

# HOPPE *UN*PLUGGED

Views, insights and provocations  
from interviews and speeches by  
Prof. Hans-Hermann Hoppe



With Videolinks

**CAUTION  
SUBVERSIVE**

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# DEAR READERS

Experience shows: Most people have acquired their deep political convictions at around 25 years of age. Therefore two introductions

## For the practically and theoretically inclined youngsters

If you are a more practical person, you'll enjoy Hoppe's refreshing and provocative comments. Today, whatever the issue, be it social justice, racism, or climate, the question is always whether there should be a little more or less government, a little more or less regulations or laws, hardly an exciting topic for discussion.

Hoppe, on the other hand, makes a radical argument. He describes why all state solutions can never work in practice and how people would organize themselves peacefully and considerately even without state coercion.

If you are more of a theoretical type, Hoppe may open your eyes to a new universe. Today, those who want more state are often considered "progressive", while state skeptics are dubbed "reactionary" or worse. Hoppe provides clarity. He establishes freedom as a political ideal and derives all other arguments from this ideal.

It is precisely this consistency, namely a theory based on principles, that was, and still is, considered a strength of socialism and Marxism. It has given them great appeal among many young people to this day, because young people are looking for principles and consistency. Hoppe also offers principles and consistency but for the opposite principle, namely for more freedom instead of more control and more state. He is in this sense the anti-Marx for peace and freedom and at the same time simpler, more consistent and more original than the socialists. With Hoppe you can argue any Socialist and any Marxist sovereignly into the ground.

## For readers over 30: you get a free personality check.

1. "It's outrageous that anyone can even think like that". Such a reaction indicates a deep-rooted belief in the state. If you continue reading anyway, you may add a new dimension to your political universe. Kind of like when you can suddenly see the earth as a sphere instead of a disk.
2. "I like the direction of the arguments, but they are not realistic and too extreme". This response indicates that you see yourself as politically freedom-loving, yet deep down in your soul, you trust the state. If you think through the arguments with an open mind, it will strengthen your libertarian inclinations.
3. "Cool, finally someone gets to the point. But I think abolishing the state altogether is a bit extreme." You have a strong libertarian instinct. You will enjoy reading the booklet and the literature recommendations. And who knows, maybe you can someday even follow Hoppe's reasons for a statefree society.
4. "Ingenious, finally a consistent thinker". You are already familiar with libertarian thought and appreciate Hoppe's principle-based reasoning. Tip: Read more of Hoppe's works, especially the theoretical ones. For you, there is a possibility that Hoppe's logical justification of freedom is tantamount to a revelation. In any case, you will then be on the front lines of theories about freedom.

We look forward to any feedback

# Biography

Prof. Dr. Hans Hermann Hoppe, born 1949 in Peine, Germany, studied philosophy, sociology, history and economics at the University of Saarland (Saarbrücken), Goethe University in Frankfurt and the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. He received his doctorate in 1974 in Frankfurt under Jürgen Habermas.

Hoppe was Professor of Economics at the University of Las Vegas from 1986 to 2008 and is a Distinguished Fellow of the Ludwig von Mises Institute (Auburn / Alabama). He founded the Property and Freedom Society in May 2006.

Hoppe has two adult children and lives with his wife Gülcin Imre Hoppe in Turkey.



Pen and Ink by  
Matheus Nascimento

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# THE ESSENCE OF THE STATE



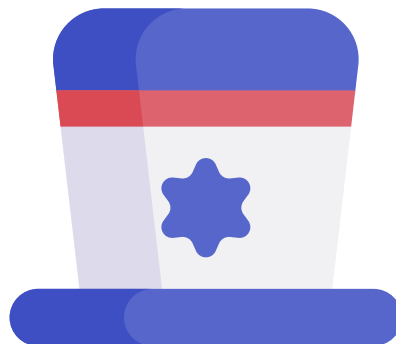
# 1.1. Why is the state a curious institution?

The state seems to be taken as given today. Anyone who questions it is hardly taken seriously. Yet that is exactly what we want to do. We want to think about the very essence of the state.

Hoppe starts with a thought experiment:

” *If you were to say to a group of toddlers: There are five of us and from time to time we have conflicts. To settle our squabbles, we appoint Julius. Julius always decides who is right, even if Julius is involved in the conflict. Then every kindergarten group would understand that this is a highly dangerous solution to the problem.*

*Now, if you think about what the state is, namely the final decision-maker in all cases of conflict, including conflict in which the state itself is involved, then you immediately realize that this is simply an absurd construction.*



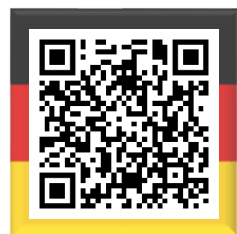
## 1.2. Have states come into being through voluntary agreements?

Perhaps some of you have already heard of the so-called contract theory. The basic idea of this theory is that every person who lives in a state today has agreed to that state by a contract, either explicitly (that is, that he has actually signed a contract) or implicitly (that is, by what is called "tacit consent"). This contract with the state is supposed to provide the state with a scientific and moral justification.

This is nonsense, says Hoppe:

” *No, the state is precisely not the result of a contract! Nobody in his right mind would agree to such an arrangement. There are many documents in my files, but you won't find any of that kind anywhere.*

*The state is the result of aggressive violence and subjugation. It came into being without any contractual basis, just like a gang of protection racketeers.*



### 1.3. Why is saying "we are the state" wrong?

Everyone has heard it said that "we, the people" are the state. After all, we elect our leaders and lawmakers and sometimes even vote on referendums. But is that really true, are we really the state?

Hoppe emphatically declares: no, that is an illusion. There is a private sector and a public sector with two different set of laws. In other words, the state creates legal inequality.

” *In all societies there is the difference between private law and public law\*. If I take something from you as a private person or if I force you to work for me, I will be fined or even imprisoned. But if I do so as a public servant, it is considered "collecting taxes" or "drafting for mandatory military service".*

*As a public person, I am allowed to do things that I would never be allowed to do as a private person. What is called "stealing and peddling stolen goods" is considered implementing social policy if done by the state.*



\* Private vs. public law: Private law creates rules of acceptable behavior between people (i.e. how conflicts between neighbors are settled, how property rights are to be enforced, etc.), while public law regulates the relationship between people and the state (i.e. how much taxes must be paid, how the police may act, who is entitled to vote and be elected, etc.).



## 1.4. What does our political system and the Mafia have in common?

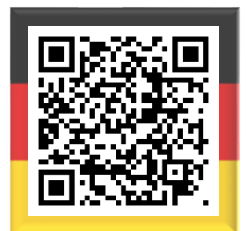
We learn in school that governmental abuse is prevented by a so-called separation of powers. The legislature (Congress) makes the laws, the executive (President) executes the laws, and the judiciary (Supreme Court) ensures everybody follows the rules. These checks and balances are supposed to have each branch of government keep an eye on the other branches.

Hoppe says that this is only an illusion and that the separation of powers does not exist. He argues:

” *At present, in case of a conflict between a citizen and the state, it is always the state that decides who is right. For example, if the state decides that I owe them more taxes or that they forbid me to smoke in my restaurant and I do not agree, what can I do? Then I can only go to a state court, staffed with judges who themselves are paid out of taxes. And what are these judges likely to decide? Of course, that this is all legal!*

*Suppose you are the head of state. For self-regulation, your uncle is appointed as judge, your aunt as financial controller, and your father is chairman of the ethics committee. That's the separation of powers. Naturally, there will be occasional disagreements within the family. But you all share a common interest in maximizing your organization's income and expanding your power.*

*Even within the mafia there are people with “executive”, “legislative”, and “judicial” functions. For an illustration, just go and watch the movie “The Godfather” again.*



## 1.5. To what extent do democratic decisions lead to communist results?

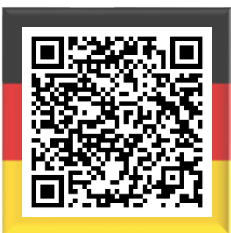
In the Communist Manifesto of 1848, the term communism is defined as "the abolition of private property". In the communist countries this meant that state planning boards decided about all aspects of people's lives, from education to work, housing, travelling and media consumption. Hoppe points out that the same thing happens through democratic decision making.

Important: When Hoppe uses the term "property", he means the right of disposal both over goods and over his own body. In this sense, one's own body is also a good.

” *Yes, of course democracy, whether direct or indirect, is a form of communism. A majority decides what belongs to me and what belongs to you and what you or I may do or may not do. That has nothing to do with private property and very much with restricting private control, in other words, with common property, which in turn means communism.*

*There is no contract with the state and there is no legal guarantee of what belongs to us and what is our own, untouchable property.*

*There are, for example, income taxes and property taxes, so in the end, what belongs to you as your property? As much as the state decides to leave to you untaxed. What can you do with your own land? Whatever the state permits you to do. And we are also not told what price we have to pay to the state for its services.*



## 1.6. Why did Hoppe title one of his books "The Competition of Crooks"?

Free competition in the economic field means I may sell what I want and I may buy what I want. This allows consumers to buy the best and / or cheapest products according to their own personal needs. This in turn means that only the best producers get rewarded and become successful.

Competition also exists in politics. However, there competition is not about providing goods and services for the consumer but about winning popular support and access to powerful offices. Competition in politics is just about the opposite of economic competition, says Hoppe:

” *Competition is not always good. Only competition in the production of goods is good. By contrast, competition in the production of "bads" is bad, indeed worse than bad. We do not want competition in who can best beat us up. The same is true of democracy and political competition. Democracy allows the majority of people to appropriate other people's property by means of legal state power, and that is, ultimately, legalized theft.*

*In mass elections, there is a tendency for those members of society who have no moral inhibitions about taking the property of others to seek entry into public functions and rise to the highest positions.*

*The larger and more anonymous the political unit that elects state officials the more one can give in to one's respective feelings of envy and power-lust .*

## 1.7. Is democracy good for peaceful change of government?

” *As for the alleged advantage of democracy for peacefully changing government, it is also possible to change a government peacefully, for example, by selecting the state officials through a regularly organized lottery.*

*While a lottery would give us some "accidental" power-wielder as our ruler, "democratic competition" provides a virtual guarantee that only the "best" power-wielders, the most manipulative and conniving politicians, move up to the decisive positions of state power.*





# GOVERNMENT AND HISTORY



## 2.1. Are democratic administrators or royal owners better for the people?

Everything we do is influenced by incentives. We ask ourselves “how can I gain, where will I lose?” This of course holds true for politicians and makes it interesting to compare the incentives for a king and for democratic politicians:

” *In a monarchical state\* everyone knows who the ruler is and who is being ruled and, therefore, there is resistance to any attempt to extend the state's power. In a democratic state, the contrast between ruler and ruled becomes blurred, and the state's power can be expanded much more easily.*

*A monarch wants to pass his country on to an heir within the family; he is oriented towards long-term wealth preservation. Elected politicians, on the other hand, are only temporary administrators, so they only have the short term in mind.*

*Take the example of two identical houses: one is occupied by the owner, who can also pass it on, and the other by a tenant whose contract only runs for five years. Who will treat the house better?*

*Despite my clear sympathy for the classical monarchy, I am not a monarchist. Both the classical monarchy and modern democracy are forms of the state.*



\*Monarchy: a country ruled by a king or a queen, who can make the laws for their kingdoms. They are in fact the owners of their countries.



## 2.2. Has classical liberalism triumphed?

” *The central aim of classical liberalism was to ensure the equality of all persons - everyone is equal before the law, in contrast to all princely or feudal privileges which existed before that time.*

*As far as success is concerned, one has to conclude: the goal has been totally missed.*

*We are further away today from achieving these classically liberal objectives than we were 150 or 100 years ago. The immense technical progress that has taken place since then should not blind us to this fact. Instead of approaching liberal goals, the Western world has increasingly moved towards the opposite, namely the communist goal of abolishing private property and establishing a "public economy".*

*To illustrate: 150 years ago, the demands made in the Communist Manifesto were still considered outrageous and simply absurd. For example, the demand for unrestricted universal suffrage (from 21), the demand for elected "representatives of the people" to be paid from tax revenues, the demand for "free," i.e., tax-financed, "people's education" and "justice care," the demand for a minimum income guaranteed by the state, the demand for a state central bank and a paper currency, the demand for a strong progressive taxation of income and property, or the demand for a restriction of the right of inheritance.*



## 2.3. Are large political entities, like the EU, good for economic prosperity?

” *Let me start with the obvious. All small states, like Monaco, Liechtenstein, Andorra, (formerly) Hong Kong, Singapore, and even the relatively large Switzerland, are doing economically better than the larger regions surrounding them.*

*And then, Germany's rise to become a leading cultural and scientific nation in the course of the 19th century - before unification in 1871 - is attributed to its political fragmentation in 39 competing principalities - in contrast to the heavily centralized France, where culture took place in Paris alone, and the rest of the country was characterized by cultural darkness. The small German territories were in intense competition with each other. Everyone wanted to have the best libraries, theaters and universities.*

*Small states have to implement a low-tax and low-regulation policy, otherwise their most productive citizens will simply leave.*

*We should get away from the idea that economics is something between different nations or states. Economic activities take place between people and companies. States do not compete against states, instead companies compete against companies.*



## 2.4. Is democracy or autocracy\* better for economic prosperity?

Some say democracy is best for economic prosperity, others claim developing countries need a «strong hand» and government leadership. Both are wrong, says Hoppe:

” *As the current example of Venezuela clearly shows, democracy and democratic elections can well lead to the almost complete abolition of private property rights and freedom of contract and trade, which can lead to a spectacular economic collapse.*

*Equally revealing in this respect is the comparison of India's economic performance with that of China. While modern India has been ruled by democratic governments for almost seven decades, modern China is ruled by a dictatorship of the Communist Party. While the economic situation in both countries was about equally desperate until the early 1980s, China's GDP per capita has significantly outpaced India's GDP since the beginning of the "reform communism" in China, suggesting greater economic freedom in China.*

*So, in conclusion, don't rely on democracy and you shouldn't rely on a dictatorship either. Place your hopes in radical political decentralization; not only in India and China, but everywhere.*



\*Autocracy: Uncontrolled rule of individuals or groups of people.

## 2.5. What is special about Swiss democracy?

” *As far as the particular case of Switzerland is concerned: well, democracy can at best function, "halfway", in very small, culturally homogeneous communities, i.e. without quickly ending in economic ruin.*

*Where everybody knows everyone else and is aware of their social position, and where there is, therefore, pronounced social control, it is difficult to want to acquire the property of others by "democratic means." Even if this is theoretically possible, social pressure prevents such a thing from happening.*

*Democracy in Switzerland is (still) largely local democracy. Local matters are decided locally, without intervention from "outside" or "above" (from Bern, Brussels, Washington, or New York).*

*Switzerland's relative economic success, in comparison with its large neighboring countries, therefore has little or nothing to do with its direct democracy, but rather with the fact that Swiss democracy is a "small" democracy.*

*This is the secret of Switzerland.*



# STATE ACTIVITIES



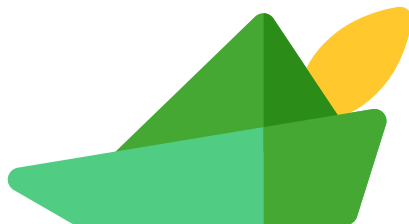
### 3.1. Is Robin Hood, the “Prince of Thieves”, a hero or villain?

The legend of Robin Hood has two different versions. He either steals from the rich or he robs the tax collector. Which version do you think Hoppe sides with?

” *Taxes are theft. The thieves - the state and its agents and allies - naturally try their best to cover up this fact.*

*Obviously, taxes are not normal voluntary payments for goods and services, as you are not allowed to stop these payments if you are dissatisfied with the product. You are not punished if you stop buying Volkswagen cars or Chanel perfume, but you are thrown into prison if you stop paying for state schools or universities or for the pomp of some politicians.*

*Since taxes are theft, i.e. an injustice, it cannot be morally wrong to refuse to pay the thieves or to lie to them about your income or wealth. This does not mean that it is wise or prudent to do so and not pay your taxes. After all, the state is, as Nietzsche put it, the coldest of all the cold monsters. It can ruin your life and destroy you if you defy its orders.*





## 3.2. What are just taxes?

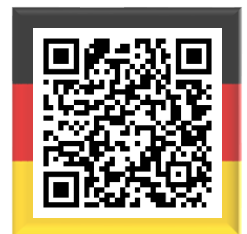
” *If taxes are theft, then it follows from the point of view of justice that there should be no taxes and therefore no tax policy at all.*

*Government employees and all state-dependents in fact pay no taxes at all. Rather, all their net income (after taxes) comes from tax revenues, and they are, therefore, not taxpayers but tax consumers who derive their income from resources stolen from other people - the tax producers.\**

*The "best" (because it is lowest) tax is a head tax, where each person has to pay the same fixed amount in taxes. Since even the poorest person must be able to pay this amount, such a tax must be very low. Still, even a head tax is and remains theft, and nothing about theft is fair.*

*One important step would be if employers stopped collecting wage taxes on behalf of the state. Companies should say: "We are not doing this work for you. If you want the taxes, go get them yourself." If everyone had to personally pay their taxes at the end of the year, the resistance would be much higher than it is now.*

\* Hoppe sometimes illustrates this point as follows: if state employees or dependents stop paying taxes, they will have more money to spend and the state correspondingly less. If the private sector taxpayers would stop paying taxes, the state, including all its dependents, would have no money available at all.



### 3.3. Is social security a great achievement?

State pensions are often referred to as a “intergenerational contract”. The idea is that people working now pay for the pensions of today’s retired, with the expectation that future workers will do the same for them when they retire.

” *The entire social security system, the so-called “intergenerational contract” is like a chain letter doomed to crash.*

*Any private businessman who wanted to offer such an “insurance scheme” would be immediately arrested as a crook. The fact that politicians all over the world are still pretending that we are dealing here with a great achievement, even in the face of rising life expectancy and falling birth rates, only shows how irresponsible, even homicidal, our entire political class is.*

### 3.4. What is the right foundation for retirement planning?

” *From an economic and moral point of view, a person's old-age provision (retirement pension) should be a purely private matter.*

*Of course, such an arrangement does not eliminate all the problems associated with old age. However, this arrangement generally strengthens personal responsibility by rewarding diligence and foresight while punishing negligence and short-sightedness. It therefore tends to reduce financial and social problems related to aging to the lowest level humanly possible.*

*In sharp contrast to this, in the Western world, retirement provision has increasingly, and indeed almost entirely, become a state affair. As a result, decency, family ties and personal responsibility have been systematically weakened.*

*Old-age provision is a prime example of how democracy turns many people into small children. They believe that all problems can be solved quickly and easily if the right people are elected, if money is printed and wealth is redistributed from one population group to another. It supports a childlike mentality within them.*

### 3.5. Do politicians have a bigger heart for the needy?

” *If you, as a private person, steal something and then you give it as a gift to another person, it means you are a thief peddling stolen goods. If you do this as a civil servant it is called social policy.*

*You take money and things from certain people and give these stolen goods to other people. The people who do this - you know them very well, the politicians and bureaucrats - they are, of course, extremely generous with their giving, because it is not their own money, but money that has been stolen from others. With other people's money, it is easy to be generous, with your own money you are usually a bit more careful.*

*Of course, politicians are gangsters: they live off the money they have extorted from other people under the threat of violence - and it is called "taxes".*

*Unfortunately, politicians are not lazy. It would be nice if they did nothing but squander their booty. Instead, they are megalomaniacal do-gooders who make life even more difficult for their victims with thousands of laws and regulations.*



### 3.6. How exactly does social policy make society poorer?

” *The welfare state is always detrimental to the increase in prosperity.*

*Any tax means that wealth and income are forcibly taken from its owners and producers and redistributed to people who did not own these assets and did not produce this income. Any future increase in wealth and any future production of income are thus discouraged. The result is that the total wealth of the population is lower than it would be without the welfare state.*

*Charitable, voluntary aid is something completely different. A person engaged in charitable work will continue to be productive because he or she has chosen to be helpful himself or herself.*

*If, on the other hand, I am forced to help the poor, it has a negative incentive on my own productive activity. On the side of the recipients, too, the incentive to get out of their dreary situation is lower.*



\*Charitable means (voluntary) help out of compassion.



### 3.7. Can printing money create wealth?

” *States allow only their central bank to create and regulate money, and the quality of this money is correspondingly bad.*

*Instead of gold or silver, as in the old days, we currently have nothing but paper money (dollars, euros, yens, etc.) worldwide. That is great for the monopolist. He can print money practically for free and buy expensive goods like houses and cars. A real magic wand! Who would not wish he had such a wand?*

*But every new piece of paper money reduces the purchasing power of all other existing paper banknotes. And every newly printed banknote leads to a redistribution of wealth. Those who get the new money first, like the big banks with the closest ties to the central bank, get richer. Their share of society's wealth increases. They now own houses and cars that he did not previously own. And to the same extent they reduce the wealth of all other people, who now own correspondingly fewer houses and cars.*

*More paper money cannot make a society richer. More money is just that: more printed paper.*

*Any country can print money in any quantity. If money printing could make countries richer, how can we explain why there are still poor countries and poor people in this world? After all, money can be printed in limitless quantities.*



### 3.8. Can intellectual property be stolen?

Intellectual property is a legal grant for an inventor to determine who may use his or her invention. The inventor is thus granted a state-protected monopoly for a certain period of time. Some well known examples are patent protection for pharmaceutical products and copyright for music, pictures and texts.

This policy is mistaken and harmful, says Hoppe.

” *The idea of intellectual property rights is not only wrong and confused, but above all it is also very dangerous. Good ideas - recipes, formulas, melodies etc. - are, of course, goods. But they are not scarce goods. Once they are thought and expressed, they are "free", inexhaustible goods. I whistle a melody or write down a poem, and you listen to the melody or read the poem and reproduce or copy it. The whole world can copy me, and yet nothing is taken away from me.*

*And if I don't want anyone to copy my ideas, I just have to keep them to myself and never publish them.*



### 3.9. What is the logical consequence of patent protection and copyright?

” *Now imagine if I were granted a property right to my melody or poem, in other words, I can forbid you from copying me or insist on you paying me a royalty.*

*First of all, this would have the absurd consequence that I would first have to pay a fee to the person (or their heirs) who invented whistling and writing, and also to those people who made sounds for the first time and spoke a language for the first time, etc.*

*And secondly, if I can prevent you from whistling my melody or reciting my poem, then I gain partial control over your property, your physical body, your vocal cords, your paper, your pencil, etc. After all, you are not using anything else but your property when you copy me.*

*And that proves...: Intellectual property rights must be considered a highly dangerous attack on all real property rightsn.*

P.S. Until about twenty years ago, many liberals believed that the state had to protect intellectual property, because, as the term suggests, it is all about protecting property.

Stephan Kinsella's book "Against Intellectual Property" played a decisive role in changing opinions in these circles. Another book, "Against Intellectual Monopoly," by Michele Boldrin and David K. Levine, argues that laws protecting intellectual property were either unimportant or a hindrance for economic progress.

Both books are available via QR code below.





# CURRENT PROBLEMS



## 4.1. But doesn't Corona prove that government regulations are necessary?

” *On the contrary. Attempts were made to solve the problem centrally, and then individual municipalities said that things were different there, more dramatic or less dramatic. Provincial princes and local chiefs had the perfect opportunity to extend their own sphere of power by ignoring, tightening or otherwise modifying the central government measures. In Germany, it was sometimes not even possible to cross individual state borders to go to one's own vacation home.*

*Just imagine if we'd had a world government and it had issued uniform measures everywhere. That would have seemed completely crazy to people, because Germany is not Congo and China is not Japan.*

*Policymakers, whether central or regional, are largely exempt from the consequences of wrong decisions and the resulting costs. They claim that it is a matter of balancing "health" versus "economy" and are unable or unwilling to see that it is precisely the poorer sections of the population and people who are most affected by a lockdowns, especially in terms of their health.*

*Despite the almost complete restriction of personal freedom of movement right into private households, the majority of policymakers are still regarded as saviors rather than arsonists.*

*I consider the extent of subservience to politics, which comes to light in this development to be highly disturbing.*



## 4.2. What went wrong with the European Union (EU)?

” *The original idea was a free trade zone, but a free trade zone requires only two sentences: Whatever you wish to export, you may export, and whatever you want to import, you may import.*

*You don't need tens or hundreds of thousands of pages telling you what to produce, how to produce it, where you can and can't send things, and so on.*

*But that was forgotten almost from the beginning. There is still no free trade in Europe. If you watch German television, for example, you will constantly find reports that German border control has again arrested a few people who are smuggling cigarettes, which are taxed less in Poland.*

*We will probably have to witness the bankruptcy of Portugal, Spain, Italy and ultimately Germany. Only then, I fear, will even the last person realize what many had already suspected: that the EU is nothing but a gigantic machine for redistributing income and wealth; from Germany and the Netherlands to Greece, Spain, Portugal and so on, and always following the same perverse pattern; redistributing from more productive countries, regions, places, companies and people, to less or not at all productive ones. Bankruptcy will bring all this drastically to light.*



## 4.3. Is the EU a peace project?

When the EU gets criticized its defendants often counter with the statement "at least we have not had a war in Europe". This has little to nothing to do with the EU, says Hoppe:

” *The reason that there has not been a war in Europe is because Europe basically consists of American vassal states\*. America has, of course, ensured that there has not been a great war between its vassal states. The Soviet Union managed to do the same with its vassal states. The EU, as an institution, has not contributed to this.*

*What is needed to have peace is to engage in free trade.*

*Moreover, small and sovereign states cannot constantly put the blame on others if they are messing things up. This has a pacifying effect on relations between peoples. At present, blame can always be shifted to another country. In the EU, Brussels is often blamed for all sorts of ills.*

*In Europe, centralization has not led to a greater love for the Greeks or the Spanish, quite the opposite*



\* A vassal state is a state that is in some way dependent on a superior state or empire.

## 4.4. Why is Hoppe in favour of Brexit?

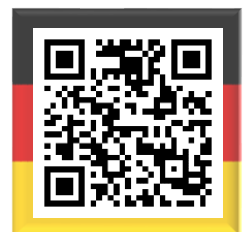
Great Britain joined the EU in 1969. In 2016, the majority of the voters decided in a referendum to leave. The implementation of this decision was associated with many difficulties.

” *A second vote would be a mockery of the citizens. That's what was done before in Denmark and the Netherlands, they were made to vote until they came out with the “right” result - right measured by the standards of the political elites.*

*The United Kingdom is the country that has traditionally been most committed to free trade. If you look at what the British demands are: We want the laws for Britain to be made in Britain, we want free trade with the European Union and with all countries outside the European Union, and we want to end unrestricted immigration. What is unreasonable about these demands?*

*These demands are of course vehemently opposed by the European Union for the simple reason that Britain must not succeed, because then other countries will leave.*

*So the EU refuses to allow goods to enter the European Union tax free. This hurts the European population, which can't get cheap goods from the United Kingdom, but not the politicians of course, who get the customs revenue..*



## 4.5. Do free trade and free immigration go hand in hand?

Classical liberalism generally calls for open borders for goods and for people. After all, both are about freedom, right?

Wrong, says Hoppe. Freedom for goods and freedom for people are two different things.

” *The phenomena of trade and immigration differ in fundamental ways. Goods and services cannot be transported from place to place unless the sender and receiver agree, while someone can move from one place to another even if nobody else wishes him or her to do so. Free immigration can thus become forced integration for the existing population.*

*In a society where land is fully privatized, the problem of unwanted immigration does not arise. While this is not yet the case, the solution is to decentralize immigration policy from the federal government to states, counties, villages, cities, and city blocks.*

*If the government is going to allow immigration, it should at least ensure that immigrants receive an invitation from a host ("guarantor principle"). This host must then assume full liability during his or her visit.*

*Finally, the more free trade exists, the less incentive there is to emigrate.*



## 4.6. Does materialism\* destroy culture?

” *While some people deride material prosperity as “materialism,” it must be emphasized that it is only on the basis of an improvement in the material conditions of human life that human culture can also flourish and advance.*

*There can be no writers, composers, musicians, painters, sculptors, actors, etc., without paper and ink, printing presses, musical instruments, paints, canvas, sculpting instruments, theaters, museums, etc., and without leisure time - time made possible and provided by material prosperity.*

*It's easy to belittle the importance of all this - "oh, it's only material!" But for those who are so concerned, there are many places in the world to where he or she can move. But they don't. They don't move.*

*So where do people want to move to? There is no mass migration from Africa to India. There is mass migration to richer countries.*



\*Materialism, in this context, is an attitude towards life in which material possessions and status symbols have a high value..

## 4.7. Do we need more "social tolerance"?

” *What is ruining our societies morally and economically, driving us ever closer to the abyss, is not too little tolerance, but too much.*

*Should I be tolerant of the cannibal who wants to eat me? To the communist who wants to expropriate my property? To the socialist who wants to tax away half of my earned wealth and income? To the democrat who seeks to disenfranchise and impoverish me through the ballot? The green who wants to take away my right to dispose of my property because this can save the life of a frog? I hardly think so. There – indeed long before that point – my tolerance has an end.*





## 4.8. What therapy does our health care system need?

Today, the following proposals may sound radical. Not long ago, they were reality..

” *Four steps need to be taken:*

*First,*

*The elimination of all licensing requirements for medical schools, hospitals, pharmacies, doctors and all other medical personnel.*

*Their supply would increase almost immediately, prices would fall, and a greater variety of services would appear on the market.*

*Competing voluntary accrediting agencies\* would take the place of mandatory state licensing. Because consumers would no longer live under the illusion that there is such a thing as a "national standard" for health care, they would make more conscious and critical choices.*



\*Accreditation agency: (from Latin *accredere*, "to give credence") are institutions (companies, foundations, associations) that monitor and certify the quality of products and services. Examples are organic and fair trade labels or certification companies like SGS.

In the free market, competition ensures that the winning institutions are those that serve customers most efficiently and credibly.

## Second,

*The elimination of all government restrictions on the manufacture and sale of pharmaceutical products and medical devices.*

*This would end healthcare bureaucracies which currently hinder innovation and increase costs. Costs and prices would fall, and a wider choice of better products would reach the market sooner. Competing manufacturers and sellers of drugs and devices would offer increasingly better product descriptions and warranties, both to protect themselves from product liability lawsuits and to attract customers.*

## Third,

*The complete deregulation of the health insurance industry.*

*On average, prices would fall dramatically. And reform would restore personal responsibility for health care choices. The function of insurance is to bundle equal, or comparable, risks. I don't want to bundle my personal accident risks with those of professional football players, but exclusively with those of people in circumstances similar to my own - at lower costs. Instead, the health care industry today contains a system of income redistribution that benefits irresponsible customers and high risk groups. Accordingly, the industry's prices are high and steadily rising.*

## Fourth,

*The elimination of all subsidies for the sick or unhealthy.*

*Subsidies always create more of what is subsidized. Subsidies for the unhealthy and sick promote carelessness, neediness, and dependence. If we eliminate such subsidies, we would strengthen the will to live a healthy life and work for one's own livelihood.*

## 4.9. Are questions about climate change allowed or blasphemy\*?

” *The climate has changed continually with or without humans, for millions of years, and will continue do so even if humanity dies out.*

*A few centuries ago, average temperatures were much higher than they are today. At that time you could grow wine in England and oranges in North Carolina. Today, that's no longer possible because it's too cold. And many thousands of years ago, hippos swam in the Thames River, which today are only found in zoos at these latitudes. And indeed, cold periods are generally worse for mankind than warm ones.*

*The claim that all or even the great majority of scientists are in agreement on climate or climate change is complete nonsense.*

*And even if it were otherwise, it would still be a crime against humanity for the state or any supranational authority to determine what the "correct" average temperature and the "correct" range of variation is. For there is no such thing as the "right" temperature for the whole mankind, and there never will be.*



\* Blasphemy: mockery of religious or ideological beliefs and views. .





# PRIVATE LAW SOCIETY



## 5. Introduction to the topic of a private law society

The idea of a private law society may be something completely unknown to most people. Let us begin, therefore, with a short introduction to the topic, which should make the following chapter somewhat easier to understand.

Liberalism often talks about having as little state as possible. But what does this mean exactly?

To have as little state as possible is not primarily about reducing the number of state employees or administrative buildings. Instead, it is about limiting the scope of the state and its sphere of activity.

A well-known example of this would be the so-called "night watchman state." There, the task of the state is essentially limited to the protection of life and property by means of the police, judiciary and military. All other tasks would (once again) be left to families, churches, companies and other private organizations. This was the common practice in most countries during the 19th century. There were and would be, for example, no public transportation, no state schools and universities, no social insurance, no legal retirement age, no state prohibitions on consumption and, of course, only a fraction of today's taxes and fees.

This is an ideal often used by adherents of so-called "classical liberalism" or "minimal state libertarianism."

Hoppe goes one step further. In his private law society (PLS), even the last state functions such as the police, judiciary and military would be organized privately. The following pages will give you some initial insights into Hoppe's thinking and hopefully some challenging food for thought on the topic.



«State or Private Law Society» is a 75 minute review of the topics so far and an easily understandable introduction to the idea of a private law society

## 5.1. How do we resolve interpersonal conflicts without the state?

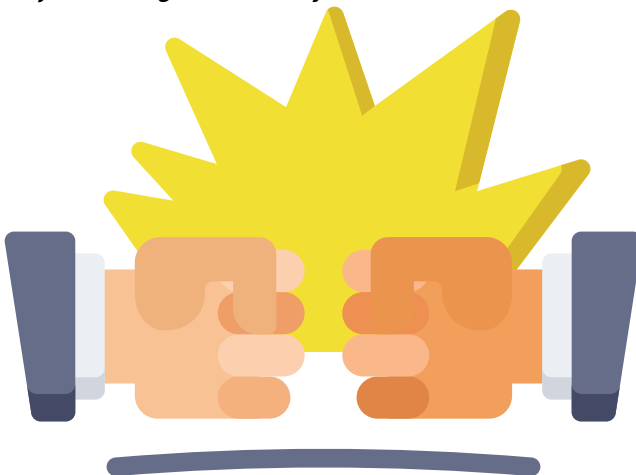
” *The basic idea is quite simple. The state's monopoly on the use of force will be abolished and competition will also be allowed in the police and judiciary sectors.*

*At present, in a case of conflict between a citizen and the state, it is always the state that decides who is right. In a private law society, I turn to arbitrators who are independent of both parties to settle the dispute.*

*In local disputes, such as in a village or small town, these are likely to be respected "natural aristocrats". For larger cases, legal expense insurance is available, as is the case today. There the insurer and the insured have contractually agreed on the mediator and appeal bodies.*

*If both parties to a dispute are customers of the same insurance company, the latter will decide the case. If different insurers arrive at different judgments, then an arbitrator who is held in high esteem by both parties is called in. And this would be the arbitrator who ultimately makes the decision.*

*The procedure is clear, simple, and unambiguous and does not require any state legislation or jurisdiction.*



## 5.2. Is private law dispute resolution completely unrealistic?

” *Like I have said, this is not utopia. All this is already common practice in international, anarchic, business transactions.*

*Just look at how cross-border disputes are settled today. Internationally, there is a kind of anarchy in law, because there is no world state that regulates everything.*

*What do the citizens in the border triangle of Basel, i.e. Germans, French and Swiss, do when conflicts arise between them? They will first of all turn to their own jurisdiction. If there is no agreement, independent mediators are called in to decide the case. Anyone who does not comply with their judgements is not only in breach of contract, he becomes a leper in the business world with whom nobody wants to do business.*

*Are there more disputes between the citizens of this region than between the citizens of Cologne and Düsseldorf? I have never heard anything to that effect. Surely this shows that interpersonal disputes can be settled peacefully without a state as a legal monopolist.*

*Another historical example: In the USA, during the gold rush, criteria were developed to define the diggers' territory. It was private people who registered these land claims. This shows that ownership issues can be solved without the state.*





### 5.3. What, in a word, is the difference between state and private solutions?

” *If one wants to express the crucial difference of a privately organized security industry with the current statist\* practice in one word, then this word is "contract".*

*What the state today "offers" is something like this: I do not contractually guarantee you anything; neither do I promise you what specific things I intend to protect as "your property," nor do I tell you what I undertake to do if, in your opinion, I do not fulfill my promises – still, in any case I reserve the right to unilaterally determine the price for my "services" and furthermore to change all the current rules of the game by legislation while the game is still in progress.*

*Just imagine a freely financed, private-sector security provider, whether police, insurer or arbitrator, making such an offer to its potential customers. No one in their right mind would accept such a deal, the company would immediately go bankrupt for lack of customers.*

*In a private law society, contracts must be offered. These contracts must contain clear descriptions of ownership and clearly defined mutual services and obligations, and furthermore, these contracts can only be changed by mutual agreement during their period of validity.*



\*statistical: of, or regulated by, the state

## 5.4. How well does the state protect us today?

” *As we all know, the state is notoriously inefficient in the field of fighting crime, because the payment of the agents in charge of this task comes from tax revenues, i.e. regardless of productivity.*

*It is even worse when one realizes that at present there is no question of compensating the victims in any way whatsoever. On the contrary. If the state has actually caught the criminals, then the costs for the accommodation of these crooks and bandits are often imposed on the victims by taxes and then they are allowed to play table tennis and get their Birchermüsli for breakfast and in America one can also study law and you have gyms where you can strengthen yourself so that next time you might be a bit more successful in your criminal endeavors.*

*And let's not forget: It is the nation-states that are responsible for several hundred million deaths and immeasurable destruction in the 20th century alone. In comparison to this, the victims of private crimes are almost negligible.*



## 5.5. Why would private law societies reward peaceful behaviour?

Insurance companies already have to pay for damages from crimes, regardless of whether the perpetrator can be caught and held accountable. In a private law society, without a state police force, insurance companies would likely work closely with private security companies. The focus of this cooperation would shift toward crime prevention and restitution.

” *A private insurance company must pay compensation if a crime has been committed and damage has been caused. An insurer therefore has an interest in tracking down the criminals, because only then is it possible to make the criminals pay compensation to the victims. He will also be good at recovering the loot, because then he will not have to replace it. If on the other hand, you go to the police today and say this and that was stolen, you can be sure that they will simply file it away.*

*Insurers in a private law society will also encourage peaceful behavior among people. That's because not all risks are insurable. You can only insure yourself for events over which you have no control. For this reason, insurers will refuse to help you, for example, if you have provoked a conflict. Every insurance company will insist that its policyholders behave in a civilized manner and in accordance with the contractual rules.*

## 5.6. Could rich and evil people seize power?

” Indeed, it is undoubtedly true that those with more financial resources can afford more, including more security. But the real question is this: Does a private law society, compared to today's state run society - make it easier for the rich to "buy" privileges at the expense of the poor? And to this question, the answer is quite clearly "no," quite the opposite.

Rich people at present constantly "buy" benefits at the expense of others by bribing the holders of state power. Now imagine if instead of the state there were a multitude of competing security providers: several insurance companies, arbitration agencies and police forces. Then bribery is obviously much more difficult. Because then it is not enough to bribe only one agency, but all agencies must be bribed in order to achieve one's goal.

And even that is not enough, because if one (or all) agencies get the reputation of being corruptible, then the less wealthy clients of these agencies will turn away from them and other, incorruptible agencies will emerge.

On the other hand, one cannot turn away from the state as a coercive institution, no matter how clearly one recognizes that it is corrupt. Thus, it is precisely the "weak" who are better protected in a private law society than under today's state laws.



## 5.7. Who protects the environment when everything is privatized?

In a private law society, there would be no abstract "environment," only private ownership of land, lakes, and even parts of the sea. Pollution would always be damage to private property.

” *The problem is simple to solve. The injured party must be given a right to sue. Then he or she can sue the polluter for compensation.*

*In the 19th century, it was common for citizens to sue companies when they damaged their property through environmental pollution. Later, the state restricted the right to sue in order to protect and to foster certain industries.*

*The crucial point is that property rights be clearly assigned. The basic principle must be: Whoever gets there first gets the property right. For example, if a company builds a plant with heavy pollutant emissions near existing residential homes, then the homeowners can sue for compensation. This is a simple principle that even children understand.*

P.S: What does experience tell us about how states treat their property compared to private individuals?

We can compare state-managed oceans and rainforests with private farms, lakes and estates.

We could observe and compare the state-run communist economies with the predominantly privately run Western societies.

In economics, the topic is called "tragedy of the commons."



## 5.8. How would the corona virus pandemic have played out in a private law society?

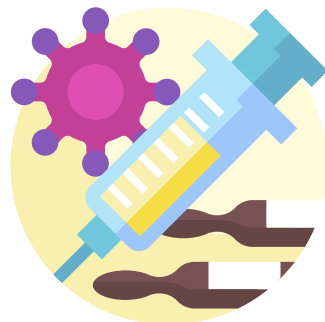
” *In short, Covid would not have occurred as a pandemic. The actual risk of infection posed by the coronavirus is so low that most people would not have perceived it as such. In fact, the total number of deaths in Germany, Austria or Switzerland in 2020 has not increased dramatically at all and the probability of surviving a coronavirus infection is, according to the politically unsuspecting Center for Disease Control (CDC), extremely high for all age groups.*

*More generally, in terms of risk assessment of an infectious disease, there is no single, definitive, unambiguous scientific answer. And the best - least expensive and most efficient - way to minimize harm is to decentralize decisionmaking.*

*In a private-law society, all land, houses, roads, factories, etc. are privately owned. As far as dealing with a pandemic, it is simply a question of "who do I let in and who do I exclude?" or "who do I go to and who do I stay away from."*

*Based on their own risk assessment of an infectious disease, every private owner or owners' association has to decide to whom do I allow access to my property, when and under what conditions? And this decision can and will include preventive measures, especially in the case of commercially used property (e.g. cinemas, offices, restaurants).*

*The result is a complex web of access and visitation rules.*



## 5.9. Why do private organizations wage less war than states?

If you are new to the idea of a private law society, you may find it difficult to think about the issues of war and defense against invaders. So here are a few comments about the subject.

If you are interested, Hoppe and others have written much more about it.

” *States are organizations that are naturally more aggressive than private individuals or private companies, for the simple reason that they can externalize the costs associated with aggression, that is, pass them on to the poor taxpayers.*

*If Clinton, Bush, Obama or other politicians who want war had to pay the costs themselves, they would probably not do so. For a private corporation, on the other hand, war is economic suicide.*

*Let me repeat: It is the nation-states that are responsible for several hundred million deaths and immeasurable destruction in the 20th century alone. In comparison to this, the victims of private crimes are almost negligible.*



## 5.10. Is socialism more realistic than a private law society?

The issue here is not political feasibility, but philosophical consideration: given that humans cannot be angels, which social system is more appropriate to human nature?

” *The socialists are utopians, because they assume that with the arrival of socialism there will also be a transformation of human nature. This is, of course, nonsense, sanctimonious wishful thinking.*

*Libertarians, like me, on the other hand, are realists. We take people as they are - good and evil, peaceful and aggressive, responsible and irresponsible, etc. - and do not believe that human nature is fundamentally changeable. As realists, we are only convinced that incentives work always and everywhere.*





# FUTURE



## 6.1. Why not advocate a limited state instead of no state at all?

” *Yes, states have always come into being, some worse, some better. And even if we succeed in abolishing them, it is possible that they will arise again. (Rothbard, the father of modern libertarianism, used to remark on this: At least we would have had a glorious holiday).*

*But libertarianism\* is an endless struggle, a struggle for freedom. There is no reason why you should ever give up a morally right goal. We are trying to eliminate murder today. Would we say give up on that because there are still murderers running around? No, we never give up...*

*We advocate certain moral rules that apply to everyone, and we advocate those rules regardless of the position of the people. Everybody understands that if you hit me, if you steal my wallet, if you burn down my house, this is a crime, a punishable crime. The same standards should apply to politicians. Then you conclude that even the best politicians are at least robbers.*

*Lew Rockwell, the founder of the Mises Institute, originally had the idea of saying that we, the Mises Institute, advocate a limited state. I merely pointed out to him that there is no institution that advocates an unlimited state. Therefore, even from a marketing point of view, it makes sense to say that we are the ones who don't want a state at all.*



\* Libertarianism is the political philosophy that seeks to give the state as few functions as possible, or none at all. The opposite is an authoritarian policy.

## 6.2. Why do we need a "new class consciousness"?

” *The problem is that the state has now made a large part of the population dependent on it. Only one-third of the people in industrialized countries are still independent of the state in terms of income. The rest are pensioners, civil servants, net recipients, the unemployed, or companies that live off the state as a client. And they all vote in elections for this to continue as before.*

*I don't expect anything from politicians. In my opinion, it is important that a new class consciousness establishes itself among the population, but not in the sense of communist class consciousness, which claims that the capitalists are exploiting the workers. Instead, people have to realize: states are the evildoers, states exploit all those who work in the private sector.*

*A robber who is recognized and treated as such cannot last long.*



## 6.3. Is there hope for "steps in the right direction"?

” *In any case, there will be an economic collapse and this collapse opens the possibility of secessionist movements\*. An example of this was the collapse of the Soviet Union and its breakup into many independent countries.*

*This is the hope. If you think Europe is good, you have to be in favor of having hundreds of Lichtensteins in Europe. Because the countries would be competing with each other, they have to be comparatively nice to their population, otherwise the population will simply leave them. By contrast, a European central government - and even more so a world government - with "harmonized" tax and regulatory policies is the greatest threat to freedom.*

*Also, the idea of a private law society comes into play at best if we decentralize in Europe.*

*So: resistance against any kind of centralization and support for any kind of secessionist movement.*



\* Secession and decentralization:

When a political unit breaks away from a larger unit and forms a new one, this is called secession. For example, the United States from the British Empire in 1776.

When political power is shifted within a political unit, from top down, it is called decentralization. For example, when the power for corona measures is transferred from the national government to the states or municipalities.

Both mean a fragmentation of power and are the opposite of centralization.



# INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT



## 7.1. From leftist to classical liberal

” *In high school I was a leftist, I was attracted to leftist thought, to Marxist thought because of its deductive nature. I tried to create a system to understand all phenomena and their interrelationships, and that's why I went to the University of Frankfurt at the height of the student rebellion of 1968. And that is why I first chose a leftist teacher. My doctoral advisor was Jürgen Habermas, a prominent leftist philosopher.*

*I became very disillusioned in the first semester and discovered major flaws in the Marxist system. I drifted intellectually until I came upon Karl Popper who advocated universal skepticism and denied absolute truth. Everything is somehow hypothetical or it is just a tautology.*

*Through reading Milton Friedman in the popular press, I became a believer in the free market, but in my given pursuit of a deductive system, I was naturally not very pleased with Friedman. I discovered very quickly that there were great inconsistencies in his thought which made me dissatisfied.*

*Then I discovered Friedrich von Hayek, who avoided some of these inconsistencies, but by no means all of them. I should mention that none of my teachers pointed out Friedman or Hayek to me.*

*It was through Hayek's footnotes that I finally discovered Ludwig von Mises. At that time I started working on a book, which later became my habilitation thesis, on the methodology of the social sciences in general. I doubted what economists said about their own discipline, namely, that their statements were merely hypotheses. I thought instead that statements like those about the money supply contained something that was not merely hypothetically true, but I found no economist who said so.*

*Then, when I read Mises' magnum opus, Human Action, I realized that he had said exactly the same thing, namely, that economic statements are what Kant and other philosophers call "synthetic a priori statements," i.e., they are not testable in the normal sense of testability and yet they say something that is true about real objects, and I immediately became a Misesian*



## 7.2. From classical liberal to private property anarchist

”

*To be precise, I discovered Mises by a funny coincidence. My parents were both refugees from East Germany and my mother's family's property was expropriated by the Russians in 1946. Originally they lived in an area in East Germany that had been occupied by the Americans and when the Americans traded that province for what later became West Berlin, the Russians moved in and took the property of all large landowners, including my mother's family. But most of my relatives lived in East Germany, and we visited them regularly.*

*You always had to pay an entrance fee to enter the workers' and farmers' paradise, (by exchanging West German marks for East German money). Since we lived with my relatives, we had to spend the money somehow, and there were only two ways to do that. One way was to buy Russian records by Russian composers and the other way was to buy the collected works of Lenin and Stalin as well as Walter Ulbricht, the prime minister of Eastern Germany and Erich Honecker, his successor.*

*One of my book purchases was a text they used to train students in political economy, and in this book all the main enemies of socialism were listed. For example, they mentioned not only Böhm-Bawerk, with whom I was previously familiar, but also as the most evil of all, Ludwig von Mises. At that time I did not immediately start reading Ludwig von Mises, but I realized that at some point it would be worthwhile to look at him more closely. At the same time, the names Hayek or Mises were not mentioned in any of the economics textbooks in West Germany.*

*As for political philosophy, of course I discovered that there were certain inconsistencies in Mises, even if they were minimal compared to Hayek or Friedman. By reading Mises, I then realized that his main student Murray Rothbard lived in the U.S. and that he had eliminated the inconsistencies in Mises, and I became a Rothbardian.*



## ” 7.3. My contribution to science

*My main contribution is, first, a better justification of natural law than Rothbard provided. He thought there was such a thing as the Mises axiom of action as a necessary starting point, and I pointed out that there is an even more basic starting point in the sense that by talking about the axiom of action we have to argue. Therefore there is a subcategory of the action axiom, namely an apriori of argumentation. You can't deny that you're arguing without contradicting yourself, so here you have something on which any and all discussions depend, so to speak: is there ethics or is there no ethics, do people act or do they not act? All of this, of course, requires that we be must be able to argue.*

*My philosophy teachers Habermas and Karl-Otto Apel talked about the a priori of communication, but what they hadn't seen and realized, and I think what I've realized, is that there are some objective, physical requirements for any argumentation, that in any argumentation you need to have personal control over certain scarce resources (vocal cords, space to stand, food to sustain the discourse). Thereafter you can show that any kind of direct appropriation of things logically precedes any indirect appropriation of things and then you can derive an entire ethical system from that. I think that's my main contribution in political philosophy, philosophy, if you will: to put the basis of ethics on a new footing.*

*Habermas was my most important philosophy teacher and doctoral supervisor during my studies at Goethe University in Frankfurt am Main from 1968 to 1974, and through his seminars I became acquainted with British and American analytic philosophy. I still believe that this was a pretty good intellectual training.*





# BOOK RECOMMENDATIONS



# Recommended reading, but first, good to know:

## Ruthlessly Direct

Hoppe's predecessors and role models Ludwig von Mises and Murray Rothbard were economists critical of the state in the tradition of the so-called "Austrian School". They inspired Hoppe to likewise always formulate his insights and views without regard to the consequences for his reputation and career.

## Until 2000: Theoretical period

Hoppe's works before the turn of the century challenged existing dogma in economics, ethics, and political systems. But he also proposed an alternate type of society based on private law and a new justification for freedom. His crystal-clear, rarely polemical writing delights readers with curious and disciplined minds.

## Since then: increasingly politically incorrect

Since the 1990s, Hoppe has increasingly explored historical and cultural themes. This just at a time when political sensitivities are on the rise: Is it still permissible to talk about cultural differences, about alternative theories of history, about the difference between men and women?

## Conclusion

For the more politically sensitive souls we recommend an introduction to libertarian thought via Hoppe's books before the turn of the century and the works of other authors, for example the suggestions below. Intrepid minds may start with the work "Democracy" and then enjoy the excellent (English) anthology "The Great Fiction".

Here are two lectures to introduce Hoppe's thinking:



In the speech «The Errors of Classical Liberalism» Hoppe describes the problem of social order and the nature of the state. Why did we end up where we are? It is the first, «critical» part of two lectures.

The second, «constructive» part, titled «Society Without State: Private Law Society», Hoppe sketches an alternative to today's established states. Both were given in Sidney, 2011.

Plus links to other speeches.



# Hoppe's Main Works

**A Theory of Socialism and Capitalism\***, 1989, 264 pages, also audio\*

This is the book with which Hoppe achieved his breakthrough in scientific circles. It is the ideal introductory work, comprehensive, challenging, and rewarding.

**The Economics and Ethics of Private Property\***, 1993, 431 pages

A tour de force in economics and philosophy. Hoppe destroys numerous myths in today's social science and should therefore be a must read for economists, philosophers, and political scientists.

**Democracy: The God that failed.** 2001, 304 pages

Hoppe's bestseller. According to Amazon.com, "frenetically cheered and thunderously damned." Hoppe complements his economic and political insights with historical and cultural themes, innovative, and without regard to political correctness.

**The Great Fiction: Property, Economy, Society, and the Politics of Decline.** 2012, 456 pages.

The ultimate collection of essays on the topics in the book's title.

**A Short History Of Man: Progress and Decline\***. 2017, 144 pages plus audio\*

For most readers, this booklet will offer a challenging and exciting new perspective on the history of mankind. The last chapter will most likely provoke the most discussions.

" All these titles are available, in print and some in audio, free of charge via QR-code below and / or via [www.hanshoppe.com](http://www.hanshoppe.com) amd [www.mises.com](http://www.mises.com)



## Other authors

All titles marked with \* are available free of charge online or via QR-code below.

"Atlas Shrugged", novel, 1957. This major work by Ayn Rand (1905 - 1982) has probably won more Americans to the libertarian cause than any other publication. In 2009, for example, half a million copies were sold, and even Obama had a "Rand period" in his youth – though unfortunately without a lasting impact.

"Free to Choose", Youtube television series based on the book of the same name by Milton Friedman (1912 - 2006). Friedman was one of the most famous economists of the last century and was able to present his views in books, interviews, and speeches in an extremely understandable and entertaining way.

"Economics in one Lesson", 1946, is arguably the ultimate classic on basic economic principles. Short, comprehensive and understandable, it should be a "must-read" for every voter and politician. Author Henry Hazlitt (1894 - 1993).

"The Machinery of Freedom\*", 1973, shows a non-ideological path to a stateless society. Easy to read, original, and often funny. The author David Friedman (1945), a consequentialist, does not need any moralistic preaching.

"The Ethics of Liberty\*", 1982, also argues for a stateless society but from the perspective of a natural rights philosopher. Murray N. Rothbard (1926 - 1995) was Hoppe's friend and mentor. The book is clear, concise and easily understandable if you stay focused. The book has an excellent English audio version\*.

"The Problem of Political Authority, An Examination of the Right to Coerce and the Duty to Obey", 2013. Michael Huemer (1969) is a professor of philosophy and "assumes moral premises that most non-libertarians already accept" (Bryan Caplan). The book, thus, offers a "conventional" path into the libertarian world. The author's youtube reviews offer good overviews.



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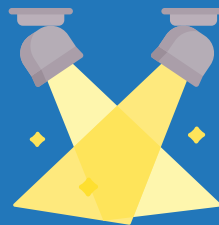


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# For Teenagers and the Young at Heart



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Young people and those young at heart are looking for answers. They are skeptical, curious and open to new ideas and ways. Older generations are often mentally stuck. It is therefore difficult for them to imagine a society without a state monopoly on the use of force.

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Hoppe presents a radical and consistent alternative to the politically correct one-size-fits-all approach. And experience also shows: Hoppe leaves no one cold. He will inspire or annoy, and that is a good thing. For the questions and answers presented here are intended to stimulate reflection, debate, confirmation or refutation, and finally the study of further literature.

March 2023

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