

AN INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST
ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY

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JOHN E. ROEMER

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An Introduction to Marxist Economic Philosophy

John E. Roemer

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To Sara Margaret and Andrea Rebecca

Preface

Students who wish to learn Marxist economics must, for the most part, master a language that is a century old and not visibly compatible with what they read in contemporary social science. My aim in this book is to present the lasting ideas of Marxist economics in a way that makes them accessible to readers today. But it would be dishonest to say that only the language is new. Many classic Marxist arguments do not appear here, or have been drastically revised, because I believe they are wrong. The theory of the falling rate of profit is a case in point. And the labor theory of value, so important in the classic Marxist account, is unimportant here, for it contributes nothing to our understanding and, even when most charitably interpreted, is at best misleading. It is, indeed, a secondary purpose of this book to show that the conclusions of Marxist analysis do not depend at all on the labor theory of value. The revised Marxism I present is shaped by the insights that the tools of contemporary economics—that is, neoclassical economics—can bring to bear.

In the century since Marx wrote, his ideas have been important in large part because they provide an argument for the immorality of the capitalist system; and my theme is, similarly, to trace the connections between the economic concepts of Marxism and the ethical ideas to which they are related. Whereas contemporary neoclassical economics advertises its moral neutrality, the task of Marxist economics is to challenge the defensibility, from a moral viewpoint, of an economic system based on private ownership of the means of production. The method of economic theory can provide only one kind of argument in this debate, but one that I hope reveals its usefulness, especially in connection with historical, sociological, and philosophical approaches.

The material I present can form the syllabus of an upper division or graduate course in Marxist economic philosophy. I hope the book will be useful to social science and philosophy students and to the social scientist or philosopher who wants an elementary and quite brief presentation of the links between political philosophy and the ideas of exploitation, class, and historical materialism.

I wish to thank my students, whose enthusiasm encouraged me to write this book, and my friends in the September Group (“Marxismus sine stercore tauri”), who have met annually in London for the better part of a decade to argue about what Marxism has to offer to the social science of our day. This book reflects what I have taken from those discussions. I am especially grateful for the comradeship of G. A. Cohen and David Donaldson, who read the manuscript and commented on it in a degree of detail far beyond what duty required. Finally, I am indebted to Jodi Simpson of Harvard University Press for her incisive editorial work.

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Introduction

Marxism is a set of ideas from which sprang particular approaches to economics, sociology, anthropology, political theory, literature, art, philosophy, and history. Some Marxist ideas have been so successful that they are no longer regarded as Marxist; they have become absorbed by social science, or historical analysis. (An example of such an idea in economics is the two-factor growth model, which focuses on the contributions of labor and capital. Prior to Marx, land had been viewed as an equal contributor, with labor and capital, to growth.) Alfred North Whitehead said that any science that hesitates to forget its founder will soon die. One does not refer to contemporary microeconomics as Smithian—although it was inspired by Adam Smith—because his insights were so pervasive that they came to dominate the whole field. (To call oneself a Smithian would presuppose the existence of non-Smithians.) Marxism, in some parts of the world, has achieved this kind of intellectual hegemony. At least one third of the world's population lives in states founded mainly on principles resulting from the Marxist analysis of capitalism. Although many, perhaps most, of the people in these states do not call themselves Marxist, just as most Americans do not call themselves Lockean or Hobbesian or Rousseauian, the worldview of Marxism—based on class, exploitation, and historical materialism—is pervasive in those societies. I say this with an appreciation of the degree to which many are politically opposed to the regimes in which they live.

Even within social science as it is practiced in the capitalist world, some Marxist ideas have occasionally become so powerful that everyone is a Marxist in some dimensions. History and sociology show this assimilation most; political theory and economics least. Perhaps

Marxism is less influential in economics because economic theory in the West is so closely tied to rationalizing the capitalist order. But Marxism may be uninfluential in economics for another reason: some of the key economic models and theories that Marxism champions, such as the labor theory of value and the falling rate of profit, are simply wrong. The labor theory of value claims that market prices should be proportional to the labor time required to produce commodities, but this is simply not the case. The theory of the falling rate of profit claims that competitive technical innovations by rational capitalists will lead to a capital intensity of technology that will cause the competitive rate of profit to fall. Again, just the opposite is true in the standard competitive model, which was not available in Marx's time. When economists use these famous theories to test the validity of Marxism, they find it lacking; so it is not surprising that they do not take Marxism seriously.

Although these particular Marxist claims are wrong as theoretical and abstract statements about capitalism, the insights that they were intended to emphasize are nevertheless powerful, and frequently those insights can be salvaged, or at least examined and treated seriously, by using methods of contemporary economic theory. For example, the labor theory of value was intended to emphasize the fact that capitalists exploit workers in a capitalist system. Although the labor theory of value is false, I think the conclusion is true. Similarly, although the theory of the falling rate of profit is false as an economic theory, capitalism is subject to recurrent crises that create massive unemployment, which is what that theory intended to show.

The strategy of this book will be to study a few of the central ideas of Marxism by using the tools of contemporary economics. Those central ideas are exploitation and class, the understanding of which are important for the applications of Marxism to sociology, history, ethics, and political theory.

1.1 The Private Property System

Marxist economics is not the economics of socialism; it is one analysis of the economics of capitalism. The main difference between Smithian and Marxist analyses of capitalism is this: Smith argued that the individual's pursuit of self-interest would lead to an outcome

beneficial to all, whereas Marx argued that the pursuit of self-interest would lead to anarchy, crisis, and the dissolution of the private property-based system itself. Thus, for Smith the aggregation of self-interested actions taken by members of a society is socially optimal, whereas for Marx it is suboptimal. Smith spoke of the invisible hand guiding individual, self-interested agents to perform those actions that would be, despite their lack of concern for such an outcome, socially optimal; for Marxism the simile is the iron fist of competition, pulverizing the workers and making them worse off than they would be in another feasible system, namely, one based on the social or public ownership of property.

Private ownership of property, more specifically the alienable means of production, is attacked in two general ways in Marxism: on grounds of efficiency and on grounds of equity. To claim that the capitalist system is *inefficient* means that there is some alternative system that would be better for all. The private ownership of the capital stock holds back social development, the development of society and of individuals. To claim that the private ownership of property is *inequitable* means that it is unfair to some, although it might be very good for others.

This book will concentrate almost entirely on the inequity of capitalism, not on its inefficiency. Can a system based on the private ownership of the means of production be just and fair, or at least as just and fair as some alternative system that does not allow that form of property? I have chosen to concentrate on the equity issue, at the expense of an analysis of efficiency, because I believe it is perceptions and ideas about justice that are at the root of people's support for or opposition to an economic system. When people support capitalism as a system, it is, I think, not only because they believe capitalism delivers the goods better than other systems, but also because they believe that in a capitalist system people deserve what they get. Similarly, even when socialism works reasonably well in delivering the goods, as it does for some kinds of goods and in some socialist societies, the opposition that most who live in capitalist democracies have to it is based on ideas about freedom—that people do not get what they deserve because of their lack of what is conceived of as economic freedom, namely, the right to accumulate private property. Fundamentally, what is at issue is the moral legitimacy of private property in the means of production.

1.2 Exploitation

Exploitation is the concept around which the Marxist condemnation of capitalism is organized. But the term *exploitation* has two nontechnical meanings: to make use of a thing, as in “to exploit a resource,” and to take unfair advantage of someone, as in “to exploit one’s wife.” The feature of capitalism (according to Marxism) that explains both its ability to expand—by accumulation of capital—and its inequity is the exploitation of workers by capitalists. Capitalists make use of workers and exploit their labor, as miners exploit a natural resource. This process permits accumulation and economic growth. But workers are, in the same process, unfairly treated, and this unfair treatment constitutes the essential inequity of a system based on the private ownership of the means of production.

A good fraction of this book deals with the concept of exploitation. The economic models I present will clarify the concept, so that I may then ask whether, in fact, there is anything wrong with exploitation, as Marxists define it. It is essential to separate the nontechnical concept of exploitation (taking unfair advantage) from its technical definition (see Chapter 2). This distinction quickly leads to questions of political philosophy. Attitudes toward private property are at the heart of the matter: but those attitudes depend on even more fundamental viewpoints, such as those about the rights of individuals to benefit from the skills and traits they have been born with or have acquired.

Does a woman have the right to benefit by virtue of being born into a family that owns a valuable piece of land that passes to her? That is, does anybody have a right to inherit property? If not, does a man have a right to benefit by virtue of being born with a talent that makes him able to earn a large income, say, while expending much less effort than others? What is the essential difference, from a moral point of view, between the inheritance of a talent, by genes or luck, and the inheritance of a fertile piece of land or a big bank account? From a moral point of view, does one deserve to benefit by virtue of being born in the United States instead of in Calcutta? Although it is too ambitious a task to answer these questions definitively in such a short book—questions that are at the heart of contemporary moral and political philosophy—my purpose is to show how the Marxist view of the injustice of capitalist society is predicated on quite reasonable answers to these questions. Furthermore, it will become appar-

ent that the Marxist condemnation of the injustice of capitalism is not so different from the conclusion that other apparently less radical and contemporary theories of political philosophy reach, albeit in language less flamboyant than Marxism's.

1.3 Classes

A second concept central to Marxist discussions is class. *A class is a group of people who all relate to the labor process in a similar way.* For instance, all those who sell their labor for a living form a class; and all those who hire labor form a class; and those who work for themselves and neither hire nor sell labor form a third class. Things get much more complicated when one considers the fact that people have widely differing skills. But in the simplest schematic model of capitalism, these are the three principal classes, and Marxism argues that much can be explained about the evolution of society based on the struggle between classes so defined. The class that sells its labor power is engaged in a more or less constant struggle with the class that hires labor.

Sometimes a class is defined as a group of people who all have approximately the same wealth. This definition of class with reference to wealth is not the same as my definition, although a relationship between class and wealth will be deduced later.

I will not spend much time discussing the history of class struggle, but will concentrate on presenting microeconomic models of exploitation and class and applying them to political philosophy. With a formal economic model, I will show how classes emerge in a systematic way in capitalist society.

1.4 Historical Materialism

Marxism does not take a myopic view of capitalist society; it recognizes that a capitalist system is only one phase of class society—perhaps the last one, but certainly not the first. Whereas Adam Smith considered it natural for men to “truck and barter,” and for private property to emerge as an institution, the historical analysis associated with Marxism opposes this view. It claims that a system of production and exchange based on the private ownership of the means of pro-

duction and on the separation of the vast majority of people from the means of production is just one relatively recent way of organizing an economy.

The theory of historical materialism claims that societies evolve through class struggle and that West European society has evolved in an explicable fashion from systems based on slavery, to feudalism, and then to capitalism. Society will in the future continue its evolution, perhaps in the direction of socialism and, finally, communism. The mechanism that brings about this evolution is class struggle: the struggle of the exploited against the exploiters, of those dispossessed of property against those who own it. But, according to historical materialism, the reason such an evolution occurs lies somewhat deeper: evolution occurs because *the level of development of the technology outgrows the particular form of social organization, which comes to constrain and fetter it*. This theory is perhaps the most famous and important part of Marxism.

1.5 Capitalism and Freedom

Capitalism is championed by those who profit from it, and even by many others, as the system that gives to each his just deserts and allows each the freedom to accomplish what he will. Historical research reveals that this attitude toward the predominant system is not so new: slave systems and feudalism had their contemporary advocates as well. Indeed, Aristotle argued that each soul has his particular role to play—the self-realization of a slave involved fulfilling his slaveness properly. Christianity recapitulated this theme in the Middle Ages by teaching people to be content with their lot, as they were but small cogs in God’s universal wheel. Now laissez-faire economists and philosophers maintain that an unfettered capitalism is the system that maximizes individual freedom and the opportunities of each.

Marxism is much more skeptical. It does not claim that any social system—slavery, feudalism, or capitalism—is particularly virtuous in terms of the freedom accorded its members. Rather, it claims that such systems evolve, like organisms, in a more or less adaptive way as a consequence of the internal and external pressures they confront. Private property and untrammelled free trade do not make for the best of all possible worlds, although the results are probably better for

most people than systems based on explicit bondage. Whether they are better than what can be achieved with the abolition of private property is a pivotal question of our century. Because we are just at the beginning of the period of the transition to socialism, the question cannot be finally answered. But it is possible to think about it.

Before thinking about an alternative to capitalism in which the means of production are not held as private property, it is important to construct a challenge to private property. Classical Marxism made that challenge over a century ago; to many it seems antiquated, a dusty chapter in nineteenth-century intellectual thought. I will rephrase the challenge in language that I hope is comfortable for contemporary students of these questions, so that they will not have to battle with the linguistic and logical oddities of Marxist discourse. It is unfortunate, I think, that these oddities are preserved in much modern Marxist debate, because they unnecessarily dissuade those who do not already share the ideas from becoming acquainted with them.

1.6 Method

My approach to Marxism is that of a contemporary student of economics and political philosophy. I wish to study the logic of the ideas and the internal coherence of the claims. Focusing on those aspects of Marxism that bear on the legitimacy of private property from the ethical point of view enables one to evaluate the cogency of the claim that capitalism is an exploitative and unfair system. It is of utmost importance to study this claim, for contemporary liberal capitalist thought makes the opposite claim. I do not take a historical approach or an empirical one. In one sense that is a shame, for abstract arguments are often less convincing than palpable evidence. Concrete cases of the genesis of private property in blood and slavery often do more to convince people of its moral illegitimacy than do the abstract and theoretical arguments given here. The revelation that Ferdinand Marcos accumulated billions of dollars in twenty years as the president of a country that paid him an annual salary of \$4000 is a particularly lurid case of the kind of "primitive accumulation" of capital that Marxism claims characterizes the history of capital formation more generally in many parts of the world. If this is in fact the case, there is a strong argument for abolishing private property in the means of production simply so that people cannot amass vast economic and

political power over others by virtue of accumulating it in such obviously immoral ways.

Because the approach I take here is not historical, it does not lead to a result as clear-cut as that of the Marcos story. It involves, instead, tying one hand behind one's back, and asking whether a system based on private property should be viewed as a good one, or a necessary one, even if property is accumulated in more honest ways. What are the moral antecedents of private property, and what are its economic consequences?

1.7 A Preview

According to Marxism, the consequence of private property is exploitation—by those who have it against those who do not. In Chapter 2 I present a simple two-good model to illustrate the main themes of the next three chapters. The Marxist definition of exploitation is presented with this model, which also shows how exploitation, class, and accumulation emerge with private ownership of the means of production. The approach taken in Chapter 2 is certainly not the standard approach to defining exploitation: the classical notions of circulating capital, variable capital, the value of labor power and surplus value, with which Marxists have been brought up, do not appear. Instead I try to make the principles of exploitation clear in a standard microeconomic equilibrium model, in which competition and market-clearing prices and wage rates determine an outcome at which some people are exploited and others are exploiters.

The models of Chapter 2 show that exploitation, as Marxists define it, emerges under conditions that include the relative scarcity of capital compared with the labor available for it to employ, and the unequal distribution of ownership of that capital. Chapter 3 compares the exploitation that emerges under capitalism—through the market where no agent is compelled in the usual sense to engage in economic activity—with the forcible extraction of the economic surplus under feudalism, from serfs by lords. Indeed, the economic puzzle Marx wrestled with was explaining how wealth, or economic surplus, could accumulate in the hands of a small class under capitalism when no extraeconomic coercion was involved.

Chapter 4 is a more formal and largely algebraic presentation of the ideas presented in Chapter 2. A definition of exploitation more gen-

eral than that in the earlier chapter is provided, the concepts of embodied labor and profit rate are defined, and the relationship between exploitation and profits is described. I also show how the social division of labor can obscure the perception of exploitation by those who are exploited in a commodity-producing society. This is one of the ways in which capitalism is traditionally distinguished from feudalism—by virtue of the “veil” that commodity relations place on social relations. In Chapter 4 the labor theory of value is only briefly discussed, because I think it is wrong and because the arguments about private property and exploitation can be made completely independently of it. Indeed, one purpose of my analysis is to show that those who are interested in the political and social ideas that Marxism stresses should not take the circuitous and misleading route of the labor theory of value to those ends.

Chapter 5 asks a question that is far too often lost in the mass of details in Marxist discussions. What is wrong with exploitation, technically defined in the Marxist way? There is, of course, the nontechnical usage of exploitation that I have referred to; but in what sense does Marxist exploitation correspond to or reflect taking unfair advantage of a person? Five possible explanations are presented for the evolution of differential ownership of assets in the external world, the inequality that in turn leads to exploitation. Three of these explanations are robbery and plunder, entrepreneurship, and the willingness to take risks. The first of these is clearly morally condemnable, whereas the second and third are not. The story becomes even more complicated when the nonviolent causes of unequal wealth are considered. One essential issue is self-ownership: Does a person have an unfettered right to the income stream flowing from an attribute associated with his person that, in the last analysis, it was his (genetic) luck to acquire? I certainly have not resolved the controversy surrounding this issue in Chapter 5, but some of the main questions are posed and the link between self-ownership and exploitation is discussed.

Whereas Chapter 5 addresses mainly philosophical concerns, Chapter 6 returns to economic analysis and shows how, in the standard model of corn and labor introduced in Chapter 4, a class structure of agents in an economy with private ownership emerges as a result of self-interested economic activity. The main purpose is to show that a person’s class is not something that should be taken as a given before the person begins economic activity; it is an economic

characteristic that emerges from market activity. A person acquires membership in a certain class by virtue of rational activity on her part, by virtue of choosing the best option available subject to the constraints she faces, which are determined by the value of the property she owns. Two theorems are presented: the Class–Wealth Correspondence and the Class–Exploitation Correspondence. The first of these shows that a person’s wealth is related in a systematic way to his class position; the second theorem shows that persons who optimize by hiring others belong to a class of exploiters and persons who optimize by selling labor to others belong to a class of exploited persons.

Chapter 6 provides microfoundations for claims that are elsewhere treated as postulates in Marxist social science. I show that both the class position of a person and his status as exploited agent or exploiter emerge from rational, optimizing activity in which the principal distinguishing feature of agents is their wealth. Traditional Marxist analysts postulate that those who hire are the exploiters and those who are hired are exploited. Hence, the analysis of Chapter 6 reduces what was a postulate to a theorem, and thus enriches our understanding of exploitation and class, in the sense of providing a prior determination of the phenomena.

Classical Marxists view exploitation as intimately related to the labor theory of value and to transactions that take place in the labor market. One theme developed in Chapters 2 through 6 is that exploitation has much more to do with property relations than with the labor market—and that Marxists’ focus on the labor market has been excessive and has given rise to their own fetishism of labor. In Chapter 7 this theme is pursued more vigorously. I show that the phenomena of exploitation and class that are fully developed with a labor market in Chapters 2 and 6 can be just as fully developed in a model of an economy in which no labor market exists—where agents borrow and lend capital to each other, but where the hiring and selling of labor does not occur. The driving factor of exploitation and class that emerges in Chapter 7, on what I call Capital Market Island, is just the same as before: differential ownership of the capital stock. But I emphasize the point that it is wrong to focus on the labor market if one’s concerns are the ethical ones that an interest in exploitation implies. In Chapter 7 I also show that exploitation can emerge without a market for either labor or capital—all that is needed is the exchange of commodities of the usual sort, excluding labor and finance capital.

Given this result, the question that naturally emerges is, Why has capitalism historically utilized labor markets, rather than capital markets, to organize economic transactions between those with wealth and those without it? Why does labor not hire capital instead of capital hiring labor?

Although it is difficult to summarize the topic of historical materialism in one short chapter, I have attempted to do so in Chapter 8, for it is necessary to put into perspective the discussion of private property. For this purpose, I rely almost entirely on G. A. Cohen's summary of the interpretation of historical materialism, an interpretation many view as a particularly deterministic form of historical materialism. I contrast Cohen's view of historical materialism with another Marxist view, that of Robert Brenner, which puts more emphasis on the determination of historical change by class struggle than does Cohen's reading. This discussion should serve as a brief introduction to some of the exciting work being done in philosophy and history by those who view their tradition as Marxist. But the main point of the chapter is to explain the emphasis that Marxism places on the evolution of forms of property. The private property system is just one possible way of organizing economic activity; it may have been the best way for a certain period but is probably not the best way today, nor will it be in the future.

Chapter 9 builds on the view of evolving property relations presented in historical materialism by proposing a hierarchy of forms of exploitation, each based on different forms in which property might exist: slave property, feudal property (serfs), capitalist property (means of production), and socialist property (skills and perhaps status). The claim is made that forms of property tend to be abolished over time, and that those forms which in the past were viewed as legitimate eventually come to be viewed as illegitimate. Associated with each form of property is a characteristic form of exploitation; the focus of this book, exploitation as defined by Marxist theory, is in fact the particular form of exploitation associated with capitalist property, with unequal ownership of assets (excluding skills and other people) that are useful as means of production. In Chapter 9, I discard entirely the classic Marxist definition of exploitation in terms of surplus labor, which was developed earlier, and propose a definition of exploitation in terms of property relations. Essentially, the exploitation associated with a particular economic structure or mode of production is defined as that inequality of outcome associated with the une-

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