

Tom G. Palmer

Curriculum Vitae

Vice President for International Programs
General Director, Atlas Global Initiative
for Free Trade, Peace, and Prosperity
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Education:

2000: Ph.D. (D. Phil.) in Politics, Oxford University; Dissertation Title, “A Cosmopolitan Theory of Justice”

1993: M.A. in Philosophy, cum laude, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.;

1982: B.A. in Liberal Arts, St. John’s College, Annapolis, Maryland

Selected Publications:

Realizing Freedom: The Theory, History, and Practice of Liberty (forthcoming, June 2009)

“Classical Liberalism, Morality, and Poverty,” in *Morality and Poverty*, William Galston and Peter Hoffenberg, eds. (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming)

“Libertarianism,” in *The Encyclopedia Of Modern Political Thought*, Gregory Claeys and Lyman Tower Sargent, eds. (forthcoming)

“Не лечите похмелье водкой” (“Don’t Treat a Hangover with Vodka”); Interview on the international financial crisis, Эксперт (Expert), Feb. 23, 2009

Freedom Properly Understood (Liberales Institut: Berlin, 2008), address to the 60th meeting of the Liberal International, Hamburg, November 17, 2007

“Getting Kareem Freed: A brave college student and a network of bloggers are stronger than many think,” *National Review Online*, March 27, 2009

“No Exit: Framing the Problem of Justice,” in *Ordered Anarchy: Jasay and His Surroundings*, ed. by Hartmut Kliemt and Hardy Bouillon (London: Ashgate, 2008)

“The Misguided Campaign to ‘Spread Democracy,’” *Al Hayat*, March 8, 2007

“The Crime of Blogging in Egypt,” with Raja Kamal, *Washington Post*, February 21, 2007

“Freedom for an Egyptian Blogger and Free Thinker,” with Raja Kamal, *Daily Star* (Beirut), February 20, 2007

“Challenges of Democratization,” *Alrai Al Aam* (and other Middle Eastern papers), September 2, 2006

“Six Facts about Iraq,” *Reason* (June 2006)

“The Egyptian Judiciary Blazing the Path to Democracy and Economic Development,” *Al Ghad* (and other Middle Eastern papers), May 29, 2006

“Building a Free Society in Iraq,” *Cato’s Letter*, Summer 2005, Volume 3, Number 3

“John Locke Lite,” *Reason*, January 2005 (review of Michael Otsuka, *Libertarianism Without Inequality*)

Globalization and Culture: Homogeneity, Diversity, Identity, Liberty (Berlin: Liberales Institut, 2004) (also published in Spanish, Arabic, and Russian)

“Absolutism Redux,” *National Review*, December 13, 2004 (review of Cass Sunstein, *The Second Bill of Rights: FDR’s Unfinished Revolution and Why We Need It More than Ever*)

“Globalization, Cosmopolitanism, and Personal Identity,” *Etica & Politica*, Vol. V, No. 2 (2003)

“Madison and Multiculturalism: Group Representation, Group Rights, and Constitutionalism,” in *James Madison and the Future of Limited Government*, ed. by John Samples (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute forthcoming 2002)

“Classical Liberalism and Civil Society: Definitions, History, and Relations,” in *Civil Society and Government*, ed. by Nancy Rosenblum and Robert Post (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002)

“Common Property?,” *Boston Review*, Vol. 27, Nos. 3-4 (Summer 2002), a comment on “Reclaiming the Commons,” by David Bollier

"Globalization Is Grrreat!" *Cato's Letter*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Fall 2002) (also published in Slovak, Polish, Spanish, French, Arabic, Portuguese, Russian, and Romanian)

“Saving Rights Theory from Its Friends,” in *Individual Rights Reconsidered: Are the Truths of the U.S. Declaration of Independence Lasting?*, ed. by Tibor Machan (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2001)

“Libertarianism in the Crosshairs,” *Cato Policy Report*, Vol. XXII No.4 (July/August 2000)

“The Resources of Civil Society,” co-authored with David Schmitz and Steven Scalet, *Revista de Teoría Jurídica*, Volumen Uno, Número Uno (Noviembre de 1999)

“Census 2000: You May Already Be a Winner!,” *Slate*, April 4, 2000

“The Great Bequest,” *The Freeman*, March 1999

“Limited Government and the Rule of Law,” in *Cato Handbook for Congress: Policy Recommendations for the 106th Congress*, ed. by Ed Crane and David Boaz (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1999)

“What’s Not Wrong with Libertarianism,” *Critical Review*, Summer 1998

“G.A. Cohen on Property, Freedom, and Equality,” *Critical Review*, Summer 1998

“Civil Society and Business Enterprise in China,” in *China in the New Millennium: Market Reforms and Social Development*, ed. by James A. Dorn (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1998)

“The U.S. (Dis)Information Agency,” *The Freeman*, February 1998

“The Literature of Liberty,” in *The Libertarian Reader*, David Boaz, ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1997)

“Myths of Individualism,” *Cato Policy Report*, vol. XVII, no. 5 (September/October 1996)

“Intellectual Property: A Non-Posnerian Law and Economics Approach,” in *Intellectual Property: Moral, Legal, and International Dilemmas*, ed. by Adam Moore (New York: Roman and Littlefield, 1997)

“Restoring Civil Society,” in *Cato Handbook for Congress: Policy Recommendations for the 105th Congress*, ed. by Ed Crane and David Boaz (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1997)

“The Gadamerian View of Freedom,” in *Economics and Hermeneutics*, ed. by Donald Lavoie (London: Routledge, 1991)

“Are Patents and Copyrights Morally Justified?: The Philosophy of Property Rights and Ideal Objects,” *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy*, vol. 13, no. 3 (Summer 1990)

“Gadamer’s Hermeneutics and Social Theory,” *Critical Review*, Vol. 1, no. 3 (Summer 1987)

Books Edited for the Cato Institute:

Renaissance: The Rebirth of Liberty in the Heart of Europe, by Václav Klaus
Generosity: Virtue in Civil Society, by Tibor Machan
A Life of One’s Own: Individual Rights and the Welfare State, by David Kelley,
Culture and Enterprise: The Development, Representation, and Morality of Business, by Donald Lavoie and Emily Chamlee-Wright
The Transfer Society: Economic Expenditures on Transfer Activity, by David Laband and George C. McClintock,
Dependent on D.C.: The Rise of Federal Control over the Lives of Ordinary Americans, by Charlotte Twight
Cowboy Capitalism: European Myths, American Reality, by Olaf Gersemann,
Cornerstone of Liberty: Property Rights in the 21st Century, by Timothy Sandefur,
How Progressives Rewrote the Constitution, by Richard A. Epstein,

Reviews and Shorter Essays in:

Constitutional Political Economy, Ethics, Cato Journal, Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy, Hamline Law Review, Policy Report, Inquiry, Liberty, Reason, Libertarian Review, the New York Times, Human Events, National Review, National Review Online, the Wall Street Journal, the Los Angeles Times, the Washington Post, the San Jose Mercury News, The Spectator (of London), and many other newspapers and magazines.

Professional Responsibilities:

Present:

Vice President for International Programs, Atlas Economic Research Foundation

Responsible for overseeing and managing the various international outreach programs and partnerships maintained by the Atlas Economic Research Foundation, including Minbaralhurriyya.org (Arabic), Chiraiazadi.org (Kurdish), Cheragheazadi.org (Persian), Azadliqciragi.org (Azerbaijani), Tiandaocn.org (Chinese), InLiberty.ru (Russian), OrdemLivre.org (Portuguese), UnMondeLibre.org (French), WauBebas.org (Bahasa Melayu/Indonesia), IES-Europe (English and French), AfricanLiberty.org (English and Kiswahili), Hum-Azad.org (Urdu; forthcoming), and Azadi.me (Hindi, forthcoming), as well as supervising relations with foreign think tanks and organizations. Other responsibilities include debating, lecturing, and teaching, visiting groups around the world to provide assistance and consultation, and more.

Senior Fellow, Cato Institute

I maintain my connection with the Cato Institute by writing for various Cato publications, serving on the Institute's policy research committee, and organizing the Institute's educational program, Cato University.

2008

Vice President for International Programs, Cato Institute

I was responsible for organizing various international programs of the Cato Institute, which have since been entrusted to the Atlas Economic Research Foundation. Among my responsibilities was working with Chinese colleagues to organize the conference in Beijing, November 17-18, 2008, on "Thirty Years of Reform: China's Path to Harmonious Development," organizing and/or teaching at a variety of "Freedom Academies" around the world (in Ukraine, Belgium, Germany, Ghana, Malaysia, and the USA), and similar responsibilities, in addition to the responsibilities I held as a Senior Fellow.

1999-2008

Senior Fellow, Cato Institute

In addition to producing my own research and publications, my responsibilities as a Senior Fellow of the Cato Institute included editing book manuscripts and working with the institute's policy staff to improve the institute's output. In that capacity I worked extensively with policy analysts and outside authors to develop books and studies and then to make them clear, readable, precise, and on-target. I also raised funds for institute programs and projects and served on the institute's committees on management and policy research.

Director, Cato Institute Byrne Project on Middle East Liberty

I directed the Cato Institute's Byrne Project on Middle East Liberty, which includes raising funds, initiating projects, and recruiting and supervising a staff in the U.S. and the Middle East. The flagship of the program was the "Lamp of Liberty," which included a book publication project, websites that make available books, articles, studies, and more, and syndication of articles to Middle Eastern newspapers and magazines. The Arabic program organized a website, www.Misbahalhurriyya.org, and regularly placed articles in dozens of Arabic papers, including *Al Hayat*, *Al Ahram*, *Al Ghad*, and many other daily papers, as well as popular websites, such as *Al Bawaba* and *Al Elaph*. Misbahalhurriyya.org also hosts live streaming video of Milton Friedman's entire "Free to Choose" television series, dubbed into Arabic. The Arabic Lamp of Liberty was joined in January of 2007 by a Kurdish version, www.Chiraiazadi.org, a Persian version, www.Cheragheazi.net, and an Azerbaijani version, www.Azadliqciragi.org. I have also arranged sponsorship by the Lamp of Liberty of a major Arabic free-blogging program and have taught and lectured in Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon, and other countries. The first Lamp of Liberty conference for Arab students and bloggers was held in Cairo August 14-19, 2006.

Books that were translated into Arabic included Ludwig von Mises' *Liberalism and Economic Policy: Thoughts for Today and Tomorrow*, F. A. Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom, Law, Legislation, and Liberty, Vol. I*, and *The Constitution of Liberty*, John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*, Johan Norberg's *In Defense of Global Capitalism*, Paul Heyne's *The Economic Way of Thinking*, Frederic Bastiat's *The Law and What Is Seen and What Is Not Seen*. Publishing programs were also established in Kurdish, Persian, and Azerbaijani.

Director, Cato.ru

I raised the funds and recruited the senior staff for Cato's Russian-language program, focused on the website www.Cato.ru. That staff has since built a network of translators, editors, managers, and promoters who publish a substantial amount of material in Russian and arrange for publication of articles in such popular newspapers as *Kommersant* and *Vedomosti*, in journals such as *Russia in Global Politics*, and on popular websites such as Polit.ru and Gazeta.ru. A number of books also were published, summer schools held, and essay contests organized. I serve on the editorial board of the Russian Institute for Dissemination of Information on Social and Economic Sciences and have been involved in publication of books in Russian by Olaf Gersemann, Brink Lindsey, Vernon Smith, and other classical liberal thinkers.

As a part of the Cato.ru mission, I directed a conference on "Freedom, Commerce, and Peace: A Regional Agenda" that involved 180 participants from 28 countries and took place in Tbilisi, Georgia October 25-27, 2006.

Director, African Liberty Initiative

This initiative was launched in late Spring of 2007. It involved aggressive placement of articles in African media (both Francophone and Anglophone), a website optimized for African bandwidth conditions, essay contests, policy conferences, and other elements.

Director of Cato University, an educational project of the Cato Institute

I was responsible for the educational activities of the Cato Institute, including all aspects of the Cato University seminars, which bring together academics and policy experts, Cato sponsors, and high school and college students; those responsibilities include promotion, advertising, recruitment, seminar management (which I shared with the conference department) and curriculum. In addition to seminars offering general overviews of classical liberal thought in history, economics, law, and philosophy, I put together specially organized seminars to focus on “The American Enlightenment” and “A World of Trade, Peace, and Freedom: The Relationship between Globalization and Civilization,” and “The Art of Persuasion: Rhetoric and Liberty. In addition, I was responsible for the educational aspects of the institute’s research internship program and supervised Cato’s manager of student relations. I also arranged for the Cato University home study program to be produced in mp3 format and distributed by Blackstone Audio.

1995-1999: Director of Special Projects, Cato Institute, and Director of Cato University

Oversaw education of Institute interns and represented the Institute before external academic audiences. Responsible for developing new projects and programs for the Institute. Developed new monthly audio magazine (*CatoAudio*) revamped communication with Institute Sponsors, and managed the Institute’s direct mail programs. Developed a 12-module curriculum for Cato University, involving 24 audio tapes, 6 books, a study guide, and an online seminar. Organized Cato University seminars on libertarian principles around the United States.

1993-1995: H. B. Earhart Fellow, Hertford College, Oxford University

Pursued academic research toward a D.Phil. degree and taught undergraduate foreign students.

1986-1993: Director of Student Affairs, Institute for Humane Studies, George Mason University and Editor, *Humane Studies Review*

Was responsible for organizing seminars for students, mentoring promising libertarian scholars, preparing bibliographic material for students, and related activities. Was also responsible for commissioning, editing, and publishing a thrice-yearly review of classical liberal and libertarian scholarship.

1989-1993: Director of Eastern European Outreach Programs, Institute for Humane Studies, George Mason University

Was responsible for disseminating classical liberal ideas in Communist and post-Communist European countries. Ran an office in Vienna, Austria from 1989 to 1990, traveled extensively in the Eastern Bloc countries, arranged for the translation and publication of the works of Ludwig von Mises, F. A. Hayek, Frederic Bastiat, Milton Friedman, Ayn Rand, Israel Kirzner, and many others, as well as university economics textbooks by Paul Heyne (*The Economic Way of Thinking*, Russian, Czech, Albanian, Romanian, and Hungarian) and by Donald McCloskey (*The Applied Theory of Price*, Czech). Administered funds from the John M. Olin Foundation to support promising students and young scholars who were likely to contribute to the establishment of free societies. Ran conferences on reform of the university curricula in law (Budapest, Hungary) and economics (Liblice, Czechoslovakia). Established a variety of organizations throughout the region, including the Liberalni Institut of Prague, the Liberty Institute of Bucharest, and Catallaxy Publishing of Moscow. Smuggled books, photocopiers, and fax machines to sympathetic intellectuals.

1984-1986: Editor, *Dollars and Sense*, monthly tabloid newspaper of the National Taxpayers union

Reported on issues of interest to taxpayers, interviewed public figures and edited, laid out, and produced a monthly tabloid newspaper.

1983-84: Editor, *Update*, a political newsletter

Was responsible for writing, editing, and laying out a monthly newsletter on politics from a libertarian perspective.

1982-1983: Policy Analyst, Council for a Competitive Economy

Wrote policy analyses of issues such as motorcycle tariffs, regulation of interstate trucking, insider trading, and licensing of professionals.

1982: Campaign Manager, Dougherty for Governor, California

Managed all aspects of statewide campaign for Libertarian Party candidate Dan Dougherty.

1981-82: Editor of the newsletter of the National Taxpayers Legal Fund

Was responsible for writing, editing, and laying out a monthly newsletter on tax policies, with a special focus on the legal rights of taxpayers and cases of IRS infringement abuse.

1979-1981: Assistant Communications Director, Clark for President Campaign

Assisted in formulating and carrying out communications strategy for nationwide Libertarian Party presidential campaign. Wrote news releases, developed relationships with reporters, managed press conferences, bought television and radio advertising, prepared brochures and other printed material.

1979: East Coast Director, Students for a Libertarian Society

Worked with student groups promoting free-market principles and policies along the east coast. Was also very active in the organized movement against the reintroduction of conscription, as a founder and national secretary of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD).

1978: Summer Intern, Cato Institute (San Francisco)

Was a full-time gopher and eager libertarian worker in the Institute's first summer.

1975-1976: Assistant Director, MacBride for President Campaign

Managed youth outreach for nationwide Libertarian presidential campaign. Coordinated activities of campus clubs of the Young Libertarian Alliance.

1975: Youth Director, Libertarian Party National Headquarters

Coordinated student activities for the Libertarian Party and provided support to the (other) office staff member.

1974-1975: Account Manager, Client-Management Services, Los Angeles

Wrote copy for advertising and direct mail campaigns, both commercial and political.

Lectures delivered and papers presented:

Oxford University, Cambridge University, Stanford University, Harvard University, Moscow State University, New York University, George Mason University Law School, Prague School of Economics, Yale University, University of Bucharest, University of Tirana (Albania), Academy of Economic Studies (Bucharest), University of Bucharest, Eötvös Lorand University (Budapest), Karl Marx University of Economics (Budapest), University of Cologne, University of Lublin, Fudan University (Shanghai, China), University of Warsaw, London School of Economics, University of Bergen, University of Oslo, University of

Stockholm, University of Uppsala, University of Copenhagen, University of Ghent, University of Washington (Seattle), UCLA, University of Maryland, University of Minnesota, University of Antwerp, University of Aix-en-Provence, and numerous other colleges and universities, as well as Institute for Economic Affairs (London), Institute for Humane Studies, Social Philosophy and Policy Center (Bowling Green State University), Institute for Economic Studies (Paris), Seminar für Wirtschaftspolitik (Universität zu Köln), Université d'Ete (Aix-en-Provence), Theodor Heuss Akademie der Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (Germany), Universidad Francisco Marroquin (Guatemala City), South West University of Finance and Economics, Chengdu (China), University of Koya (Iraq), University of Suleimani (Iraq), Tbilisi State University (Georgia), Yerevan State University (Armenia), University of Baku (Azerbaijan), University of Nanjing, Peking University, Renmin University (Beijing), University of Leuven (Belgium), American University of Beirut, Mont Pelerin Society Meeting, Nairobi, and many others.

Selected Activities:

1994-1995: Coordinator, Oxford University Hayek Society

1993-1994: President, Oxford Civil Liberties Society

1979-1981: National Secretary, Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD)

Other Offices

Member, Editorial Board, Institute for Dissemination of Information on Social and Economic Sciences (Moscow)

Member, Board of Directors, Foundation for Economic Education (Irvington-on-Hudson, New York)

Member, Scientific Advisory Board, Turgot Institute (Paris)

Member, International Freedom Corps, Atlas Economic Research Foundation (Arlington, Virginia)

Member, Board of Advisors, Human Rights Foundation (New York)

Member, Academic Board, Free Society Institute (Ljubljana, Slovenia)

Selected Honors

1993-1995: H. B. Earhart Fellow at Hertford College, Oxford University

1985: Mont Pelerin Society Olive Garvey Fellowship

1982: Weaver Fellow, Intercollegiate Studies Institute

1982: Claude R. Lambe Fellow, Institute for Humane Studies

1981; Fellow, Foundation for Advanced Studies in Liberty

1978: First Prize, Ludwig von Mises Essay Contest, Intercollegiate Studies