



# The Mises Seminar

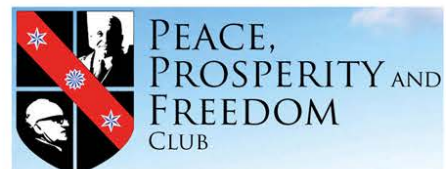
---

*Brisbane, Australia*

30th November - 1st December, 2013



**Economics.org.au**



# - Speakers -



**Jeffrey Tucker** is the executive editor of Laissez Faire Books, an organisation that has been publishing and distributing books on liberty, with a focus on economics and finance, since 1972.

He is a Distinguished Fellow of the Foundation for Economic Education, an adjunct scholar with the Mackinac Center for Public Policy and an Acton University faculty member. He is also past editorial vice president of the Ludwig von Mises Institute and past editor for the institute's website, *Mises.org*). His books include *It's a Jetsons World: Private Miracles and Public Crimes* and *Bourbon for Breakfast: Living Outside the Statist Quo*.



**Ben O'Neill** is a Lecturer in Statistics at the University of New South Wales (Canberra) where he teaches courses in mathematics and statistics. He holds a PhD in statistics and also has various graduate and undergraduate degrees in law, economics and actuarial studies, all undertaken at the Australian National University.

Dr O'Neill writes regular articles for the Ludwig Von Mises Institute and has also had his work published in academic journals such as *The Mathematical Scientist*, *International Statistical Review*, *Journal of Approximate Reasoning*, *Quarterly Journal of Austrian Economics* and *The Independent Review*. In 2008 he won first prize in the Ross Parish essay contest and in 2009 he won first prize in the Templeton Fellowship essay contest. He has formerly practiced as a lawyer and political advisor.



**Chris Leithner** received First Class Honours at McGill University, holds Masters degrees from Queens University and the Australian National University, and completed his PhD at the University of Strathclyde (Glasgow, Scotland). Dr Leithner is the Director of a private investment company. His most recent book is *The Evil Princes of Martin Place: The Reserve Bank of Australia, the Global Financial Crisis and the Threat to Australians' Liberty and Prosperity*.



**Mark Hornshaw** lectures in business and economics at the University of Notre Dame Australia, with a particular focus on innovation and entrepreneurship. He and his wife are home educators with six children involved in numerous home businesses.



**Konrad S. Graf** is the formulator of the action-based jurisprudence framework, which argues for new and more explicit applications of the action-theory principles of Mises and Hoppe within an integral approach to the foundations of legal philosophy. He has written numerous works on Bitcoin and monetary theory.

He has worked as a professional translator since 1998, translating Japanese to English primarily in the field of investment research. German is his third language. He has lived in the US, India, Japan, and Germany.



**Vinay Kolhatkar** is a Sydney-based writer and finance professional. Formerly, he was the Chief Investment Officer of a suite of funds invested internationally, and was the founding Chairman of the Great Energy Alliance Corporation. He is a non-resident fellow at *Contraditório*, a think-tank based in Portugal that advocates personal and economic liberty. He is the author of *The Frankenstein Candidate: A Woman Awakens to a Web of Deceit*, a political thriller.



**Roy Cohen** is an anarcho-capitalist, freemarket , libertarian. He grew up in South Africa and graduated from the University of the Witwatersrand with honours in business economics. He has been involved in the gold and diamond markets since graduating. He is a director of the GoldCompany, a precious metals and diamond trading company, and FirstGold, a gold and silver savings company.



**Gerardo Hernandez** is a registered migration agent in Australia, and helps people to clear the legal hurdles imposed by governments when they decide to vote with their feet. In a previous life, in a country far away, he first chose to be an industrial engineer, then a banker, and then he ended up being a bank run survivor. In a lifetime quest for his logically consistent inner self, he explored, he resisted, but he inevitably accepted being an anarchist of the capitalist kind.



**Maureen Nathan** is the author of a new series of Children's books, narrated by wise T. Owl. She was a founding member of the Workers Party in the 1970's and has continued to practice those principles with her business "The Original Gold Rush Colony" and more recently her perceived need for books for children to open the door to the Libertarian Ethos. Big topics are made simple, encouraging independent thought. Complementary illustrations by Dylan Chambers bring humour to the stories and captivate a wide audience of readers. With topics suggested either by a need seen or by parents, grand-parents and teachers, the books are designed as spring-boards for discussion and further research.



**Austen Erickson** is the Program Director of the *Australian Taxpayers' Alliance* and a Charter Team member for *Students for Liberty*. He is also on the executive of the *Australian Libertarian Society*, the organizer for Liberty on the Rocks Australia, and the President and co-founder of the Students for Liberty club at the University of New South Wales. He is pursuing his PhD in Applied Mathematics at the University of New South Wales, and holds a Masters in Applied Mathematics from Northwestern University and undergraduate degrees in Mathematics, Physics, and Environmental Science from the University of Rochester. Motivated by a belief in the supremacy of voluntary interaction over state control, he hopes to help expand and strengthen the rapidly growing liberty movement in Australia and New Zealand in whatever ways he can!



**Nick Hubble** is the co-editor of Australia's libertarian financial newsletter The Daily Reckoning, and editor of the retirement focused Money For Life Letter. He is doing a PhD at RMIT on what he calls Australia's Secret Sub-Prime Crisis.



**Roderick Schneider** is a financial adviser from Brisbane. In his spare time he likes to take up the fight against socialism and alert people to loopy things Sarah Hanson-Young has said.

Despite being pro small government, he is happy to make media appearances in programmes funded by the state, making regular appearances on Triple J's Hack programme and once resorting to reality television on SBS participating in "Go back to where you came from." Much to his surprise this programme did not provide Roderick with a free trip to Hamilton, Victoria to visit his relatives.

He is currently the Chair of the LNP's Federalism and Decentralisation Policy Committee.

These things are temporarily put on hold whenever the Carlton Football Club take the field.

## Mises Seminar Programme

**30 November-1st December, 2013**

Lecture blocks include 5-10 minutes for questions.

**Saturday, 30 November**

Registration begins at 8:30 a.m for 9am start.

9 - 9:10 a.m.	<b>WELCOMING REMARKS</b> <b>Washington Sanchez</b> “The Mises Seminar and its Goals”
9:10 - 10:00 a.m.	<b>Jeffrey Tucker</b> “What is the State, and what does it do?”
10:00 - 10:30 a.m.	<b>BREAK - Morning Tea</b>
10:30 - 11:20 a.m.	<b>Chris Leithner</b> “The Bankruptcy of Mainstream Economics”
11:20 - 12:00 p.m.	<b>Roy Cohen</b> “Democracy Is Evil”
12:00 - 12:30 p.m.	<b>Benjamin Marks</b> “Australian Libertarian History”
12:30 - 1:30 p.m.	<b>LUNCH</b>
1:30 - 2:00 p.m.	<b>Konrad Graf</b> “Bitcoin: Practical and Business Aspects”
2:00 - 2:50 p.m.	<b>Ben O'Neill</b> “Whistle Blowing and Government Secrecy”
2:50 - 3:10 p.m.	<b>BREAK - Afternoon Tea</b>
3:10 - 3:40 p.m.	<b>Roderick Schneider</b> “The Nanny State: More Violence, Less Fun”
3:40 - 4:00 p.m.	<b>Austen Erickson</b> “Communicating Liberty”

4:00 - 4.50 p.m.	<b>Jeffrey Tucker</b> “The New World of Breaking Bad”
4.50 - 5:00 p.m.	<b>CLOSING REMARKS</b> <b>Washington Sanchez</b>

\*Reception: 5.00pm onwards @ Emporium Cocktail Bar.



### Sunday, 1 December

Registration begins at 8:30 a.m for 9am start.

9.00 - 9.05am	<b>WELCOMING REMARKS</b> <b>Michael Conaghan</b>
9.05am - 10:00 a.m.	<b>Jeffrey Tucker</b> “Economics of Non-Scarce Resources: The Austrian Contribution”
10:00 - 10:40 a.m.	<b>Konrad Graf</b> “Bitcoin: Technical and Economic Aspects”
10:40 - 11:10 a.m.	<b>BREAK - Morning Tea</b>
11:10 - 11:50 a.m.	<b>Vinay Kolhatkar</b> “The Dark Side of Corporate & Securities Law: Socialism by Stealth”
11:50 - 12:20 p.m.	<b>Gerardo Andres Hernandez</b> “The Immigration Conundrum”

12:20 - 12:30 p.m.	<b>Maureen Nathan</b> “Wise T. Owl Austro-Libertarian Storybooks Series For Children”
12:30 - 1:30 p.m.	<b>LUNCH</b>
1:30 - 2:00 p.m.	<b>Nickolai Hubble</b> “Australia's Secret Sub-Prime Crisis”
2:10 - 2:50 p.m.	<b>Ben O'Neill</b> “Discrimination and Equality Before the Law”
2:50 - 3:20 p.m.	<b>Austen Erickson</b> “Woolworths, Coles, and the State”
3:20 - 3:40 p.m.	<b>BREAK - Afternoon Tea</b>
3:40 - 4:30 p.m.	<b>Mark Hornshaw</b> “Entrepreneurs - Starting Young”
4:30 - 5:20 p.m.	<b>Jeffrey Tucker</b> “What Should Libertarians Do”
5:20 - 5:30 p.m.	<b>CLOSING REMARKS</b> <b>Michael Conaghan</b>

\*Reception: 5.30pm onwards @ Emporium Cocktail Bar.





Everything that we say about action is independent of the motives that cause it and of the goals toward which it strives in the individual case. It makes no difference whether action springs from altruistic or from egoistic motives, from a noble or from a base disposition; whether it is directed toward the attainment of materialistic or idealistic ends; whether it arises from exhaustive and painstaking deliberation or follows fleeting impulses and passions.

— Epistemological Problems of Economics, p. 34.

The social function of economic science consists precisely in developing sound economic theories and in exploding the fallacies of vicious reasoning. In the pursuit of this task the economist incurs the deadly enmity of all mountebanks and charlatans whose shortcuts to an earthly paradise he debunks.

— Economic Freedom and Interventionism, pp. 51–52.

*Ludwig von Mises*

All those not familiar with economics (i.e., the immense majority) do not see any reason why they should not coerce other people by means of force to do what these people are not prepared to do of their own accord.

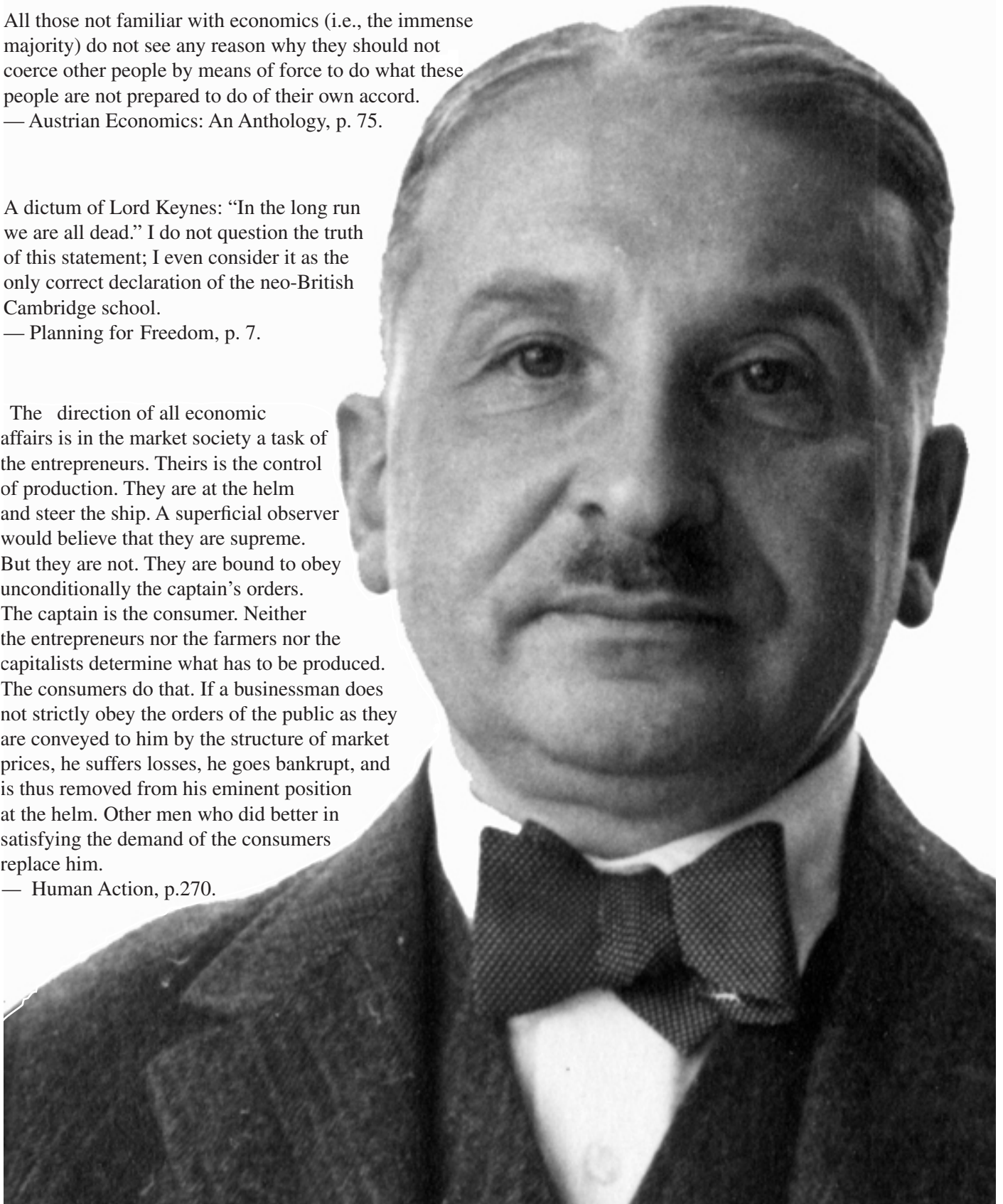
— Austrian Economics: An Anthology, p. 75.

A dictum of Lord Keynes: “In the long run we are all dead.” I do not question the truth of this statement; I even consider it as the only correct declaration of the neo-British Cambridge school.

— Planning for Freedom, p. 7.

The direction of all economic affairs is in the market society a task of the entrepreneurs. Theirs is the control of production. They are at the helm and steer the ship. A superficial observer would believe that they are supreme. But they are not. They are bound to obey unconditionally the captain’s orders. The captain is the consumer. Neither the entrepreneurs nor the farmers nor the capitalists determine what has to be produced. The consumers do that. If a businessman does not strictly obey the orders of the public as they are conveyed to him by the structure of market prices, he suffers losses, he goes bankrupt, and is thus removed from his eminent position at the helm. Other men who did better in satisfying the demand of the consumers replace him.

— Human Action, p.270.



## *Murray N. Rothbard*

The network of these free exchanges in society - known as the “free market” - creates a delicate and even awe-inspiring mechanism of harmony, adjustment, and precision in allocating productive resources, deciding upon prices, and gently but swiftly guiding the economic system toward the greatest possible satisfaction of the desires of all consumers. In short, not only does the free market directly benefit all parties and leave them free and uncoerced; it also creates a mighty and efficient instrument of social order. Proudhon, indeed, wrote better than he knew when he called “Liberty, the Mother, not the Daughter, of Order.

— *Man, Economy & State*, Chapter 12.

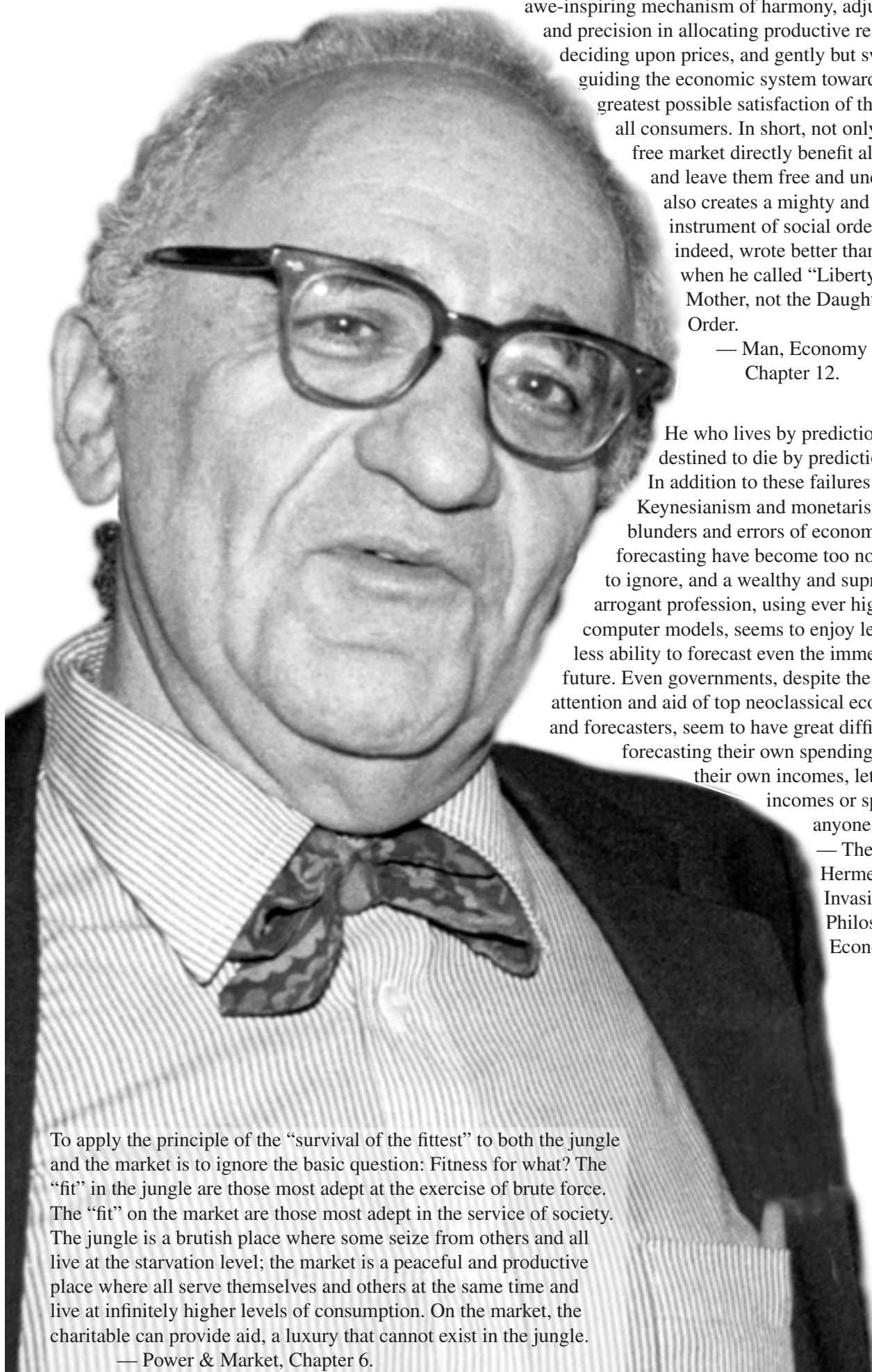
He who lives by prediction is destined to die by prediction.

In addition to these failures of Keynesianism and monetarism, the blunders and errors of econometric forecasting have become too notorious to ignore, and a wealthy and supremely arrogant profession, using ever higher-speed computer models, seems to enjoy less and less ability to forecast even the immediate future. Even governments, despite the assiduous attention and aid of top neoclassical economists and forecasters, seem to have great difficulties in forecasting their own spending, much less their own incomes, let alone the incomes or spending of anyone else.

— *The Hermeneutical Invasion of Philosophy and Economics*.

To apply the principle of the “survival of the fittest” to both the jungle and the market is to ignore the basic question: Fitness for what? The “fit” in the jungle are those most adept at the exercise of brute force. The “fit” on the market are those most adept in the service of society. The jungle is a brutish place where some seize from others and all live at the starvation level; the market is a peaceful and productive place where all serve themselves and others at the same time and live at infinitely higher levels of consumption. On the market, the charitable can provide aid, a luxury that cannot exist in the jungle.

— *Power & Market*, Chapter 6.







Acting requires and presupposes the category of causality. Only a man who sees the world in the light of causality is fitted to act. In this sense we may say that causality is a category of action. The category means and ends presupposes the category cause and effect. In a world without causality and regularity of phenomena there would be no field for human reasoning and human action. Such a world would be a chaos in which man would be at a loss to find any orientation and guidance. Man is not even capable of imagining the conditions of such a chaotic universe. Where man does not see any causal relation, he cannot act.

— Ludwig von Mises, *Human Action*, p. 22.

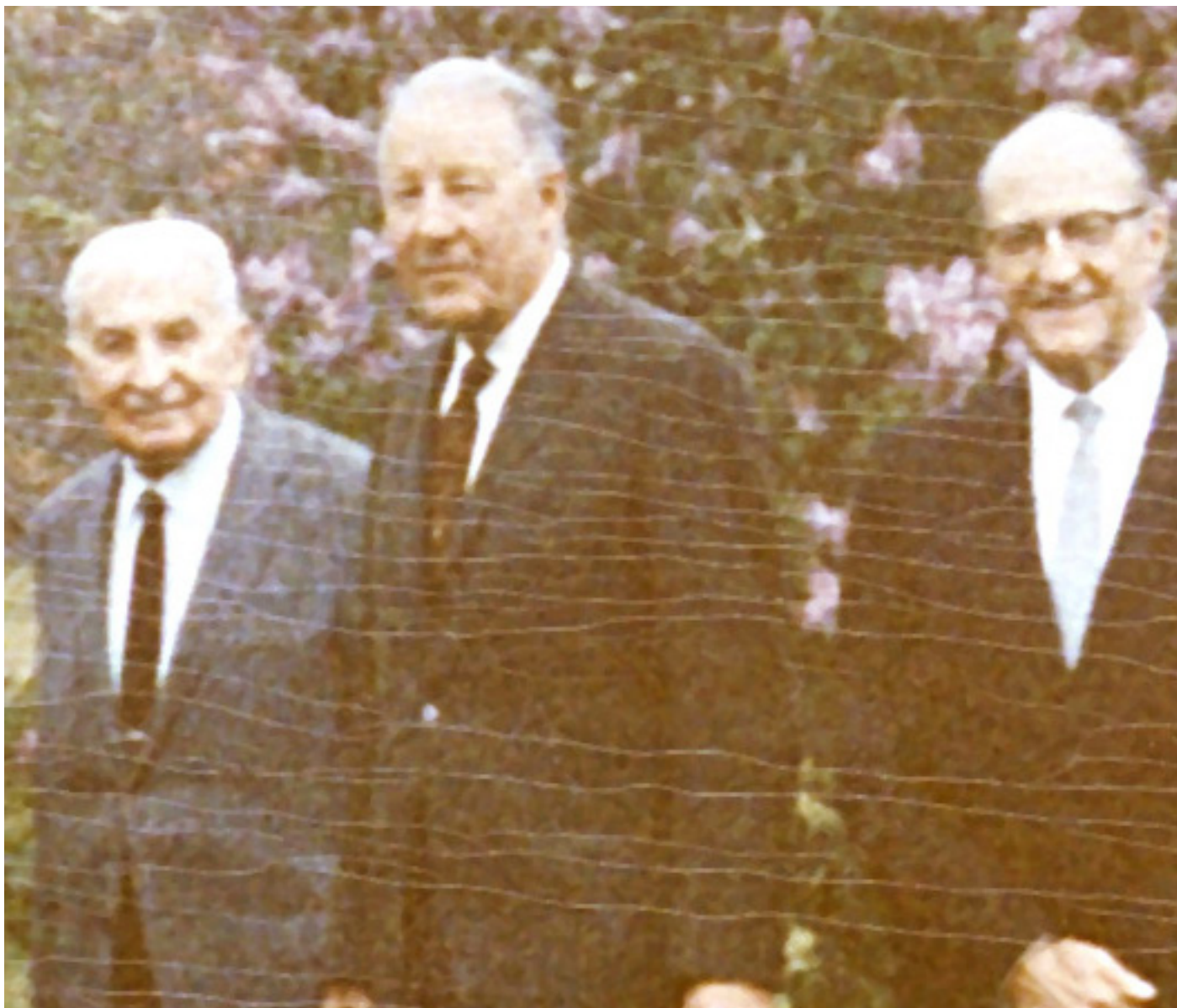
The praxeological tradition, though named only recently, has a long and honored place in the history of economic thought. In the first great methodological controversy in our science, John Stuart Mill was the positivist and Nassau Senior the praxeologist, with J.E. Cairnes wavering between the two positions. Later on, the praxeologic method was further developed by the early Austrians, by Wicksteed, and by Richard Strigl, reaching its full culmination in the works of Ludwig von Mises.

— Murray N. Rothbard, *In Defense of "Extreme Apriorism"*.

The major function of praxeology-of economics-is to bring to the world the knowledge of these indirect, these hidden, consequences of the different forms of human action. The hidden order, harmony, and efficiency of the voluntary free market, the hidden disorder, conflict, and gross inefficiency of coercion and intervention-these are the great truths that economic science, through deductive analysis from self-evident axioms, reveals to us.[...] Praxeology, through its Wertfrei laws, informs us that the workings of the voluntary principle and of the free market lead inexorably to freedom, prosperity, harmony, efficiency, and order; while coercion and government intervention lead inexorably to hegemony, conflict, exploitation of man by man, inefficiency, poverty, and chaos. At this point, praxeology retires from the scene; and it is up to the citizen-the ethicist-to choose his political course according to the values that he holds dear.

— Murray N. Rothbard, *Man, Economy and State with Power and Market*, p. 1025.





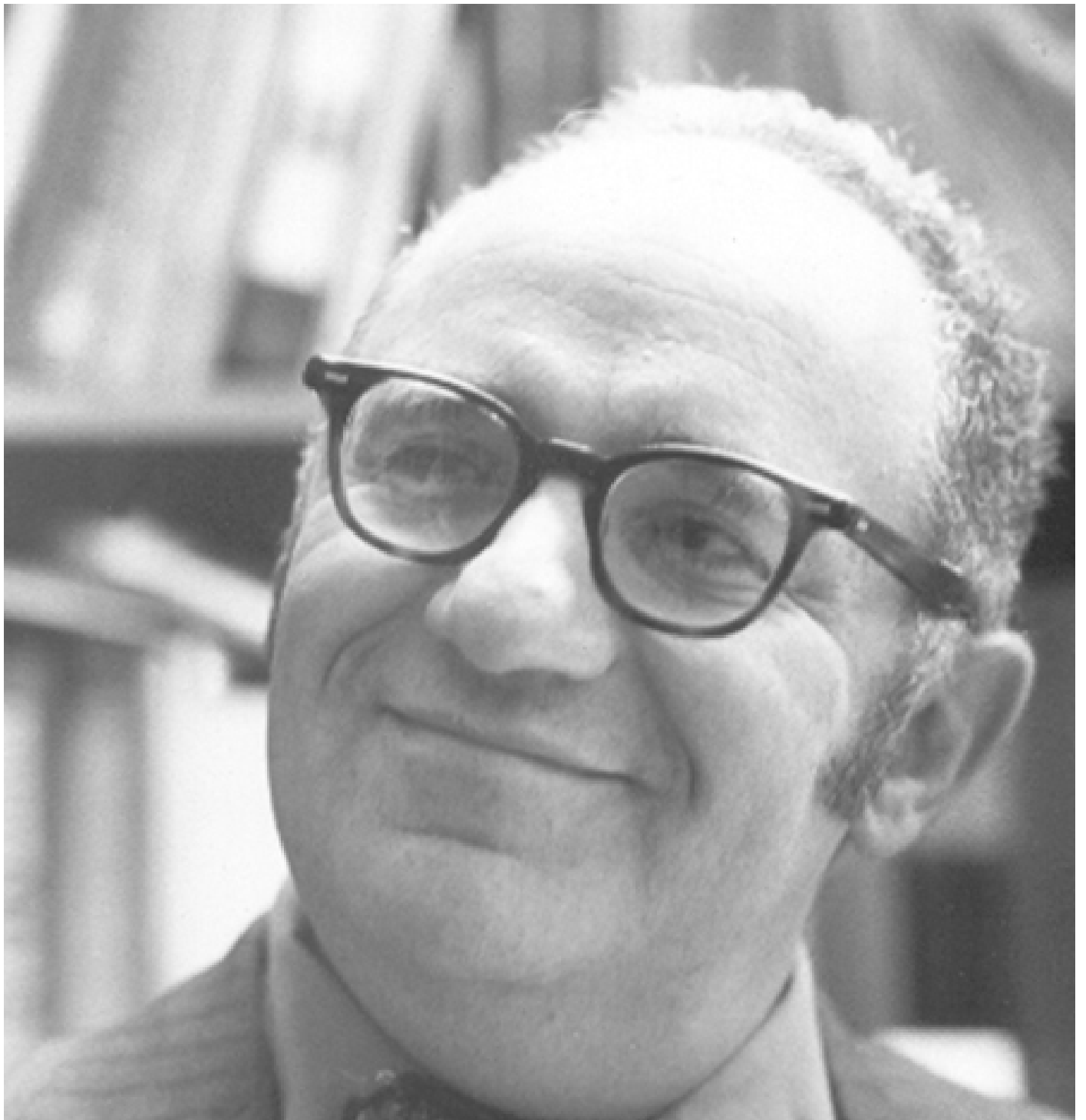
For some twenty centuries Western man has come to accept the Aristotelian theory that the sensible position is between any two extremes, known politically today as the “middle-of-the-road” position. Now, if libertarians use the terms “left” and “right,” they announce themselves to be extreme right by virtue of being extremely distant in their beliefs from communism. But “right” has been successfully identified with fascism. Therefore, more and more persons are led to believe that the sound position is somewhere between communism and fascism, both spelling authoritarianism.

The golden-mean theory cannot properly be applied indiscriminately. For instance, it is sound enough when deciding between no food at all on the one hand or gluttony on the other hand. But it is patently unsound when deciding between stealing nothing or stealing \$1,000. The golden mean would commend stealing \$500. Thus, the golden mean has no more soundness when applied to communism and fascism (two names for the same thing) than it does to two amounts in theft. [...]

Libertarians reject this principle and in so doing are not to the right or left of authoritarians. They, as the human spirit they would free, ascend—are above—this degradation. Their position, if directional analogies are to be used, is up—in the sense that vapor from a muckheap rises to a wholesome atmosphere. If the idea of extremity is to be applied to a libertarian, let it be based on how extremely well he has shed himself of authoritarian beliefs.

Establish this concept of emerging, of freeing — which is the meaning of libertarianism—and the golden – mean or “middle-of-the-road” theory becomes inapplicable. For there can be no halfway position between zero and infinity. It is absurd to suggest that there can be.

— Leonard E. Read, *Neither Left nor Right*.



This point can be made more philosophically: it is illegitimate to compare the merits of [a free society] and statism by starting with the present system as the implicit given and then critically examining only the [private law] alternative. What we must do is to begin at the zero point and then critically examine both suggested alternatives.

Suppose, for example, that we were all suddenly dropped down on the earth *de novo* and that we were all then confronted with the question of what societal arrangements to adopt.

And suppose then that someone suggested: "We are all bound to suffer from those of us who wish to aggress against their fellow men. Let us then solve this problem of crime by handing all of our weapons to the Jones family, over there, by giving all of our ultimate power

to settle disputes to that family. In that way, with their monopoly of coercion and of ultimate decision making, the Jones family will be able to protect each of us from each other."

I submit that this proposal would get very short shrift, except perhaps from the Jones family themselves. And yet this is precisely the common argument for the existence of the state. When we start from the zero point, as in the case of the Jones family, the question of "who will guard the guardians?" becomes not simply an abiding lacuna in the theory of the state but an overwhelming barrier to its existence.

— Murray N. Rothbard, *Society Without A State*.



It is important to remember that government interference always means either violent action or the threat of such action. Government is in the last resort the employment of armed men, of policemen, gendarmes, soldiers, prison guards, and hangmen. The essential feature of government is the enforcement of its decrees by beating, killing, and imprisoning.

— Human Action, p. 719.

The essence of statism is to take from one group in order to give to another. The more it can take the more it can give. It is to the interest of those whom the government wishes to favor that their state become as large as possible.

— Omnipotent Government, p. 94.

Everything that happens in the social world in our time is the result of ideas. Good things and bad things. What is needed is to fight bad ideas. We must oppose the confiscation of property, the control of prices, inflation, and all those evils from which we suffer.

— Economic Policy, p. 105.

If it were in any way possible to grant this right of self-determination to every individual person, it would have to be done.

— Liberalism, pp. 109–10.

To the parties of special interests, all political questions appear exclusively as problems of political tactics. Their ultimate goal is fixed for them from the start. Their aim is to obtain, at the cost of the rest of the population, the greatest possible advantages and privileges for the groups they represent. The party platform is intended to disguise this objective and give it a certain appearance of justification, but under no circumstances to announce it publicly as the goal of party policy. The members of the party, in any case, know what their goal is; they do not need to have it explained to them. How much of it ought to be imparted to the world is, however, a purely tactical question.

— Liberalism, pp. 175–76.

Whoever wishes peace among peoples must fight statism.

— Nation, State, and Economy, p. 77.

If one rejects laissez faire on account of man's fallibility and moral weakness, one must for the same reason also reject every kind of government action.

— Planning for Freedom, p. 44.

The market economy is the social system of the division of labor under private ownership of the means of production. Everybody acts on his own behalf; but everybody's actions aim at the satisfaction of other people's needs as well as at the satisfaction of his own. Everybody in acting serves his fellow citizens. Everybody, on the other hand, is served by his fellow citizens. Everybody is both a means and an end in himself, an ultimate end for himself and a means to other people in their endeavors to attain their own ends.


— Human Action, p. 258; p. 257.





The idea of a strictly limited constitutional State was a noble experiment that failed, even under the most favorable and propitious circumstances. If it failed then, why should a similar experiment fare any better now? No, it is the conservative laissez-fairist, the man who puts all the guns and all the decision-making power into the hands of the central government and then says, "Limit yourself"; it is he who is truly the impractical utopian.

— The Case of Radical Idealism.



Once one concedes that a single world government is not necessary, then where does one logically stop at the permissibility of separate states? If Canada and the United States can be separate nations without being denounced as being in a state of impermissible "anarchy," why may not the South secede from the United States? New York State from the Union? New York City from the state? Why may not Manhattan secede? Each neighborhood? Each block? Each house? Each person? But, of course, if each person may secede from government, we have virtually arrived at the purely free society, where defense is supplied along with all other services by the free market and where the invasive State has ceased to exist.

— No More Military Socialism.

If Smith and a group of his henchmen aggress against Jones and Jones and his bodyguards pursue the Smith gang to their lair, we may cheer Jones on in his endeavor; and we, and others in society interested in repelling aggression, may contribute financially or personally to Jones's cause. But Jones has no right, any more than does Smith, to aggress against anyone else in the course of his "just war": to steal others' property in order to finance his pursuit, to conscript others into his posse by use of violence, or to kill others in the course of his struggle to capture the Smith forces. If Jones should do any of these things, he becomes a criminal as fully as Smith, and he too becomes subject to whatever sanctions are meted out against criminality.

— War, Peace, and the State.

All we need do now is to point to the black and unprecedented record of the state through history: no combination of private marauders can possibly begin to match the state's unremitting record of theft, confiscation, oppression, and mass murder. No collection of Mafia or private bank robbers can begin to compare with all the Hiroshimas, Dresdens, and Lidices and their analogues through the history of mankind.

— Society Without A State.

Libertarianism is not and does not pretend to be a complete moral, or aesthetic theory; it is only a political theory, that is, the important subset of moral theory that deals with the proper role of violence in social life... Libertarianism holds that the only proper role of violence is to defend person and property against violence, that any use of violence that goes beyond such just defense is itself aggressive, unjust, and criminal. Libertarianism, therefore, is a theory which states that everyone should be free of violent invasion, should be free to do as he sees fit except invade the person or property of another. What a person does with his or her life is vital and important, but is simply irrelevant to libertarianism.

— Myth and Truth About Libertarianism.

Taxation is theft, so why blame the victim? Why, in effect, tell the victim of assault-by-taxation “if you don’t like it you can leave”? That position simply affirms that opposition to the violence of taxation will beget more violence. Why not say the same things to victims of physical and sexual assault?

— Chris Leithner, Email to Michael Conaghan, 2009.

The notion that a radical is one who hates his country is naïve and usually idiotic. He is, more likely, one who likes his country more than the rest of us, and is thus more disturbed than the rest of us when he sees it debauched. He is not a bad citizen turning to crime; he is a good citizen driven to despair.

— H.L. Mencken (Letter to Upton Sinclair, October 14, 1917)

Property does not exist because there are laws, but laws exist because there is property.

— Frédéric Bastiat, *The Law*.

Proponents of government intervention are trapped in a fatal contradiction: they assume that individuals are not competent to run their own affairs or to hire experts to advise them. And yet they also assume that these same individuals are equipped to vote for these same experts at the ballot box. We have seen that, on the contrary, while most people have a direct idea and a direct test of their own personal interests on the market, they cannot understand the complex chains of praxeological and philosophical reasoning necessary for a choice of rulers or political policies. Yet this political sphere of open demagoguery is precisely the only one where the mass of individuals are deemed to be competent!

— Murray N. Rothbard, *Man, Economy, and State with Power and Market*, p. 1302.

As for the kindergarten [level] argument, it does not follow from the fact that the state provides roads and schools that only the state can provide such goods. People have little difficulty recognizing that this is a fallacy. From the fact that monkeys can ride bikes it does not follow that only monkeys can ride bikes. And second, immediately following, it must be recalled that the state is an institution that can legislate and tax; and hence, that state agents have little incentive to produce efficiently. State roads and schools will only be more costly and their quality lower. For there is always a tendency for state agents to use up as many resources as possible doing whatever they do but actually work as little as possible doing it.

— Hans-Hermann Hoppe, *Reflections on the Origin and the Stability of the State*.

...Furthermore, the purely free-market, stateless society would contain within itself a system of built-in “checks and balances” that would make it almost impossible for such organized crime to succeed. There has been much talk about “checks and balances” in the American system, but these can scarcely be considered checks at all, since every one of these institutions is an agency of the central government and eventually of the ruling party of that government. The checks and balances in the stateless society consist precisely in the free market, i.e., the existence of freely competitive police and judicial agencies that could quickly be mobilized to put down any outlaw agency.

It is true that there can be no absolute guarantee that a purely market society would not fall prey to organized criminality. But this concept is far more workable than the truly Utopian idea of a strictly limited government, an idea that has never worked historically. And understandably so, for the State’s built-in monopoly of aggression and inherent absence of free-market checks have enabled it to burst easily any bonds that well-meaning people have tried to place upon it. Finally, the worst that could possibly happen would be for the State to be reestablished. And since the State is what we have now, any experimentation with a stateless society would have nothing to lose and everything to gain.

— Murray N. Rothbard, *No More Military Socialism*.





**Daily Bell:** How would law and order be provided in this society? How would your ideal justice system work?

**Dr. Hans-Hermann Hoppe:**

In a private law society the production of law and order - of security - would be undertaken by freely financed individuals and agencies competing for a voluntarily paying (or not-paying) clientele - just as the production of all other goods and services. How this system would work can be best understood in contrast to the workings of the present, all-too-familiar statist system. If one wanted to summarize in one word the decisive difference - and advantage - of a competitive security industry as compared to the current statist practice, it would be: contract.

The state operates in a legal vacuum. There exists no contract between the state and its citizens. It is not contractually fixed, what is actually owned by whom, and what, accordingly, is to be protected. It is not fixed, what service the state is to provide, what is to happen if the state fails in its duty, nor what the price is that the “customer” of such “service” must pay. Rather, the state unilaterally fixes the rules of the game and can change them, per legislation, during the game. Obviously, such behavior is inconceivable for freely financed security providers. Just imagine a security provider, whether police, insurer or arbitrator, whose offer consisted in something like this: I will not contractually guarantee you anything. I will not tell you what I oblige myself to do if, according to your opinion, I do not fulfill my service to you - but in any case, I reserve the right to unilaterally determine the price that you must pay me for such undefined service. Any such security provider would immediately disappear from the market due to a complete lack of customers.

Each private, freely financed security producer must instead offer its prospective clients a contract. And these contracts must, in order to appear acceptable to voluntarily paying consumers, contain clear property descriptions as well as clearly defined mutual services and obligations. Each party to a contract, for the duration or until the fulfillment of the contract, would be bound by its terms and conditions; and every change of terms or conditions would require the unanimous consent of all parties concerned.

Specifically, in order to appear acceptable to security buyers, these contracts must contain provisions about what will be done in the case of a conflict or dispute between the protector or insurer and his own protected or insured clients as well as in the case of a conflict between different protectors or insurers and their respective clients. And in this regard only one mutually agreeable solution exists: in these cases the conflicting parties contractually agree to arbitration by a mutually trusted but independent third party. And as for this third party: it, too, is freely financed and stands in competition with other arbitrators or arbitration agencies. Its clients, i.e., the insurers and the insured, expect of it, that it come up with a verdict that is recognized as fair and just by all sides. Only arbitrators capable of forming such judgments will succeed in the arbitration market. Arbitrators incapable of this and viewed as biased or partial will disappear from the market.

[T]he crucial question is *not*, as so many believe, whether property rights should be private or governmental, but rather whether the *necessarily* 'private' owners are legitimate owners or criminals. For ultimately, there is no entity called 'government'; there are only people forming themselves into groups called 'governments' and acting in a 'governmental' manner. *All* property is therefore always 'private'; the only and critical question is whether it should reside in the hands of criminals or of the proper and legitimate owners.

— Murray N. Rothbard, *The Ethics of Liberty*, Chapter 9.

The anarchist is always at a disadvantage in attempting to forecast the shape of the future anarchist society. For it is impossible for observers to predict voluntary social arrangements, including the provision of goods and services, on the free market. Suppose, for example, that this were the year 1874 and that someone predicted that eventually there would be a radio-manufacturing industry. To be able to make such a forecast successfully, does he have to be challenged to state immediately how many radio manufacturers there would be a century hence, how big they would be, where they would be located, what technology and marketing techniques they would use, and so on? Obviously, such a challenge would make no sense, and in a profound sense the same is true of those who demand a precise portrayal of the pattern of protection activities on the market. Anarchism advocates the dissolution of the state into social and market arrangements, and these arrangements are far more flexible and less predictable than political institutions. The most that we can do, then, is to offer broad guidelines and perspectives on the shape of a projected anarchist society.

— Murray N. Rothbard, *Society Without A State*.

The pattern repeats itself so often that it almost seems to be a law of history: the radicals who change history must do so over the resistance of the moderates, who claim to be friendly to the same cause, but somehow always end up on the side of established interests.

— Lew Rockwell, *Moderates and Radicals*.

The American model - democracy - must be regarded as a historical error, economically as well as morally. Democracy promotes shortsightedness, capital waste, irresponsibility, and moral relativism. It leads to permanent compulsory income and wealth redistribution and legal uncertainty. It is counterproductive. It promotes demagoguery and egalitarianism. It is aggressive and potentially totalitarian internally, vis-à-vis its own population, as well as externally. In sum, it leads to a dramatic growth of state power, as manifested by the amount of parasitically - by means of taxation and expropriation - appropriated government income and wealth in relation to the amount of productively - through market exchange - acquired private income and wealth, and by the range and invasiveness of state legislation. Democracy is doomed to collapse, just as Soviet communism was doomed to collapse.

— Hans-Hermann Hoppe, *Democracy: The God that Failed*.







How is tyranny concretely to be overthrown, if it is cemented upon society by habit, privilege and propaganda? How are the people to be brought to the point where they will decide to withdraw their consent? In the first place, affirms La Boétie, not all the people will be deluded or sunk into habitual submission. There is always a more percipient elite who will understand the reality of the situation; “there are always a few, better endowed than others, who feel the weight of the yoke and cannot restrain themselves from attempting to shake it off.” These are the people who, in contrast to “the brutish mass,” possess clear and far-sighted minds, and “have further trained them by study and learning.” Such people never quite disappear from the world: “Even if liberty had entirely perished from the earth, such men would invent it.

— Murray N. Rothbard, *Ending Tyranny Without Violence*.

Everyone carries a part of society on his shoulders; no one is relieved of his share of responsibility by others. And no one can find a safe way out for himself if society is sweeping towards destruction. Therefore everyone, in his own interests, must thrust himself vigorously into the intellectual battle. None can stand aside with unconcern; the interests of everyone hang on the result. Whether he chooses or not, every man is drawn into the great historical struggle, the decisive battle into which our epoch has plunged us.

— Ludwig von Mises, *Socialism*.