

Libertarian Party of Hawaii

Volume 1, No. 1 February-March 2011

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LPH May Convention!

THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY OF HAWAII
invites YOU to our
Convention to be held on
Saturday, May 21, 2011 at the
Unitarian Church, 2500 Pali Highway.
The convention will run from
2 PM to about 6:45.

Dr. Mary Ruwart and **R. Lee Wrights** are coming from the US Mainland to be our featured speakers.

Mary Ruwart may be best known for her book, *Healing Our World*, about political freedom of choice, currently in its third edition. *Healing* has been translated into Russian, Serbian, Croatian, Lithuanian, and Romanian.

R. Lee Wrights is founder and editor of LibertyForAll.net, America's premier online libertarian newsletter. Lee has been active in local, state and national Libertarian Party organizations since 2000 and is a lifetime member of the Libertarian Party.

In addition to the regular party business of electing officers, we will have interactive sessions to allow party members to discuss the future of the party and how we may be able to retain our ballot status, which expires after the 2012 election. Representatives of various libertarian-oriented advocacy groups will be on hand to discuss issues of importance to our members.

All party members will be given the opportunity to briefly introduce themselves and tell us about their interest. Members who feel they have more to say should contact the organizing committee to see if time can be arranged.

There will be a reception for our out of town guests beginning at 8 PM the evening of the convention at the home of Jim Henshaw located at 649 Kanaha St in Kailua.

From Tracy Ryan: We need to decide what contact info to list, and where replies and checks should be sent. On money issues I am thinking to ask all lapsed members to submit \$25 to us. I need to know if we are receiving a cut from the dues National has been collecting. If not we should ask those paying National dues for something. Life members of course need not be asked, they are likely to make a nice contribution as part of a general fundraising effort.

LPH Convention Speakers:

Mary Ruwart

Dr. Mary J. Ruwart received her B.S. in biochemistry in 1970 and her Ph.D. in Biophysics in 1974 (both from Michigan State University). She then joined the Department of Surgery at St. Louis University where she became an Assistant Professor. Dr. Ruwart came to The Upjohn Company of Kalamazoo, Michigan in 1976 as a Senior Research Scientist involved in developing new therapies for a variety of diseases, including AIDS.

Dr. Ruwart left Upjohn in 1995 to devote her time to consulting and writing. With her husband, Raymond R. Carr, R.Ph., Dr. Ruwart designed and delivered a communications course for scientists, covering written, oral, and poster presentations. She also provides consulting services for nutraceutical companies, CROs, and IRBs.

Since 1982, Dr. Ruwart has been a libertarian activist. In 1983, she was a member of the Libertarian Party's platform committee. She came to the national convention as a delegate in that same year and became an overnight sensation by running for President of the United States, coming in third in a field of seven. Dr. Ruwart continued her activities as Chair of Internal Education (1988-89); runner-up for Kalamazoo City Commission (1983); Chair, Kalamazoo County Libertarian Party (1985); Libertarian candidate for County Commission (1982, 1987); and Libertarian candidate for State Representative (1986). She was also a Libertarian candidate for State Board of Education and was endorsed for that office by *The Detroit News* in 1990 for her unwavering support of educational choice. Her vote total in that year kept the Libertarian Party on the ballot in Michigan for 1992, when she ran again for State Board. She was an LNC At-Large representative 2000-2002.

After relocating to Kentucky in 1996, Dr. Ruwart served as campaign manager for a local Libertarian candidate for sheriff. After moving to Texas, she challenged Kay Bailey Hutchinson for her Senate seat in 2002. In 2008, Dr. Ruwart and her husband became active in the Ron Paul for President Campaign.

During her time in Kalamazoo, Dr. Ruwart was a regular guest lecturer in local high school and university political science classes, where she shared the libertarian message. She currently serves on the Board of Directors for the International Society for Individual Liberty, and has served in a similar capacity for Heartland (Michigan Chapter) and the Fully Informed Jury Amendment Association (FIJA). Her Internet column, "Short Answers to the Tough Questions" is a popular feature of the Advocates for Self-Government web page (www.self-gov.org).

Dr. Ruwart has worked extensively with the poor through her decade-long efforts to rehabilitate low-income housing in the Kalamazoo area. She was also an active member of the Kalamazoo Rainforest Action Committee and has been profiled in *American Men and Women of Science*, *Who's Who in Science and Technology*, *World Who's Who of Women*, *International Leaders of Achievement*, *Who's Who of American Women*, *Community Leaders of North America* and several other prestigious biographical works.

Dr. Ruwart may be best known for her book about political freedom of choice, currently in its third edition (HEALING OUR WORLD). A review in *Visions Magazine* claimed that HEALING might be "the most important book of the decade." HEALING has been translated into Russian, Serbian, Croatian, Lithuanian, and Romanian.

The original (1992) edition of HEALING OUR WORLD benefited greatly from Dr. Ruwart's sister, Martie, who provided extensive editorial critique. In 1993, Martie was diagnosed with terminal cancer and became one of Dr. Kevorkian's patients. In memory of her sister, Dr. Ruwart shares her story with those interested in right to die issues.

Lee Wrights

R. Lee Wrights is founder and editor of LibertyForAll.net, America's premier online libertarian newsletter. Lee was born June 8, 1958 in Winston-Salem, N.C. and graduated from West Forsyth High School in Clemmons in 1976.

Lee enlisted in the U.S. Air Force after high school, and served as a medical services technician at Seymour-Johnson AFB, Goldsboro N.C. He was honorably discharged in 1981 with the rank of sergeant.

Lee earned a degree from Willmar College, Willmar, Minn. where he majored in history and journalism. After college, Lee was a contributing editor for the Eagle News, a monthly political news and commentary newspaper in Forsyth County.

In 2001 he began work as an editor of the Free Market Daily, a daily roundup of news and commentary e-mail newsletter distributed by FreeMarket.net. When FreeMarket.net shut down suddenly in 2002, Lee joined a group that began the Rational Review News Digest in order to insure that the freedom movement would continue to be served by a daily web and email-based news and commentary roundup.

Lee has been an editor of the Rational Review News Digest, the freedom movement's daily newsletter, ever since.

From 2005 to 2008, Lee also worked as editor of the Choice Channel for the International Society for Individual Liberty.

He founded LibertyForAll.net with J. Michael Bragg in 2000. What began as a simple on-line forum for a small band of patriots to exchange ideas has grown into an internationally respected circle of liberty-loving writers and readers.

LibertyForAll.net began as, and remains, a respected free speech publication where no one is turned away and no one is censored, true to their motto: "Let Your Voice Be Heard."

As an editor for these online resources, Lee has focused not only on researching, compiling information, editing and writing articles and news digests for the freedom movement, but also helping libertarians and libertarian organizations make the most efficient use of websites, e-mail lists, e-letters and the other tools of the new media.

Lee has been active in local, state and national Libertarian Party organizations since 2000 and is a lifetime member of the Libertarian Party. He has served as secretary and chair of the Libertarian Party of Forsyth County, N.C. and was vice chair of the state Libertarian Party for seven years. He also served as the LPNC ballot access director for two years.

Lee served as an at-large member of the Libertarian National Committee and was LNC vice chair for two years. During his time on the LNC, Lee also served four years on the platform committee. He is currently a member of the LP judicial committee, elected to that body by the 2010 national convention.

In Texas where he now lives in Burnet, Lee chairs the Burnet County LP and is the Senate District 24 representative to the Texas LP State Executive Committee. In 2008, Lee was campaign manager for the Mary Ruwart for President Committee and in 2010, he managed Mary's campaign for Texas State Comptroller.

Lee is president of the Foundation for a Free Society, a 501c3 non-profit educational organization

dedicated to promoting the principles of liberty, personal sovereignty, private property, and free markets in order to create a more free and prosperous society.

When he is not working for liberty, Lee works as the secretary and communications director for Sativa Science, a pharmaceutical start-up company.

Standing for us on the Local Front:

TESTIMONY

The Libertarian Party
c/o 1658 Liholiho St #205
Honolulu, HI 96822

February 4, 2011

RE: SB 1037 to be heard Tuesday, February 8, 2011 at 10:00 AM in conference room 016.

To the members of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Labor

We oppose SB 1037. Minimum wage laws are based on false assumptions about the nature of the labor market. Minimum wage laws are aimed at governing the practice of employers whereas real wage rates are set by market conditions outside their control. The net effect is to legally prohibit the employment of anyone for work that's market value is below the legally set minimum. The higher the legal minimum is set the more widespread and obvious the harm. Employers cannot stay in business by paying wages that exceed the value added to their enterprise by the wage earners. Unless the minimum wage is set so low as to fall under the lowest wages likely to be paid under market conditions no one actually benefits and everyone is harmed. The idea that passing a law to raise the wages of unskilled labor will actually accomplish that goal is based on entirely improper reasoning. Such laws are no more effective than ones barring hurricanes and tsunamis from hitting our islands

Sincerely:

Tracy Ryan
Oahu County Chair

Announcements

We have a couple important issues:

The forthcoming convention plans for May. We already have two committed speakers, current and former LP Presidential candidates, Lee Wrights and Mary Ruwart. Perhaps more. We need support for this activity. Dave Hudson and Tracy Ryan are developing the convention program, but we need others to help.

Also we need to take up where Roger left off, in case he can't continue from California. We need someone to take up the role of Executive Director.

Jeff is webmaster, but I'm sure he would be willing to accept help. LPH Discuss is moving to Yahoo; info coming.

See you. Aloha, Ken
389-1998 cell

Monthly Dinners/Meetings Each Island:

Kauai

Date: Time: Place: Topic:

Oahu

Date: Sunday, March 27, 2011

Time: Executive Committee Meeting 5 p.m.;
The Foolish Things Salon, 6 p.m.-8 p.m.

Place: Ken and Li Schoolland's
94-1072 Alelo St.
Waipahu, HI 96797

www.thefoolishthings.net

676-0825

Please bring a friend and your favorite drink.

DINNER will be served.

\$5 donation per person

Please send email to reserve your seat!

Email: li.schoolland@gmail.com

Topic: "Are Humans Warming the Planet?"

Speaker: Alan Lloyd

Molokai

Date: Time: Place: Topic:

Lanai

Date: Time: Place: Topic:

Maui

Date: Time: Place: Topic:

Hawaii

Date: Time: Place: Topic:

Other Activities:

The Libertarian Party of Hawaii

"Real freedom means the least government — government conspicuous by its absence — with sufficient power only to protect life, liberty, and property from frauds, thieves, and murderers. Real freedom means the full right of ownership and to make decisions for one's self and one's family." — John C. Sparks, "Behind the Facade" [1964]

Why You Are a Libertarian by [Harry Browne](#)

You're a libertarian because you abhor violence . . .

When a neighbor isn't willing to contribute as much to a social project as you are, you'd never think of:

Using a gun to force him to contribute;

Hiring an armed gang to threaten to kidnap him or confiscate his money if he didn't contribute;

Using the government in place of the armed gang if he didn't contribute – because every government program, in the final analysis, involves violence against those who don't comply.

If two people have agreed to engage in voluntary behavior between them, with no violence involved, you'd never think of:

Using a gun to stop them;

Hiring an armed gang to threaten to kidnap them if they didn't stop;

Using the government in place of the armed gang to stop them.

If a company and an individual have agreed to engage in voluntary behavior between them, with no violence involved, you'd never think of:

Using a gun to stop them;

Hiring an armed gang to threaten to kidnap them if they didn't stop;

Using the government in place of the armed gang to stop them.

If a foreign government is not attacking America, you'd never support the idea of initiating violence against the foreign country.

As one who abhors violence, you're willing to tolerate anything that's peaceful, and you practice the principle of live and let live – opposing the initiation of force (violence) against anyone for any purpose.

That's why you're a libertarian.

December 19, 2005

Harry Browne, the author of [Why Government Doesn't Work](#) and many other books, was the Libertarian presidential candidate in 1996 and 2000. See his [website](#).

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[Harry Browne Archives](#)

Letter From the Editor

The Libertarian Party of Hawaii Newsletter is sporting a new format and contents.

You can see by the table of contents and proposed titles of pages that I hope all of you will feel free to pitch in with articles, announcements in the form of press releases on our events and activities, and strategies for getting our message out and attracting interested people to libertarianism and to the LPH, book reviews, in-house announcements of LPH meetings on the various islands, OpEds that can be submitted to the *Honolulu Star-Advertiser* and the *Hawaii Reporter*, and various local papers, Letters to the Editor to this newsletter, and please feel free to suggest even more.

If you have an Internet connection and an e-mail account, but you haven't submitted it to our e-mail address database, please do so. Not only does snail mail take longer to get to you, it's expensive, and we'd be able to do more things and accomplish more for freedom if we could use the money spent on printing and mailing a hardcopy for other things, instead. Please "go digital;" not only does it save money, time, ink (somebody's gotta print it out on their own home computer printer), envelopes, stamps, and the time and labor of our publisher, Patric Brock (who has kindly donated himself and resources while also working full time), but through Internet publishing and distribution, we can have more content/pages, as you see here in this first issue of the new proposed format. It doesn't cost any more to have a book-length newsletter (though likely we won't have much more than what we have in this sample issue) than it does to send an e-mail, and you can all then have the luxury of having it on your computer waiting at your convenience to read, save, and print out or delete when you're through with it. There are no word limits, no conventional print limitations inherent in this digital format.

You can send your e-mail address where you'd like the e-newsletter sent to:

Patric Brock: pbrock@hawaii.rr.com

Cathy Robinson: cathyar@hawaii.rr.com

Please submit your own OpEd pieces, Press Releases, and Letters to the Editor; please send in announcements, with subject, date, time, location, contact info, etc., for anything you might be holding, as Ken and Li Schoolland regularly hold The Foolish Things salon every month.

I hope the articles from Harry Browne, LewRockwell.com, and Mises.org are acceptable to all of you as regular features of this newsletter; as well we'll publish other notable libertarian authors and articles. Please suggest what you'd like to see, with links, too. New e-addresses/links will be added. Please check out and patronize the organizations linked so we can all more easily and effectively spread the word and build the movement to freedom.

Thank you all for your input and contributions! We hope you enjoy this new format and content – and, please, pass it on!

Always,
Catherine Robinson
LPH Newsletter Managing Editor
Waipahu, Oahu

LPH will never sell our e-mail address list.

LewRockwell.com Article

<http://www.lewrockwell.com/peters-e/peters-e12.1.html>

Drunk Driving and 'Pre-Crime'?

by [Eric Peters](#)

[EricPetersAutos.com](#)

Recently by Eric Peters: [6 Things You Can't Do in a Car Anymore](#)

Pre-crime used to be a sci-fi literature concept. But it's already our everyday reality. The fallout from the shooting in Tucson is going to make that very clear, very soon.

But first, consider "drunk" driving.

There was a time, long ago, when a driver had to actually cause an accident – or at least, do something tangible that gave evidence of actually impaired driving, such as weaving over the double yellow or limping along at suspiciously slow speed. This was the probable cause needed by a cop to pull the suspect over.

Fair enough.

Then in the '90s we got (courtesy of Clintigula) the criminalization of *drinking* – irrespective of our actual *driving*. The mere presence of trace amounts of alcohol in one's blood became sufficient to arrest a person for "drunk" driving – even though all the person did was run afoul of a notoriously unreliable Breathalyzer machine.

It did not matter that people process alcohol differently; that some people are much better drivers even with a little booze in their systems than others are completely sober. And more besides.

Result?

Most people now equate having "x" amount of alcohol in your system – in ever-declining percentages – with "drunk driving." It is an epic victory of demagoguery and propaganda.

And it is also by definition an example of pre-crime. You haven't done anything – but you're in trouble because of what you *might* do.

Many readers will clamp shut their brains right about now and accuse me of defending mayhem and irresponsibility – which is proof they've bought into the pre-crime argument at the deepest level possible.

The merest potential connection; the flimsiest hint of possibility, no matter how tenuous or stretched. It's now all you need to be regarded as having actually done something.

And to be treated accordingly.

Having implanted itself deeply in the American mindset, we shall soon see an expansion of the principle.

Already, less than a week after the fruitcake in Tucson did his thing, we have lawmakers equating criticism of the government or its representatives with acts of violence against the government and its representatives. It does not matter that the fruitcake did his deed because he's a fruitcake, or that we have laws on the books to prosecute actions such as murder.

Soon, what will matter is what you *think* – and more, what others (those in power) think your thoughts might lead to.

To give voice to a sentiment such as “the government is corrupt and something needs to done,” will amount to evidence of advocating violence – perhaps even of committing violence – much as a motorist who has consumed an arbitrary amount of alcohol is ipso facto a drunk driver.

Consider: You are liable to arrest for “drunk driving” in America today even if you aren’t driving at all. You merely have to be in your car – even if you’re in the passenger seat and the car is parked. People who have had one too many and decided to sleep it off in their car have been arrested for DWI just the same as if they had been straddling the double yellow at 65 MPH with a gin and tonic in one hand and their left leg hanging out the window.

The courts have said that drinking “x” amount of alcohol not only defines “impairment” – it also amounts to intent to drive drunk, whether you’re driving or not. And that intent – imputed, perceived, ginned-up out of nothingness – is what matters.

Is it really a great leap to imagine that political speech – *hatriotic* speech, as it is being styled – will soon be treated the same way? That to say or even to think something – anything – that smacks of criticism of government and its flunkies will shortly be regarded as tantamount to shooting people?

Gun laws – and the TSA – already operate on this principle.

You have no record of criminal misconduct or mental illness. You’re a taxpayer, a responsible citizen. Yet in several states (and of course, Washington, D.C.) you’re assumed to have criminal intent, and thus, denied the right to own a firearm. If you possess one anyway – even if you have done nothing with it to harm or even threaten to harm another person – then you’re subject to being cuffed and stuffed just the same as if you had actually used it to threaten or harm others.

Pre-crime again.

The TSA subjects people at random – and en masse – to rough and humiliating searches, including invasive physical pat downs, just like cops do to felony suspects. Not because of anything they’ve actually done or even hinted they may do but only because the TSA apes impute “terrorist intent” to anyone who desires to travel by commercial airplane.

Ipsa facto.

Just like having a drink before you drive makes you a “drunk” driver – no matter how good your actual driving happens to be.

We’ve upended perhaps the most basic concept of Western jurisprudence – that for there to be a crime, or wrongdoing, there must be an actual criminal act, or wrongdoing.

But a society that embraced the tar baby of *pre-emptive* wars should not be surprised to wake up one day to find it is now also snuggling the concept of *pre-crime* – with all its consequences. God bless America. Land of the Free.

Throw it in the Woods?

January 15, 2011

Eric Peters [[send him mail](#)] is an automotive columnist and author of [Automotive Atrocities and Road Hogs](#) (2011). Visit [his website](#).

Mises Institute.org Article
Another Genius Idea from Central Planning

by

Mises Daily: Thursday, January 13, 2011 by [Ralph Reiland](#)

<http://mises.org/daily/4953>

Just when employers were getting less fearful about what President Obama might do next to worsen the business climate, the National Labor Relations Board (now with its first Democratic majority in a decade) announced on December 14 that, under a newly proposed federal rule, private employers will be required to display pro-unionizing posters in their businesses.

"The planned rule," reported the Associated Press, "would require businesses to post notices in employee break rooms or other prominent locations to explain workers' rights to bargain collectively, distribute union literature or engage in other union activities without reprisal."

The posters don't explain that the largest reprisal against collectivized labor and unionism comes from the public by way of lower sales — and then fewer jobs — when prices of products and services are hiked in order to pay for the escalating costs of higher wages, benefits, and pensions.

In the US auto industry, for instance, unionized factory workers have paid a steep price for the public's reprisal against overcompensated employees and subsequently overpriced cars. During decades when both the US population and the domestic car market were significantly expanding, active membership in the United Auto Workers (UAW) dropped from 1.5 million in the late 1970s to 390,000 in 2010.

General Motors has lost two-thirds of its US market share, falling from nearly 60 percent in 1970 to its current 20 percent. The company now employs 52,000 hourly workers in the United States, down 89 percent from its 468,000 hourly employees in 1970.

Allowing the UAW "to ramp up costs ad infinitum" put GM at "a major cost disadvantage," states [Martin Hutchinson](#), contributing editor of *Money Morning*. "The arrival and establishment of foreign-owned manufacturers in America's less unionized states — combined with the inexorable aging of GM's former and current work force — shackled GM with an impossible cost disadvantage against its competitors."

Financial analyst James Quinn at [SeekingAlpha.com](#), a stock research and investment website, [reports](#),

The last major strike by the UAW occurred in 1970. After that, management continually gave in to the union demands in all future contract negotiations. They promised tremendous pension benefits, lifetime healthcare benefits, huge pay increases, and onerous work rules that gave management no flexibility. GM evidently didn't have the bean counters who could extrapolate past a five-year horizon. If they had, they would have seen that they would have an unsustainable cost structure with more retirees being paid than workers on the assembly line.

As GM workers increasingly became unemployed, the jobless were relocated from the assembly lines to a "jobs bank" at a cost to GM of \$130,000 a year in pay and benefits per worker — or more precisely, per nonworker.

The exact wording of this new "rights" poster from the federal government couldn't be more biased:

Employees have the right to act together to improve wages and working conditions, to form, join, and assist a union, to bargain collectively with their employers, and to choose not to do any of these activities.

The "act together" to improve things sounds so benign, normal, and sensible, like when two or three secretaries act in concert to share their thoughts about what meats, cheeses, and condiments to order for an office luncheon meeting, and discuss collectively if it's better to order pizza that's all pepperoni or if it should be half pepperoni and half plain.

There's no mention of how union people, not infrequently, "act together" to cause unemployment and inflation, to shrink work forces and destroy companies.

If anyone in the top ranks of the Obama administration had ever started a small business, the sector that creates most of America's jobs — or even if someone at the top levels of this administration had the goal of doing something more independent and commercial than existing in a publicly subsidized bureaucracy — they might understand that the last thing an entrepreneur or small-business owner wants to see on the walls of his own business is a poster that tells his workers that the boss is the problem, a union is the answer, and that strikes, grievances, seniority, and slow-downs are the best paths to job security and upward mobility.

What companies should do is display their own posters alongside the government's one-sided propaganda for unionism, for full disclosure. One could be a large map of the United States, for example, with big arrows crossing the country to show the migration patterns reported in the 2010 census: masses of people leaving heavily unionized and highly taxed regions, either by the force of joblessness or simply voting with their feet and heading off to less collectivized locales. The headline on the poster: "Wanna move?"

Adding to the craziness — as if we don't already have enough red ink and overpricing in government work — the aforementioned pro-unionization posters are now required to be displayed prominently in the offices of all government contractors and subcontractors. "The directive was one of the first executive orders Obama signed shortly after taking office," reported the Associated Press.

It doesn't seem to matter to Obama that the federal debt already has us \$14 trillion in the hole — \$140,000 per household. The answer from the Harvard masterminds is to unionize the contractors and subcontractors, to jack up the price of a mile of road to even more inflated levels.

Where's the "change"? What's new about crooked, smug, and oblivious politicians draining the lifeblood out of the nation?

Ralph R. Reiland is an associate professor of economics at Robert Morris University in Pittsburgh. Send him [mail](#). See Ralph Reiland's [article archives](#).

Book Review/Recommendation

<http://www.lewrockwell.com/woods/woods161.html>

The Case for Freedom

by [Thomas E. Woods, Jr.](#)

Recently by Thomas E. Woods, Jr.: [Back on the Road to Serfdom](#)

[This is the introduction to the new Mises Institute edition of Ludwig von Mises's Liberalism.](#)

Any political philosophy must address itself to a central question: under what conditions is the initiation of violence to be considered legitimate? One philosophy may endorse such violence on behalf of the interests of a majority racial group, as with the National Socialists of Germany. Another may endorse it on behalf of a particular economic class, as with the Bolsheviks of Soviet Russia. Still another may prefer to avoid a doctrinaire position one way or another, leaving it to the good judgment of those who administer the state to decide when the common good demands the initiation of violence and when it does not. This is the stance of the social democracies.

The liberal sets a very high threshold for the initiation of violence. Beyond the minimal taxation necessary to maintain legal and defense services – and some liberals shrink even from this – he denies to the state the power to initiate violence and seeks only peaceful remedies to perceived social ills. He opposes violence for the sake of redistributing wealth, of enriching influential pressure groups, or trying to improve man's moral condition. Civilized people, says the liberal, interact with each other not according to the law of the jungle, but by means of reason and discussion. Man is not to be made good by means of the prison guard and the hangman; should they be necessary to make him good, his moral condition is already beyond salvage. As Ludwig von Mises puts it in this seminal book, modern man "must free himself from the habit, just as soon as something does not please him, of calling for the police."

There has been something of a renaissance in Misesian studies in the wake of the financial crisis that first gripped the world in 2007 and 2008, since it was followers of Mises who had the most compelling explanations for economic phenomena that left most so-called experts stammering. The importance of Mises' economic contributions to modern-day discussion is apt to make us overlook his contributions as a social theorist and political philosopher. The republication of [Liberalism](#) helps to rectify this oversight.

The liberalism that Mises describes here is, of course, not the "liberalism" of the United States today, but rather classical liberalism, which is how the term continues to be understood in Europe. Classical liberalism stands for individual liberty, private property, free trade, and peace, fundamental principles from which the rest of the liberal program can be deduced. (When the first English edition of *Liberalism* appeared in 1962, Mises published it under the title *The Free and Prosperous Commonwealth*, in order not to confuse American readers who associated liberalism with a creed very different from the one he championed.)

It is no insult to Mises to describe his defense of liberalism as parsimonious, in the sense that, following Occam's Razor, he employs on its behalf no concepts not strictly necessary to his argument. Thus Mises makes no reference to natural rights, a concept that plays a central role in so many other expositions of liberalism. He focuses primarily on the necessity of large-scale social cooperation. This social cooperation, by which complex chains of production function to improve the general standard of living, can be brought about only by an economic system based on private property. Private property in the means of production, coupled with the progressive extension of the division of labor, has helped to free mankind from the horrific afflictions that once confronted the human race: disease, grinding poverty, appalling rates of infant mortality, general squalor and filth, and radical economic insecurity, with people often living one bad harvest away from starvation. Until the market economy illustrated the

wealth-creating possibilities of the division of labor, it was taken for granted that these grotesque features of man's condition were the fixed dictates of a cold and merciless nature, and thus unlikely to be substantially alleviated, much less conquered entirely, by human effort.

Students have been taught for many generations to think of property as a dirty word, the very embodiment of avarice. Mises will have none of it. "If history could prove anything in regard to this question, it could only be that nowhere and at no time has there ever been a people which has raised itself without private property above a condition of the most oppressive penury and savagery scarcely distinguishable from animal existence." Social cooperation, Mises shows, is impossible in the absence of private property, and any attempts to curtail the right of property undermine the central pillar of modern civilization.

Indeed Mises firmly anchors liberalism to private property. He is all too aware that to champion property is to invite the accusation that liberalism is merely a veiled apologia for capital. "The enemies of liberalism have branded it as the party of the special interests of the capitalists," Mises observes. "This is characteristic of their mentality. They simply cannot understand a political ideology as anything but the advocacy of certain special privileges opposed to the general welfare." Mises shows in this book and throughout his corpus of work that the system of private ownership of the means of production redounds to the benefit not merely of the direct owners of capital but indeed to all of society.

There is, in fact, no *particular* reason that people in possession of great wealth should favor the liberal system of free competition, in which continuous effort must be exerted on behalf of the desires of the consumers if that wealth is not to be whittled away. Those who possess great wealth – especially those who inherited that wealth – may in fact prefer to inhabit a system of intervention, which is more likely to keep existing patterns of wealth frozen. Little wonder that American business magazines during the Progressive Era are replete with calls for replacing *laissez-faire*, a system in which no one's profits are protected, with government-sanctioned cartel and collusion devices.

Naturally, given Mises' emphasis on the centrality of the division of labor to the maintenance and progress of civilization, he is particularly outspoken regarding the evils of aggressive war, which on top of its physical and human toll brings about the progressive impoverishment of mankind by its radical disruption of a harmonious structure of production that spans the entire globe. Mises, who rarely minces words but whose prose is generally elegant and restrained, speaks with indignation and outrage when the subject turns to European imperialism, a cause on whose behalf he will admit no arguments whatever. Just as his student, Murray Rothbard, would later identify war and peace as the foundational issue of the whole liberal program, Mises likewise insists that these questions cannot be neglected – as they so often are by classical liberals in our own time – in favor of safer, less politically sensitive issues.

The principal tool of liberalism, Mises maintained, was reason. That does not mean Mises thought its entire program must be carried through by means of dense and elaborate academic treatises. He greatly admired those who brought its ideas to the stage, the silver screen, and to the world of published fiction. But it does mean that the cause must remain rooted in rational argument, a much sounder foundation than the fickle irrationalism of emotion and hysteria by which other ideologies seek to stir the masses. "Liberalism has nothing to do with all this," Mises insists. "It has no party flower and no party color, no party song and no party idols, no symbols and no slogans. It has the substance and the arguments. These must lead it to victory."

Finally, a brief word on the translation. Ralph Raico's elegant rendering of Mises' words not only conveys the author's ideas with precision and care, but also preserves his unique and captivating prose style. Readers of Mises' later works, many of which appeared originally in English rather than in translation, will be struck by how skillfully Raico has captured the voice they discover in those books.

We ought to rejoice at the publication of the Mises Institute's new edition of this old classic, particularly at such a perilous moment in history. With fiscal crises and the hard choices they demand threatening a wave of civil unrest across Europe, the impossible promises made by cash-strapped welfare states are becoming increasingly obvious. As Mises argued, there is no stable, long-term substitute for the free economy. Interventionism, even on behalf of such an ostensibly good cause as social welfare, creates more problems than it solves, thereby leading to still more intervention until the system is entirely socialized, if the collapse does not occur before then.

Mises' position runs counter to those who held that the market was indeed a place of rivalry and strife in which the gain of some implied losses to others. One thinks, for example, of David Ricardo, and his contention that wages and profits necessarily move in opposite directions. Thomas Malthus warned of a population catastrophe, which implied a conflict between some individuals (those already born) and others (namely, the alleged excess who followed later). Then, of course, there was the entire mercantilist tradition, which viewed trade and exchange as a kind of low-intensity warfare that yielded a definite set of winners and losers. Karl Marx set forth a classic statement of inherent class antagonism on the market in the *Communist Manifesto*. Even older than these figures was Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592), who argued in his essay "The Plight of One Man is the Benefit of Another" that "no profit can possibly be made but at the expense of another." Mises later called this view the "Montaigne fallacy."

For the sake of civilization itself, Mises urges us to discard the mercantilist myths that pit the prosperity of one people against that of another, the socialist myths that describe the various social classes as mortal enemies, and the interventionist myths that seek prosperity through mutual plunder. In place of these juvenile and destructive misconceptions Mises advances a compelling argument for classical liberalism, which sees "economic harmonies" – to borrow Frédéric Bastiat's formulation – where others see antagonism and strife. Classical liberalism, so ably defended here by Mises, seeks no coercively derived advantage for anyone, and for that very reason brings about the most satisfactory long-run results for everyone.

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