfaff, *Condemned to Freedom*, Random House, New York, 1971.
23. On the libertarian aspects of the American New Left, see Ronald Hamowy, "Left and Right Meet", *New Republic*, 12 March 1966. An example of such quasi-libertarianism can be found in Hal Draper, "NeoCorporatism and Neo-Reformers", *New Politics*, Fall, 1961, and "The Two Souls of Socialism", *Our Generation*, January 1969. The most detailed examination of this subject can be found in my as yet unpublished *Contemporary American Radicalism: The Left, The Right, and the State*, B. A. Dissertation, Department of American Studies, The University of Hull, 1969.
  24. Ayn Rand called her distinctive philosophy "Objectivism". Her major novels are *The Fountainhead*, Panther Books, London, 1961 and *Atlas Shrugged*, New American Library, New York, 1957. Amongst her major non-fiction works are *The Virtue of Selfishness*, New American Library, New York, 1964, and *Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal*, New American Library, New York, 1967; *The New Left: The Anti-Industrial Revolution*, New American Library, New York, 1971; *Philosophy: Who Needs It?*, Bobbs Merrill, New York, 1982. A major biographical study, *The Passion of Ayn Rand*, by Barbara Branden is forthcoming. I provide a brief introduction in "The Moral Case For Private Enterprise", in Cecil Turner, ed., *The Case For Private Enterprise*, Bachman and Turner, London, 1979.
  25. Virtually the only exception to the academic philosophical establishment's haughty attitude to Rand was the head of the University of Southern California's School of Philosophy, Dr John Hospers. He discussed her ideas in his popular philosophy textbook, *An Introduction to Philosophical Analysis*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 2nd edn., 1967. He also wrote an excellent introduction to libertarianism, *Libertarianism: A Political Philosophy For Tomorrow*, Nash Publishing, Los Angeles, 1971. Among the younger professional philosophers influenced by Rand are Tibor Machan, *Human Rights and Human Liberties*, Nelson Hall, Chicago, 1975; Douglas J. Den Uyl and Douglas B. Rasmussen, eds., *The Philosophic Thought of Ayn Rand*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois, 1984; David Kelley, *The Evidence of the Senses*, Louisiana University Press, forthcoming; Leonard Piekoff, *The Ominous Parallels: The End of Freedom in America*, Stein and Day, New York, 1982.
  26. Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State and Utopia*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1975, is indispensable. His essay, "On the Randian Argument", is reprinted, together with a reply by Den Uyl and Rasmussen, in Jeffrey Paul, ed., *Reading Nozick*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1983.
  27. The anarcho-capitalist school of libertarianism can be found expounded from an Austrian School/Natural Rights perspective in Murray Rothbard, *For A New Liberty*, CollierMacmillan, New York, 2nd edn., 1973, and *The Ethics of Liberty*, Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey, 1982; and from a Chicago School/Utilitarian perspective in David Friedman, *The Machinery of Freedom*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, 1978. Other major works include Morris and Linda Tannehill and Jarrett Wollstein, *Society Without Government*, Arno Press, New York, 1972. Good general introductions to the modern libertarian spectrum are Jerome Tuccille, *Radical Libertarianism: A New Political Alternative*, Harper and Row, New York, 2nd edn., 1971; Harry Browne, *How I Found Freedom In An Unfree World*, Macmillan, New York, 1973; Tibor Machan, ed., *The Libertarian Alternative*, Nelson-Hall, Chicago, 1974, and *idem*, ed., *The Libertarian Reader*, Rowan and Littlefield, Totowa, New Jersey, 1982; David Osterfeld, *Freedom, Society and the State*, University Press of America, New York, 1983. Henri Lepage, *Tomorrow, Capitalism*, Open Court, La Salle, Illinois, 1982; Geoffrey Sampson, *An End To Allegiance: Individual Freedom and the New Politics*, Maurice Temple Smith, London, 1984.
  28. Colin Wilson's *The Age of Defeat*, Gollancz, London, 1959, and *The Strength To Dream*, Gollancz, London, 1962, have provided telling criticisms of the prevailing negativity of "establishment" culture. Robert Conquest has also penned dissenting essays on literary and aesthetic matters, many gathered in *The Abomination of Moab*, Maurice Temple Smith, London, 1979. Tom Wolfe, a vigorous libertarian conservative, has extended his witty and caustic cultural portraits of such social phenomena as "radical chic" to more systematic cultural and aesthetic criticism in *The Painted Word*, Farrer Straus Giroux, New York, 1975, and *From Bauhaus to Our House*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1982.
  29. Henry A. Murray, "In Nomine Diaboli", in T. Hillway and L. S. Mansfield, eds., *Moby Dick: Centennial Essays*, Southern Methodist University Press, Dallas, Texas, 1983; John Weightman, "The Concept of the Avant-Garde", *Encounter*, July 1969, pp. 13-14.
  30. Ayn Rand, "The New Enemies of 'The Untouchables'", *The Objectivist Newsletter* (New York), 1(8), p. 36. Her influential work has been gathered in *The Romantic Manifesto: A Philosophy of Literature*, New American Library, New York, 1971. Much of the critical and literary work stimulated by her writing has so far appeared only in fugitive publications. The most distinguished is currently *Aristos: The Journal of Aesthetics*, P.O. Box 1105, Radio City Station, New York, New York, 10101, USA.
  31. See my "Life, Liberty and the Stars: The Ideological Significance of Science Fiction", *Science and Public Policy*, II(5), October 1984 and reprinted as Cultural Notes No. 6, Libertarian Alliance, London, 1984, which provides a brief introduction to the character of science fiction and for references to major works in the genre.
  32. The literature of doom-mongering and statist "ecology" is enormous. Robert Heilbroner's *The Human Prospect*, Norton, New York, 1974, is representative. I offer a detailed critique of Heilbroner's significance, in *Environmentalism and Totalitarianism: An Obituary For Modern 'Liberalism'*, Libertarian Alliance, London, 1985. Libertarians have produced a voluminous literature outlining the fallacies of hysterical environmentalist, "no growth" and anti-nuclear movements. My essay on Heilbroner provides a brief bibliography of this literature. Given the current hysteria and ignorance on one aspect of this question, I feel constrained to especially recommend Professor Petr Beckmann's *The Health Hazards of Not Going Nuclear*, Golem Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1976.
  33. Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, *op cit*.
  34. John Burton, "The Instability of the Middle Way", *idem* ed., *Hayek's 'Serfdom' revisited: Essays by Economists, Philosophers and Political Scientists on 'The Road to Serfdom' After 4 Years*, Hobart Paperback 18, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1984, pp. 95-96.