

At the end of the [nineteenth] century in France, Sébastien Faure took up a word originated in 1858 by one Joseph Déjacque to make it the title of a journal, *Le Libertaire*. Today the terms “anarchist” and “libertarian” have become interchangeable.

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Anarchism: From Theory to Practice

Daniel Guérin

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Preface

There has recently been a renewal of interest in anarchism. Books, pamphlets, and anthologies are being devoted to it. It is doubtful whether this literary effort is really very effective. It is difficult to trace the outlines of anarchism. Its master thinkers rarely condensed their ideas into systematic works. If, on occasion, they tried to do so, it was only in thin pamphlets designed for propaganda and popularization in which only fragments of their ideas can be observed. Moreover, there are several kinds of anarchism and many variations within the thought of each of the great libertarians.

Rejection of authority and stress on the priority of individual judgment make it natural for libertarians to “profess the faith of anti dogmatism.” “Let us not become the leaders of a new religion,” Proudhon wrote to Marx, “even were it to be the religion of logic and reason.” It follows that the views of the libertarians are more varied, more fluid, and harder to apprehend than those of the authoritarian socialists¹ whose rival churches at least try to impose a set of beliefs on their faithful.

Just before he was sent to the guillotine, the terrorist Emile Henry wrote a letter to the governor of the prison where he was awaiting execution explaining: “Beware of believing anarchy to be a dogma, a doctrine above question or debate, to be venerated by Its adepts as is the Koran by devout Moslems. No! the absolute freedom which we demand constantly develops our thinking and raises it toward new horizons (according to the turn of mind of various individuals), takes it out of the narrow framework of regulation and codification. We are not ‘believers’!” The condemned man went on to reject the “blind faith” of the French Marxists of his period: “They believe something because Guesde² has said one must believe it, they have a catechism and it would be sacrilege to question any of its clauses.”

In spite of the variety and richness of anarchist thinking, in spite of contradictions and doctrinal disputes which were often centered on false problems, anarchism presents a fairly homogeneous body of ideas. At first sight it is true that there may seem to be a vast difference between the individualist anarchism of Stirner (1806–1856) and social anarchism. When one looks more deeply into the matter, however, the partisans of total freedom and those of social organization do not appear as far apart as they may have thought themselves, or as others might at first glance suppose. The anarchist *societaire*³ is also an individualist and the individualist anarchist may well be a partisan of the *societaire* approach who fears to declare himself.

The relative unity of social anarchism arises from the fact that it was developed during a single period by two masters, one of whom was the disciple and follower of the other: the Frenchman Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865) and the Russian exile Mikhail Bakunin (1814–1876). The latter defined anarchism as “Proudhonism greatly developed and pushed to its furthest conclusion.” This type of anarchism called itself collectivist.

Its successors, however, rejected the term and proclaimed themselves to be communists (“libertarian communists,” of course). One of them, another Russian exile, Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921),

¹ Authoritarian was an epithet used by the libertarian anarchists and denoted those socialists whom they considered less libertarian than themselves and who they therefore presumed were in favour of authority.

² Jules Guesde (1845–1922) in 1879 introduced Marxist ideas to the French workers’ movement. (Translator’s note.)

³ The term *societaire* is used to define a form of anarchism which repudiates individualism and aims at integration into society. (Translator’s note.)

bent the doctrine in a more rigidly utopian and optimistic direction but his “scientific” approach failed to conceal its weaknesses. The Italian Errico Malatesta (1853–1932), on the other hand, turned to audacious and sometimes puerile activism although he enriched anarchist thinking with his intransigent and often lucid polemics. Later the experience of the Russian Revolution produced one of the most remarkable anarchist works, that of Voline (1882–1945).⁴

The anarchist terrorism of the end of the nineteenth century had dramatic and anecdotal features and an aura of blood which appeal to the taste of the general public. In its time it was a school for individual energy and courage, which command respect, and it had the merit of drawing social injustice to public attention; but today it seems to have been a temporary and sterile deviation in the history of anarchism. It seems out-of-date. To fix one’s attention on the “stewpot” of Ravachol⁵ is to ignore or underestimate the fundamental characteristics of a definite concept of social reorganization. When this concept is properly studied it appears highly constructive and not destructive, as its opponents pretend. It is this constructive aspect of anarchism that will be presented to the reader in this study. By what right and upon what basis? Because the material studied is not antiquated but relevant to life, and because it poses problems which are more acute than ever. It appears that libertarian thinkers anticipated the needs of our time to a considerable extent.

This small book does not seek to duplicate the histories and bibliographies of anarchism already published. Their authors were scholars, mainly concerned with omitting no names and, fascinated by superficial similarities, they discovered numerous forerunners of anarchism. They gave almost equal weight to the genius and to his most minor follower, and presented an excess of biographical details rather than making a profound study of ideas. Their learned tomes leave the reader with a feeling of diffusion, almost incoherence, still asking himself what anarchism really is. I have tried a somewhat different approach. I assume that the lives of the masters of libertarian thought are known. In any case’ they are often much less illuminating for our purpose than some writers imagine. Many of these masters were not anarchists throughout their lives and their complete works include passages which have nothing to do with anarchism.

To take an example: in the second part of his career Proudhon’s thinking took a conservative turn. His verbose and monumental *De la Justice dans la Revolution et dans l’Eglise* (1858) was mainly concerned with the problem of religion and its conclusion was far from libertarian. In the end, in spite of passionate anti-clericalism, he accepted all the categories of Catholicism, subject to his own interpretations, proclaimed that the instruction and moral training of the people would benefit from the preservation of Christian symbolism, and in his final words seemed almost ready to say a prayer. Respect for his memory inhibits all but a passing reference to his “salute to war,” his diatribes against women, or his fits of racism.

The opposite happened to Bakunin. His wild early career as a revolutionary conspirator was unconnected with anarchism. He embraced libertarian ideas only in 1864 after the failure of the Polish insurrection in which he played a part. His earlier writings have no place in an anarchist anthology. As for Kropotkin, his purely scientific work, for which he is today celebrated in the

⁴ “Voline” was the pseudonym of V. M. Eichenbaum, author of *La Revolution Inconnue 1917–1921*, the third volume of which is in English as *The Unknown Revolution* (1955). Another partial translation is *Nineteen-seventeen: The Russian Revolution Betrayed* (1954). (Translator’s note.)

⁵ Alias of the French terrorist Francois-Claudius Koenigstein (1859–1892) who committed many acts of violent terrorism and was eventually executed. (Translator’s note.)

U.S.S.R. as a shining light in the study of national geography, has no more connection with anarchism than had his prowar attitude during the First World War.

In place of a historical and chronological sequence an unusual method has been adopted in this book: the reader will be presented in turn with the main constructive themes of anarchism, and not with personalities. I have intentionally omitted only elements which are not specifically libertarian, such as the critique of capitalism, atheism, anti-militarism, free love, etc. Rather than give secondhand and therefore faded paraphrases unsupported by evidence, I have allowed quotations to speak directly as far as possible. This gives the reader access to the ideas of the masters in their warm and living form, as they were originally penned.

Secondly, the doctrine is examined from a different angle: it is shown in the great periods when it was put to the test by events — the Russian Revolution of 1917, Italy after 1918, the Spanish Revolution of 1936. The final chapter treats what is undoubtedly the most original creation of anarchism: workers' self-management as it has been developed in the grip of contemporary reality, in Yugoslavia and Algeria — and soon, perhaps, who knows, in the U.S.S.R.

Throughout this little book the reader will see two conceptions of socialism contrasted and sometimes related to one another, one authoritarian, the other libertarian. By the end of the analysis it is hoped that the reader will be led to ask himself which is the conception of the future.

The Basic Ideas of Anarchism

A Matter of Words

The word anarchy is as old as the world. It is derived from two ancient Greek words, *av* (an), *apxn* (arkhe), and means something like the absence of authority or government. However, for millennia the presumption has been accepted that man cannot dispense with one or the other, and anarchy has been understood in a pejorative sense, as a synonym for disorder, chaos, and disorganization.

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon was famous for his quips (such as “property is theft”) and took to himself the word anarchy. As if his purpose were to shock as much as possible, in 1840 he engaged in the following dialogue with the “Philistine.”

“You are a republican.”

“Republican, yes; but that means nothing. *Res publica* is ‘the State.’ Kings, too, are republicans.”

“Ah well! You are a democrat?”

“No.”

“What! Perhaps you are a monarchist?”

“No.”

“Constitutionalist then?”

“God forbid.”

“Then you are an aristocrat?”

“Not at all!”

“You want a mixed form of government?”

“Even less.”

“Then what are you?”

“An anarchist.”

He sometimes made the concession of spelling anarchy “an-archy” to put the packs of adversaries off the scent. By this term he understood anything but disorder. Appearances notwithstanding, he was more constructive than destructive, as we shall see. He held government responsible for disorder and believed that only a society without government could restore the natural order and re-create social harmony. He argued that the language could furnish no other term and chose to restore to the old word anarchy its strict etymological meaning. In the heat of his polemics, however, he obstinately and paradoxically also used the word anarchy in its pejorative sense of

disorder, thus making confusion worse confounded. His disciple Mikhail Bakunin followed him in this respect.

Proudhon and Bakunin carried this even further, taking malicious pleasure in playing with the confusion created by the use of the two opposite meanings of the word: for them, anarchy was both the most colossal disorder, the most complete disorganization of society and, beyond this gigantic revolutionary change, the construction of a new, stable, and rational order based on freedom and solidarity.

The immediate followers of the two fathers of anarchy hesitated to use a word so deplorably elastic, conveying only a negative idea to the uninitiated, and lending itself to ambiguities which could be annoying to say the least. Even Proudhon became more cautious toward the end of his brief career and was happy to call himself a “federalist.” His petty-bourgeois descendants preferred the term *mutuellisme* to *anarchisme* and the socialist line adopted *collectivisme*, soon to be displaced by *communisme*. At the end of the century in France, Sebastien Faure took up a word originated in 1858 by one Joseph Dejacque to make it the title of a journal, *Le Libertaine*. Today the terms “anarchist” and “libertarian” have become interchangeable.

Most of these terms have a major disadvantage: they fail to express the basic characteristics of the doctrines they are supposed to describe. Anarchism is really a synonym for socialism. The anarchist is primarily a socialist whose aim is to abolish the exploitation of man by man. Anarchism is only one of the streams of socialist thought, that stream whose main components are concern for liberty and haste to abolish the State. Adolph Fischer, one of the Chicago martyrs¹, claimed that “every anarchist is a socialist, but every socialist is not necessarily an anarchist.”

Some anarchists consider themselves to be the best and most logical socialists, but they have adopted a label also attached to the terrorists, or have allowed others to hang it around their necks. This has often caused them to be mistaken for a sort of “foreign body” in the socialist family and has led to a long string of misunderstandings and verbal battles — usually quite purposeless. Some contemporary anarchists have tried to clear up the misunderstanding by adopting a more explicit term: they align themselves with libertarian socialism or communism.

A Visceral Revolt

Anarchism can be described first and foremost as a visceral revolt. The anarchist is above all a man in revolt. He rejects society as a whole along with its guardians. Max Stirner declared

¹ In 1883 an active nucleus of revolutionary socialists founded an International Working Men’s Association in the United States. They were under the influence of the International Anarchist Congress, held in London in 1881, and also of Johann Most, a social democrat turned anarchist, who reached America in 1882. Albert R. Parsons and Adolph Fischer were the moving spirits in the association, which took the lead in a huge mass movement concentrated on winning an eight-hour day. The campaign for this was launched by the trade unions and the Knights of Labor, and May 1, 1886, was fixed as the deadline for bringing the eight-hour day into force. During the first half of May, a nationwide strike involved 190,000 workers of whom 80,000 were in Chicago. Impressive mass demonstrations occurred in that city on May 1 and for several days thereafter. Panic-stricken and terrified by this wave of rebellion, the bourgeoisie resolved to crush the movement at its source, resorting to bloody provocation if need be. During a street meeting on May 4, 1885, in Haymarket Square, a bomb thrown at the legs of the police in an unexplained manner provided the necessary pretext. Eight leaders of the revolutionary and libertarian socialist movement were arrested, seven of them sentenced to death, and four subsequently hanged (a fifth committed suicide in his cell the day before the execution). Since then the Chicago martyrs — Parsons, Fischer, Enge], Spies, and Lingg — have be]onged to the international proletariat, and the universal celebration of May Day (May 1) still commemorates the atrocious crime committed in the United States.

that the anarchist frees himself of all that is sacred, and carries out a vast operation of deconsecration. These “vagabonds of the intellect,” these “bad characters,” “refuse to treat as intangible truths things that give respite and consolation to thousands and instead leap over the barriers of tradition to indulge without restraint the fantasies of their impudent critique.”²

Proudhon rejected all and any “official persons” — philosophers, priests, magistrates, academicians, journalists, parliamentarians, etc. — for whom “the people is always a monster to be fought, muzzled, and chained down; which must be led by trickery like the elephant or the rhinoceros; or cowed by famine; and which is bled by colonization and war.” Elisee Reclus³ explained why society seems, to these well-heeled gentlemen, worth preserving: “Since there are rich and poor, rulers and subjects, masters and servants, Caesars who give orders for combat and gladiators who go and die, the prudent need only place themselves on the side of the rich and the masters, and make themselves into courtiers to the emperors.”

His permanent state of revolt makes the anarchist sympathetic to nonconformists and outlaws, and leads him to embrace the cause of the convict and the outcast. Bakunin thought that Marx and Engels spoke most unfairly of the lumpenproletariat, of the “proletariat in rags”: “For the spirit and force of the future social revolution is with it and it alone, and not with the stratum of the working class which has become like the bourgeoisie.”

Explosive statements which an anarchist would not disavow were voiced by Balzac through the character of Vautrin, a powerful incarnation of social protest — half rebel, half criminal.

Horror of the State

The anarchist regards the State as the most deadly of the preconceptions which have blinded men through the ages. Stirner denounced him who “throughout eternity... is obsessed by the State.”

Proudhon was especially fierce against “this fantasy of our minds that the first duty of a free and rational being is to refer to museums and libraries,” and he laid bare the mechanism whereby “this mental predisposition has been maintained and its fascination made to seem invincible: government has always presented itself to men’s minds as the natural organ of justice and the protector of the weak.” He mocked the inveterate authoritarians who “bow before power like church wardens before the sacrament” and reproached “all parties without exception” for turning their gaze “unceasingly toward authority as if to the polestar.” He longed for the day when “renunciation of authority shall have replaced faith in authority and the political catechism.”

Kropotkin jeered at the bourgeois who “regarded the people as a horde of savages who would be useless as soon as government ceased to function.” Malatesta anticipated psychoanalysis when he uncovered the fear of freedom in the subconscious of authoritarians.

What is wrong with the State in the eyes of the anarchists?

Stirner expressed it thus: “We two are enemies, the State and I.” “Every State is a tyranny, be it the tyranny of a single man or a group.” Every State is necessarily what we now call totalitarian: “The State has always one purpose: to limit, control, subordinate the individual and subject him to the general purpose... Through its censorship, its supervision, and its police the

² All quotations have been translated into English by the translator.

³ French writer (1830–1905) known principally as a geographer. His brother Elie played an active part during the Commune of 1871. (Translator’s note.)

State tries to obstruct all free activity and sees this repression as its duty, because the instinct of self-preservation demands it.” “The State does not permit me to use my thoughts to their full value and communicate them to other men... unless they are its own... Otherwise it shuts me up.”

Proudhon wrote in the same vein: “The government of man by man is servitude.” “Whoever lays a hand on me to govern me is a usurper and a tyrant. I declare him to be my enemy.” He launched into a tirade worthy of a Moliere or a Beaumarchais:

“To be governed is to be watched over, inspected, spied on, directed, legislated, regimented, closed in, indoctrinated, preached at, controlled, assessed, evaluated, censored, commanded; all by creatures that have neither the right, nor wisdom, nor virtue... To be governed means that at every move, operation, or transaction one is noted, registered, entered in a census, taxed, stamped, priced, assessed, patented, licensed, authorized, recommended, admonished, prevented, reformed, set right, corrected. Government means to be subjected to tribute, trained, ransomed, exploited, monopolized, extorted, pressured, mystified, robbed; all in the name of public utility and the general good. Then, at the first sign of resistance or word of complaint, one is repressed, fined, despised, vexed, pursued, hustled, beaten up, garroted, imprisoned, shot, machine-gunned, judged, sentenced, deported, sacrificed, sold, betrayed, and to cap it all, ridiculed, mocked, outraged, and dishonored. That is government, that is its justice and its morality!... O human personality! How can it be that you have cowered in such subjection for sixty centuries?”

Bakunin sees the State as an “abstraction devouring the life of the people,” an “immense cemetery where all the real aspirations and living forces of a country generously and blissfully allow themselves to be buried in the name of that abstraction.”

According to Malatesta, “far from creating energy, government by its methods wastes, paralyzes, and destroys enormous potential.” As the powers of the State and its bureaucracy widen, the danger grows more acute. Proudhon foresaw the greatest evil of the twentieth century: “Fonctionnairisme [legalistic rule by civil servants]... leads toward state communism, the absorption of all local and individual life into the administrative machinery, and the destruction of all free thought. Everyone wants to take refuge under the wing of power, to live in common.” It is high time to call a halt: “Centralization has grown stronger and stronger..., things have reached... the point where society and government can no longer coexist.” “From the top of the hierarchy to the bottom there is nothing in the State which is not an abuse to be reformed, a form of parasitism to be suppressed, or an instrument of tyranny to be destroyed. And you speak to us of preserving the State, and increasing the power of the State! Away with you — you are no revolutionary!”

Bakunin had an equally clear and painful vision of an increasingly totalitarian State. He saw the forces of world counter-revolution, “based on enormous budgets, permanent armies, and a formidable bureaucracy” and endowed “with all the terrible means of action given to them by modern centralization,” as becoming “an immense, crushing, threatening reality.”

Hostility to Bourgeois Democracy

The anarchist denounces the deception of bourgeois democracy even more bitterly than does the authoritarian socialist. The bourgeois democratic State, christened “the nation,” does not seem

to Stirner any less to be feared than the old absolutist State. "The monarch... was a very poor man compared with the new one, the 'sovereign nation.' In liberalism we have only the continuation of the ancient contempt for the Self." "Certainly many privileges have been eliminated through time but only for the benefit of the State... and not at all to strengthen my Self."

In Proudhon's view "democracy is nothing but a constitutional tyrant." The people were declared sovereign by a "trick" of our forefathers. In reality they are a monkey king which has kept only the title of sovereign without the magnificence and grandeur. The people rule but do not govern, and delegate their sovereignty through the periodic exercise of universal suffrage, abdicating their power anew every three or five years. The dynasts have been driven from the throne but the royal prerogative has been preserved intact. In the hands of a people whose education has been willfully neglected the ballot is a cunning swindle benefiting only the united barons of industry, trade, and property.

The very theory of the sovereignty of the people contains its own negation. If the entire people were truly sovereign there would no longer be either government or governed; the sovereign would be reduced to nothing; the State would have no *raison d'être*, would be identical with society and disappear into industrial organization.

Bakunin saw that the "representative system, far from being a guarantee for the people, on the contrary, creates and safeguards the continued existence of a governmental aristocracy against the people." Universal suffrage is a sleight of hand, a bait, a safety valve, and a mask behind which "hides the really despotic power of the State based on the police, the banks, and the army," "an excellent way of oppressing and ruining a people in the name of the so-called popular will which serves to camouflage it."

The anarchist does not believe in emancipation by the ballot. Proudhon was an abstentionist, at least in theory, thinking that "the social revolution is seriously compromised if it comes about through the political revolution." To vote would be a contradiction, an act of weakness and complicity with the corrupt regime: "We must make war on all the old parties together, using parliament as a legal battlefield, but staying outside it." "Universal suffrage is the counter-revolution," and to constitute itself a class the proletariat must first "secede from" bourgeois democracy.

However, the militant Proudhon frequently departed from this position of principle. In June 1848 he let himself be elected to parliament and was briefly stuck in the parliamentary glue. On two occasions, during the partial elections of September 1848 and the presidential elections of December 10 of the same year, he supported the candidacy of Raspail, a spokesman of the extreme Left. He even went so far as to allow himself to be blinded by the tactic of the "the lesser evil," expressing a preference for General Cavaignac, persecutor of the Paris proletariat, over the apprentice dictator Louis Napoleon. Much later, in 1863 and 1864, he did advocate returning blank ballot papers, but as a demonstration against the imperial dictatorship, not in opposition to universal suffrage, which he now christened "the democratic principle par excellence."

Bakunin and his supporters in the First International objected to the epithet "abstentionist" hurled at them by the Marxists. For them, boycotting the ballot box was a simple tactical question and not an article of faith. Although they gave priority to the class struggle in the economic field, they would not agree that they ignored "politics." They were not rejecting "politics," but only bourgeois politics. They did not disapprove of a political revolution unless it was to come before the social revolution. They steered clear of other movements only if these were not directed to the immediate and complete emancipation of the workers. What they feared and denounced were ambiguous electoral alliances with radical bourgeois parties of the 1848 type, or "popular fronts,"

as they would be called today. They also feared that when workers were elected to parliament and translated into bourgeois living conditions, they would cease to be workers and turn into Statesmen, becoming bourgeois, perhaps even more bourgeois than the bourgeoisie itself.

However, the anarchist attitude toward universal suffrage is far from logical or consistent. Some considered the ballot as a last expedient. Others, more uncompromising, regarded its use as damnable in any circumstances and made it a matter of doctrinal purity. Thus, at the time of the *Cartel des Gauches* (Alliance of the Left) elections in May 1924, Malatesta refused to make any concession. He admitted that in certain circumstances the outcome of an election might have “good” or “bad” consequences and that the result would sometimes depend on anarchist votes, especially if the forces of the opposing political groupings were fairly evenly balanced. “But no matter! Even if some minimal progress were to be the direct result of an electoral victory, the anarchist should not rush to the polling stations.” He concluded: “Anarchists have always kept themselves pure, and remain the revolutionary party par excellence, the party of the future, because they have been able to resist the siren song of elections.”

The inconsistency of anarchist doctrine on this matter was to be especially well illustrated in Spain. In 1930 the anarchists joined in a common front with bourgeois democrats to overthrow the dictator, Primo de Rivera. The following year, despite their official abstention, many went to the polls in the municipal elections which led to the overthrow of the monarchy. In the general election of November 1933 they strongly recommended abstention from voting, and this returned a violently anti-labor Right to power for more than two years. The anarchists had taken care to announce in advance that if their abstention led to a victory for reaction they would launch the social revolution. They soon attempted to do so but in vain and at the cost of heavy losses (dead, wounded, and imprisoned).

When the parties of the Left came together in the Popular Front in 1936, the central anarcho-syndicalist organization was hard pressed to know what attitude to adopt. Finally it declared itself, very halfheartedly, for abstention, but its campaign was so tepid as to go unheard by the masses who were in any case already committed to participation in the elections. By going to the polls the mass of voters insured the triumph of the Popular Front (263 left-wing deputies, as against 181 others).

It should be noted that in spite of their savage attacks on bourgeois democracy, the anarchists admitted that it is relatively progressive. Even Stirner, the most intransigent, occasionally let slip the word “progress.” Proudhon conceded: “When a people passes from the monarchical to the democratic State, some progress is made.” And Bakunin said: “It should not be thought that we want... to criticize the bourgeois government in favor of monarchy... The most imperfect republic is a thousand times better than the most enlightened monarchy... The democratic system gradually educates the masses to public life.” This disproves Lenin’s view that “some anarchists” proclaim “that the form of oppression is a matter of indifference to the proletariat.” This also dispels the fear expressed by Henri Arvon in his little book *L’Anarchisme* that anarchist opposition to democracy could be confused with counter-revolutionary opposition.

Critique of Authoritarian Socialism

The anarchists were unanimous in subjecting authoritarian socialism to a barrage of severe criticism. At the time when they made violent and satirical attacks these were not entirely well

founded, for those to whom they were addressed were either primitive or “vulgar” communists, whose thought had not yet been fertilized by Marxist humanism, or else, in the case of Marx and Engels themselves, were not as set on authority and state control as the anarchists made out.

Although in the nineteenth century authoritarian tendencies in socialist thought were still embryonic and undeveloped, they have proliferated in our time. In the face of these excrescences, the anarchist critique seems less tendentious, less unjust; sometimes it even seems to have a prophetic ring.

Stirner accepted many of the premises of communism but with the following qualification: the profession of communist faith is a first step toward total emancipation of the victims of our society, but they will become completely “disalienated,” and truly able to develop their individuality, only by advancing beyond communism.

As Stirner saw it, in a communist system the worker remains subject to the rule of a society of workers. His work is imposed on him by society, and remains for him a task. Did not the communist Weitling⁴ write: “Faculties can only be developed in so far as they do not disrupt the harmony of society”? To which Stirner replied: “Whether I were to be ‘loyal’ to a tyrant or to Weitling’s ‘society’ I would suffer the same absence of rights.”

According to Stirner, the communist does not think of the man behind the worker. He overlooks the most important issue: to give man the opportunity to enjoy himself as an individual after he has fulfilled his task as a producer. Above all, Stirner glimpsed the danger that in a communist society the collective appropriation of the means of production would give the State more exorbitant powers than it has at present:

“By abolishing all private property communism makes me even more dependent on others, on the generality or totality [of society], and, in spite of its attacks on the State, it intends to establish its own State,... a state of affairs which paralyzes my freedom to act and exerts sovereign authority over me. Communism is rightly indignant about the wrongs which I suffer at the hands of individual proprietors, but the power which it will put into the hands of the total society is even more terrible.”

Proudhon was just as dissatisfied with the “governmental, dictatorial, authoritarian, doctrinaire communist system” which “starts from the principle that the individual is entirely subordinate to the collectivity.” The communist idea of the State is exactly the same as that of the former masters and much less liberal: “Like an army that has captured the enemy’s guns, communism has simply turned property’s artillery against the army of property. The slave always apes his master.” And Proudhon describes in the following terms the political system which he attributes to the communists:

“A compact democracy — apparently based on the dictatorship of the masses, but in which the masses have only power enough to insure universal servitude, according to the following prescription borrowed from the old absolutism:

The indivisibility of power;

All-absorbing centralism;

⁴ Wilhelm Weitling (1808–1871), German utopian communist writer and founder of Communist Workers’ Clubs during the 1830’s and 1840’s. (Translator’s note.)

The systematic destruction of all individual, corporate, or local thought believed to be subversive;

An inquisitorial police force.”

The authoritarian socialists call for a “revolution from above.” They “believe that the State must continue after the Revolution. They preserve the State, power, authority, and government, increasing their scope still further. All they do is to change the titles... as though changing the names were enough to transform things!” And Proudhon concludes by saying: “Government is by its nature counter-revolutionary... give power to a Saint Vincent de Paul and he will be a Guizot⁵ or a Talleyrand.” Bakunin extended this criticism of authoritarian socialism:

I detest communism because it is the negation of liberty and I cannot conceive anything human without liberty. I am not a communist because communism concentrates all the powers of society and absorbs them into the State, because it leads inevitably to the centralization of property in the hands of the State, while I want to see the State abolished. I want the complete elimination of the authoritarian principle of state tutelage which has always subjected, oppressed, exploited, and depraved men while claiming to moralize and civilize them. I want society, and collective or social property, to be organized from the bottom up through free association and not from the top down by authority of any kind... In that sense I am a collectivist and not at all a communist.

Soon after making the above speech Bakunin joined the First International And there he and his supporters came into conflict not only with Marx and Engels but with others far more vulnerable to his attacks than the two founders of scientific socialism: on the one hand, the German social democrats for whom the State was a fetish and who proposed the use of the ballot and electoral alliances to introduce an ambiguous “People’s State” (*Volkstaat*); on the other hand, the Blanquists⁶ who sang the virtues of a transitional dictatorship by a revolutionary minority. Bakunin fought these divergent but equally authoritarian concepts tooth and nail, while Marx and Engels oscillated between them for tactical reasons but finally decided to disavow both under the harassment of anarchist criticism.

However, the friction between Bakunin and Marx arose mainly from the sectarian and personal way in which the latter tried to control the International, especially after 1870. There is no doubt that there were wrongs on both sides in this quarrel, in which the stake was the control of the organization and thus of the whole movement of the international working class. Bakunin was not without fault and his case against Marx often lacked fairness and even good faith. What is important for the modern reader, however, is that as early as 1870 Bakunin had the merit of raising the alarm against certain ideas of organization of the working-class movement and of proletarian power which were much later to distort the Russian Revolution. Sometimes unjustly, and sometimes with reason, Bakunin claimed to see in Marxism the embryo of what was to become Leninism and then the malignant growth of Stalinism.

Bakunin maliciously attributed to Marx and Engels ideas which these two men never expressed openly, if indeed they harbored them at all:

⁵ Guizot, a minister under Louis Philippe, was known for his extreme conservative views. (Translator’s note)

⁶ Followers of Auguste Blanqui (1805–1881), French socialist and revolutionary’ advocate of insurrection by minorities. (Translator’s note.)

“But, it will be said all the workers... cannot become scholars; and is it not enough that with this organization [International] there is a group of men who have mastered the science, philosophy, and politics of socialism as completely as is possible in our day, so that the majority... can be certain of remaining on the right road to the final emancipation of the proletariat... simply by faithfully obeying their directions?... We have heard this line of reasoning developed by innuendo with all sorts of subtle and skillful qualifications but never openly expressed – they are not brave enough or frank enough for that. “

Bakunin continued his diatribe:

“Beginning from the basic principle... that thought takes precedence over life, and abstract theory over social practice, and inferring that sociological science must become the starting point of social upheaval and reconstruction, they were forced to the conclusion that since thought, theory, and science are, for the present at any rate, the exclusive possessions of a very small number of persons, that minority must direct social life.

The supposed Popular State would be nothing but the despotic government of the popular masses by a new and very narrow aristocracy of knowledge, real or pretended. “

Bakunin translated Marx’s major work, *Das Kapital*, into Russian, had a lively admiration for his intellectual capacity, fully accepted the materialist conception of history, and appreciated better than anyone Marx’s theoretical contribution to the emancipation of the working class. What he would not concede was that intellectual superiority can confer upon anyone the right to lead the working-class movement:

“One asks oneself how a man as intelligent as Marx could conceive of such a heresy against common sense and historical experience as the notion that a group of individuals, however intelligent and well-intentioned, could become the soul and the unifying and directing will of a revolutionary movement and of the economic organization of the proletariat of all countries... The creation of a universal dictatorship..., a dictatorship which would somehow perform the task of chief engineer of the world revolution, regulating and steering the insurrectionary movements of the masses of all nations as one steers a machine..., the creation of such a dictatorship would in itself suffice to kill the revolution and paralyze and distort all popular movements... And what is one to think of an international congress which, in the supposed interest of this revolution, imposes on the proletariat of the civilized world a government invested with dictatorial powers?”

No doubt Bakunin was distorting the thoughts of Marx quite severely in attributing to him such a universally authoritarian concept, but the experience of the Third International has since shown that the danger of which he warned did eventually materialize.

The Russian exile showed himself equally clear-sighted about the danger of state control under a communist regime. According to him, the aspirations of “doctrinaire” socialists would “put the

people into a new harness.” They doubtless profess, as do the libertarians, to see any State as oppressive, but maintain that only dictatorship — their own, of course — can create freedom for the people; to which the reply is that every dictatorship must seek to last as long as possible. Instead of leaving it to the people to destroy the State, they want to “transfer it... into the hands of the benefactors, guardians, and teachers, the leaders of the Communist Party.” They see quite well that such a government, “however democratic its forms, will be a real dictatorship,” and “console themselves with the idea that it will be temporary and short-lived.” But no! Bakunin retorted. This supposedly interim dictatorship will inevitably lead to “the reconstruction of the State, its privileges, its inequalities, and all its oppressions,” to the formation of a governmental aristocracy “which again begins to exploit and rule in the name of common happiness or to save the State.” And this State will be “the more absolute because its despotism is carefully concealed under obsequious respect... for the will of the people.”

Bakunin, always particularly lucid, believed in the Russian Revolution: “If the workers of the West wait too long, Russian peasants will set them an example.” In Russia, the revolution will be basically “anarchistic.” But he was fearful of the outcome: the revolutionaries might well simply carry on the State of Peter the Great which was “based on... suspension of all expressions of the life of the people,” for “one can change the label of a State and its form... but the foundation will remain unchanged.” Either the State must be destroyed or one must “reconcile oneself to the vilest and most dangerous lie of our century...: *Red Bureaucracy*.” Bakunin summed it up as follows: “Take the most radical of revolutionaries and place him on the throne of all the Russias or give him dictatorial powers... and before the year is out he will be worse than the Czar himself.”

In Russia Voline was participant, witness, and historian of the Revolution, and afterward recorded that events had taught the same lesson as the masters. Yes, indeed, socialist power and social revolution “are contradictory factors”; they cannot be reconciled:

“A revolution which is inspired by state socialism and adopts this form, even ‘provisionally’ and ‘temporarily,’ is lost: it takes a wrong road down an ever steeper slope... All political power inevitably creates a privileged position for those who exercise it... Having taken over the Revolution, mastered it, and harnessed it, those in power are obliged to create the bureaucratic and repressive apparatus which is indispensable for any authority that wants to maintain itself, to command, to give orders, in a word, to govern... All authority seeks to some extent to control social life. Its existence predisposes the masses to passivity, its very presence suffocates any spirit of initiative... ‘Communist’ power is... a real bludgeon. Swollen with ‘authority’... it fears every independent action. Any autonomous action is immediately seen as suspect, threatening,... for such authority wants sole control of the tiller. Initiative from any other source is seen as an intrusion upon its domain and an infringement of its prerogatives and, therefore, unacceptable.”

Further, anarchists categorically deny the need for “provisional” and “temporary” stages. In 1936, on the eve of the Spanish Revolution, Diego Abad de Santillan placed authoritarian socialism on the horns of a dilemma: “Either the revolution gives social wealth to the producers, or it does not. If it does, the producers organize themselves for collective production and distribution and there is nothing left for the State to do. If it does not give social wealth to the producers, the revolution is nothing but a deception and the State goes on.” One can say that the dilemma is

oversimplified here; it would be less so if it were translated into terms of intent: the anarchists are not so naive as to dream that all the remnants of the State would disappear overnight, but they have the will to make them wither away as quickly as possible; while the authoritarians, on the other hand, are satisfied with the perspective of the indefinite survival of a “temporary” State, arbitrarily termed a “Workers’ State.”

Sources of Inspiration: the Individual

The anarchist sets two sources of revolutionary energy against the constraints and hierarchies of authoritarian socialism: the individual, and the spontaneity of the masses. Some anarchists are more individualistic than social, some more social than individualistic. However, one cannot conceive of a libertarian who is not an individualist. The observations made by Augustin Hamon from the survey mentioned earlier confirm this analysis.

Max Stirner⁷ rehabilitated the individual at a time when the philosophical field was dominated by Hegelian anti-individualism and most reformers in the social field had been led by the misdeeds of bourgeois egotism to stress its opposite: was not the very word “socialism” created as antonym to “individualism”?

Stirner exalted the intrinsic value of the unique individual, that is to say, one cast in a single unrepeatable mold (an idea which has been confirmed by recent biological research). For a long time this thinker remained isolated in anarchist circles, an eccentric followed by only a tiny sect of intelligent individualists. Today, the boldness and scope of his thought appear in a new light. The contemporary world seems to have set itself the task of rescuing the individual from all the forms of alienation which crush him’ those of individual slavery and those of totalitarian conformism. In a famous article written in 1933, Simone Weil complained of not finding in Marxist writings any answer to questions arising from the need to defend the individual against the new forms of oppression coming after classical capitalist oppression. Stirner set out to fill this serious gap as early as the mid-nineteenth century.

He wrote in a lively style, crackling with aphorisms: “Do not seek in self-renunciation a freedom which denies your very selves, but seek your own selves... Let each of you be an all-powerful I.” There is no freedom but that which the individual conquers for himself. Freedom given or conceded is not freedom but “stolen goods.” “There is no judge but myself who can decide whether I am right or wrong.” “The only things I have no right to do are those I do not do with a free mind.” “You have the right to be whatever you have the strength to be.” Whatever you accomplish you accomplish as a unique individual: “Neither the State, society, nor humanity can master this devil.”

In order to emancipate himself, the individual must begin by putting under the microscope the intellectual baggage with which his parents and teachers have saddled him. He must undertake a vast operation of “desanctification,” beginning with the so-called morality of the bourgeoisie: “Like the bourgeoisie itself, its native soil, it is still far too close to the heaven of religion, is still not free enough, and uncritically borrows bourgeois laws to transplant them to its own ground instead of working out new and independent doctrines.”

Stirner was especially incensed by sexual morality. The “machinations” of Christianity “against passion” have simply been taken over by the secularists. They refused to listen to the appeal of the

⁷ In his book *The Ego and His Own*.

flesh and display their zeal against it. They “spit in the face of immorality.” The moral prejudices inculcated by Christianity have an especially strong hold on the masses of the people. “The people furiously urge the police on against anything which seems to them immoral or even improper, and this public passion for morality protects the police as an institution far more effectively than a government could ever do.”

Stirner foreshadowed modern psychoanalysis by observing and denouncing the internalization of parental moral values. From childhood we are consumed with moral prejudices. Morality has become “an internal force from which I cannot free myself,” “its despotism is ten times worse than before, because it now scolds away from within my conscience.” “The young are sent to school in herds to learn the old saws and when they know the verbiage of the old by heart they are said to have come of age.” Stirner declared himself an iconoclast: “God, conscience, duties, and laws are all errors which have been stuffed into our minds and hearts.” The real seducers and corrupters of youth are the priests and parents who “muddy young hearts and stupefy young minds.” If there is anything that “comes from the devil” it is surely this false divine voice which has been interpolated into the conscience.

In the process of rehabilitating the individual, Stirner also discovered the Freudian subconscious. The Self cannot be apprehended. Against it “the empire of thought, mind, and ratiocination crumbles”; it is inexpressible, inconceivable, incomprehensible, and through Stirner’s lively aphorisms one seems to hear the first echoes of existentialist philosophy: “I start from a hypothesis by taking myself as hypothesis... I use it solely for my enjoyment and satisfaction... I exist only because I nourish my Self... The fact that I am of absorbing interest to myself means that I exist.”

Of course the white heat of imagination in which Stirner wrote sometimes misled him into paradoxical statements. He let slip some antisocial aphorisms and arrived at the position that life in society is impossible: “We do not aspire to communal life but to a life apart.” “The people is dead! Good-day, Self!” “The people’s good fortune is my misfortune!” “If it is right for *me*, it is right. It is possible that it is wrong for others: let them take care of themselves!”

However, these occasional outbursts are probably not a fundamental part of his thinking and, in spite of his hermit’s bluster, he aspired to communal life. Like most people who are introverted, isolated, shut in, he suffered acute nostalgia for it. To those who asked how he could live in society with his exclusiveness he replied that only the man who has comprehended his own “oneness” can have relations with his fellows. The individual needs help and friends; for example, if he writes books he needs readers. He joins with his fellow man in order to increase his strength and fulfill himself more completely through their combined strength than either could in isolation. “If you have several million others behind you to protect you, together you will become a great force and will easily be victorious” — but on one condition: these relations with others must be free and voluntary and always subject to repudiation. Stirner distinguishes a society already established, which is a constraint, from association, which is a voluntary act. “Society uses *you*, but you use association.” Admittedly, association implies a sacrifice, a restriction upon freedom, but this sacrifice is not made for the common good: “It is my own personal interest that brings me to it.”

Stirner was dealing with very contemporary problems, especially when he treated the question of political parties with special reference to the communists. He was severely critical of the conformism of parties: “One must follow one’s party everywhere and anywhere, absolutely approving and defending its basic principles.” “Members... bow to the slightest wishes of the party.”

The party's program must "be for them certain, above question... One must belong to the party body and soul... Anyone who goes from one party to another is immediately treated as a renegade." In Stirner's view, a monolithic party ceases to be an association and only a corpse remains. He rejected such a party but did not give up hope of joining a political association: "I shall always find enough people who want to associate with me without having to swear allegiance to my flag." He felt he could only rejoin the party if there was "nothing compulsory about it," and his sole condition was that he could be sure "of not letting himself be taken over by the party." "The party is nothing other than a party in which he takes part." "He associates freely and takes back his freedom in the same way."

There is only one weakness in Stirner's argument, though it more or less underlies all his writings: his concept of the unity of the individual is not only "egotistical," profitable for the "Self" but is also valid for the collectivity. The human association is only fruitful if it does not crush the individual but, on the contrary, develops initiative and creative energy. Is not the strength of a party the sum of all the strengths of the individuals who compose it? This lacuna in his argument is due to the fact that Stirner's synthesis of the individual and society remained halting and incomplete. In the thought of this rebel the social and the antisocial clash and are not always resolved. The social anarchists were to reproach him for this, quite rightly.

These reproaches were the more bitter because Stirner, presumably through ignorance, made the mistake of including Proudhon among the authoritarian communists who condemn individualist aspirations in the name of "social duty." It is true that Proudhon had mocked Stirner-like "adoration" of the individual,⁸ but his entire work was a search for a synthesis, or rather an "equilibrium" between concern for the individual and the interests of society, between individual power and collective power. "Just as individualism is a primordial human trait, so association is its complement."

"Some think that man has value only through society... and tend to absorb the individual into the collectivity. Thus... the communist system is a devaluation of the personality in the name of society... That is tyranny, a mystical and anonymous tyranny, it is not association... When the human personality is divested of its prerogatives, society is found to be without its vital principle."

On the other hand, Proudhon rejected the individualistic utopianism that agglomerates unrelated individualities with no organic connection, no collective power, and thus betrays its inability to resolve the problem of common interests. In conclusion: neither communism nor unlimited freedom. "We have too many joint interests, too many things in common."

Bakunin, also, was both an individualist and a socialist. He kept reiterating that a society could only reach a higher level by starting from the free individual. Whenever he enunciated rights which must be guaranteed to groups, such as the right to self-determination or secession, he was careful to state that the individual should be the first to benefit from them. The individual owes duties to society only in so far as he has freely consented to become part of it. Everyone is free to associate or not to associate, and, if he so desires, "to go and live in the deserts or the forests among the wild beasts." "Freedom is the absolute right of every human being to seek no other sanction for his actions but his own conscience, to determine these actions solely by his own will, and consequently to owe his first responsibility to himself alone." The society which the

⁸ Without direct mention of Stirner, whose work he may not, therefore, have read.

individual has freely chosen to join as a member appears only as a secondary factor in the above list of responsibilities. It has more duties to the individual than rights over him, and, provided he has reached his majority, should exercise “neither surveillance nor authority” over him, but owe him “the protection of his liberty.”

Bakunin pushed the practice of “absolute and complete liberty” very far: I am entitled to dispose of my person as I please, to be idle or active, to live either honestly by my own labor or even by shamefully exploiting charity or private confidence. All this on one condition only: that this charity or confidence is voluntary and given to me only by individuals who have attained their majority. I even have the right to enter into associations whose objects make them “immoral” or apparently so. In his concern for liberty Bakunin went so far as to allow one to join associations designed to corrupt and destroy individual or public liberty: “Liberty can and must defend itself only through liberty; to try to restrict it on the specious pretext of defending it is a dangerous contradiction.”

As for ethical problems, Bakunin was sure “immorality” was a consequence of a viciously organized society. This latter must, therefore, be destroyed from top to bottom. Liberty alone can bring moral improvement. Restrictions imposed on the pretext of improving morals have always proved detrimental to them. Far from checking the spread of immorality, repression has always extended and deepened it. Thus it is futile to oppose it by rigorous legislation which trespasses on individual liberty. Bakunin allowed only one sanction against the idle, parasitic, or wicked: the loss of political rights, that is, of the safeguards accorded the individual by society. It follows that each individual has the right to alienate his own freedom by his own acts but, in this case, is denied the enjoyment of his political rights for the duration of his voluntary servitude.

If crimes are committed they must be seen as a disease, and punishment as treatment rather than as social vengeance. Moreover, the convicted individual must retain the right not to submit to the sentence imposed if he declares that he no longer wishes to be a member of the society concerned. The latter, in return, has the right to expel such an individual and declare him to be outside its protection.

Bakunin, however, was far from being a nihilist. His proclamation of absolute individual freedom did not lead him to repudiate all social obligations. I become free only through the freedom of others: “Man can fulfill his free individuality only by complementing it through all the individuals around him, and only through work and the collective force of society.” Membership in the society is voluntary but Bakunin had no doubt that because of its enormous advantages “membership will be chosen by all.” Man is both “the most individual and the most social of the animals.”

Bakunin showed no softness for egoism in its vulgar sense — for bourgeois individualism “which drives the individual to conquest and the establishment of his own well-being... in spite of everyone, on the backs of others, to their detriment.” “Such a solitary and abstract human being is as much a fiction as God.” “Total isolation is intellectual, moral, and material death.”

A broad and synthesizing intellect, Bakunin attempts to create a bridge between individuals and mass movements: “All social life is simply this continual mutual dependence of individuals and the masses. Even the strongest and most intelligent individuals... are at every moment of their lives both promoters and products of the desires and actions of the masses.” The anarchist sees the revolutionary movement as the product of this interaction; thus he regards individual action and autonomous collective action by the masses as equally fruitful and militant.

The Spanish anarchists were the intellectual heirs of Bakunin. Although enamored of socialization, on the very eve of the 1936 Revolution they did not fail to make a solemn pledge to protect the sacred autonomy of the individual: “The eternal aspiration to be unique,” wrote Diego Abad de Santillan, “will be expressed in a thousand ways: the individual will not be suffocated by levering down... Individualism, personal taste, and originality will have adequate scope to express themselves.”

Sources of Inspiration: the Masses

From the Revolution of 1848 Proudhon learned that the masses are the source of power of revolutions. At the end of 1849 he wrote: “Revolutions have no instigators; they come when fate beckons, and end with the exhaustion of the mysterious power that makes them flourish.” “All revolutions have been carried through by the spontaneous action of the people; if occasionally governments have responded to the initiative of the people it was only because they were forced or constrained to do so. Almost always they blocked, repressed, struck.” “When left to their own instincts the people almost always see better than when guided by the policy of leaders.” “A social revolution... does not occur at the behest of a master with a ready-made theory, or at the dictate of a prophet. A truly organic revolution is a product of universal life, and although it has its messengers and executors it is really not the work of any one person.” The revolution must be conducted from below and not from above. Once the revolutionary crisis is over social reconstruction should be the task of the popular masses themselves. Proudhon affirmed the “personality and autonomy of the masses.”

Bakunin also repeated tirelessly that a social revolution can be neither decreed nor organized from above and can only be made and fully developed by spontaneous and continuous mass action. Revolutions come “like a thief in the night.” They are “produced by the force of events.” “They are long in preparation in the depths of the instinctive consciousness of the masses — then they explode, often precipitated by apparently trivial causes.” “One can foresee them, have presentiments of their approach... but one can never accelerate their outbreak.” “The anarchist social revolution... arises spontaneously in the hearts of the people, destroying all that hinders the generous upsurge of the life of the people in order thereafter to create new forms of free social life which will arise from the very depths of the soul of the people.” Bakunin saw in the Commune of 1871 striking confirmation of his views. The Communards believed that “the action of individuals was almost nothing” in the social revolution and the “spontaneous action of the masses should be everything.”

Like his predecessors, Kropotkin praised “this admirable sense of spontaneous organization which the people... has in such a high degree, but is so rarely permitted to apply.” He added, playfully, that “only he who has always lived with his nose buried in official papers and red tape could doubt it.”

Having made all these generous and optimistic affirmations, both the anarchist and his brother and enemy the Marxist confront a grave contradiction. The spontaneity of the masses is essential, an absolute priority, but not sufficient in itself. The assistance of a revolutionary minority capable of thinking out the revolution has proved to be necessary to raise mass consciousness. How is this elite to be prevented from exploiting its intellectual superiority to usurp the role of the masses, paralyze their initiative, and even impose a new domination upon them?

After his idyllic exaltation of spontaneity, Proudhon came to admit the inertia of the masses, to deplore the prejudice in favor of governments, the deferential instinct and the inferiority complex which inhibit an upsurge of the people. Thus the collective action of the people must be stimulated, and if no revelation were to come to them from outside, the servitude of the lower classes might go on indefinitely. And he admitted that “in every epoch the ideas which stirred the masses had first been germinated in the minds of a few thinkers... The multitude never took the initiative... Individuality has priority in every movement of the human spirit.” It would be ideal if these conscious minorities were to pass on to the people their science, the science of revolution. But in practice Proudhon seemed to be skeptical about such a synthesis: to expect it would be to underestimate the intrusive nature of authority. At best, it might be possible to “balance” the two elements.

Before his conversion to anarchism in 1864, Bakunin was involved in conspiracies and secret societies and became familiar with the typically Blanquist idea that minority action must precede the awakening of the broad masses and combine with their most advanced elements after dragging them out of their lethargy. The problem appeared different in the workers’ International, when that vast movement was at last established. Although he had become an anarchist, Bakunin remained convinced of the need for a conscious vanguard: “For revolution to triumph over reaction the unity of revolutionary thought and action must have an organ in the midst of the popular anarchy which will be the very life and the source of all the energy of the revolution.” A group, small or large, of individuals inspired by the same idea, and sharing a common purpose, will produce “a natural effect on the masses.” “Ten, twenty, or thirty men with a clear understanding and good organization, knowing what they want and where they are going, can easily carry with them a hundred, two hundred, three hundred or even more.” “We must create the well-organized and rightly inspired general staffs of the leaders of the mass movement.”

The methods advocated by Bakunin are very similar to what is nowadays termed “infiltration.” It consists of working clandestinely upon the most intelligent and influential individuals in each locality “so that [each] organization should conform to our ideas as far as possible. That is the whole secret of our influence.” The anarchists must be like “invisible pilots” in the midst of the stormy masses. They must direct them not by “ostensible power,” but by “a dictatorship without insignia, title, or official rights, all the more powerful because it will have none of the marks of power.” Bakunin was quite aware how little his terminology (“leaders,” “dictatorship,” etc.) differed from that of the opponents of anarchism, and replied in advance “to anyone who alleges that action organized in this way is yet another assault upon the liberty of the masses, an attempt to create a new authoritarian power”: No! the vanguard must be neither the benefactor nor the dictatorial leader of the people but simply the midwife to its self-liberation. It can achieve nothing more than to spread among the masses ideas which correspond with their instincts. The rest can and must be done by the people themselves. The “revolutionary authorities” (Bakunin did not draw back from using this term but excused it by expressing the hope that they would be “as few as possible”) were not to impose the revolution on the masses but arouse it in their midst; were not to subject them to any form of organization, but stimulate their autonomous organization from below to the top.

Much later, Rosa Luxemburg was to elucidate what Bakunin had surmised: that the contradiction between libertarian spontaneity and the need for action by conscious vanguards would only be fully resolved when science and the working class became fused, and the masses became fully conscious, needing no more “leaders,” but only “executive organs” of their “conscious action.” Af-

ter emphasizing that the proletariat still lacked science and organization, the Russian anarchist reached the conclusion that the International could only become an instrument of emancipation “when it had caused the science, philosophy, and politics of socialism to penetrate the reflective consciousness of each of its members.”

However theoretically satisfying this synthesis might be, it was a draft drawn on a very distant future. Until historical evolution made it possible to accomplish it, the anarchists remained, like the Marxists, more or less imprisoned by contradiction. It was to rend the Russian Revolution, torn between the spontaneous power of the soviets and the claim of the Bolshevik Party to a “directing role.” It was to show itself in the Spanish Revolution, where the libertarians were to swing from one extreme to the other, from the mass movement to the conscious anarchist elite.

Two historical examples will suffice to illustrate this contradiction.

The anarchists were to draw one categorical conclusion from the experience of the Russian Revolution: a condemnation of the “leading role” of the Party. Voline formulated it in this way:

“The key idea of anarchism is simple: no party, or political or ideological group, even if it sincerely desires to do so, will ever succeed in emancipating the working masses by placing itself above or outside them in order to ‘govern’ or ‘guide’ them. True emancipation can only be brought about by the direct action... of those concerned, the workers themselves, through their own class organizations (production syndicates, factory committees, cooperatives, etc.) and not under the banner of any political party or ideological body. Their emancipation must be based on concrete action and ‘self-administration,’ aided but not controlled by revolutionaries working from within the masses and not from above them... The anarchist idea and the true emancipatory revolution can never be brought to fruition by anarchists as such but only by the vast masses... anarchists, or other revolutionaries in general, are required only to enlighten or aid them in certain situations. If anarchists maintained that they could bring about a social revolution by “guiding” the masses, such a pretension would be as illusory as that of the Bolsheviks and for the same reasons.”

However, the Spanish anarchists, in their turn, were to experience the need to organize an ideologically conscious minority, the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI), within their vast trade union organization, the National Confederation of Labor (CNT). This was to combat the reformist tendencies of some “pure” syndicalists and the maneuvers of the agents of the “dictatorship of the proletariat.” The FAI drew its inspiration from the ideas of Bakunin, and so tried to enlighten rather than to direct. The relatively high libertarian consciousness of many of the rank-and file members of the CNT also helped it to avoid the excesses of the authoritarian revolutionary parties. It did not, however, perform its part as guide very well, being clumsy and hesitant about its tutelage over the trade unions, irresolute in its strategy, and more richly endowed with activists and demagogues than with revolutionaries as clear-thinking on the level of theory as on that of practice.

Relations between the masses and the conscious minority constitute a problem to which no full solution has been found by the Marxists or even by the anarchists, and one on which it seems that the last word has not yet been said.

In Search of a New Society

Anarchism is not Utopian

Because anarchism is constructive, anarchist theory emphatically rejects the charge of utopianism. It uses the historical method in an attempt to prove that the society of the future is not an anarchist invention, but the actual product of the hidden effects of past events. Proudhon affirmed that for 6,000 years humanity had been crushed by an inexorable system of authority but had been sustained by a “secret virtue”: “Beneath the apparatus of government, under the shadow of its political institutions, society was slowly and silently producing its own organization, making for itself a new order which expressed its vitality and autonomy.”

However harmful government may have been, it contained its own negation. It was always “a phenomenon of collective life, the public exercise of the powers of our law, an expression of social spontaneity, all serving to prepare humanity for a higher state. What humanity seeks in religion and calls ‘God’ is itself. What the citizen seeks in government... is likewise himself – it is liberty.” The French Revolution hastened this inexorable advance toward anarchy: “The day that our fathers... stated the principle of the free exercise of all his faculties by man as a citizen, on that day authority was repudiated in heaven and on earth, and government, even by delegation, became impossible.”

The Industrial Revolution did the rest. From then on politics was overtaken by the economy and subordinated to it. Government could no longer escape the direct competition of producers and became in reality no more than the relation between different interests. This revolution was completed by the growth of the proletariat. In spite of its protestations, authority now expressed only socialism: “The Napoleonic code is as useless to the new society as the Platonic republic: within a few years the absolute law of property will have everywhere been replaced by the relative and mobile law of industrial cooperation, and it will then be necessary to reconstruct this cardboard castle from top to bottom.” Bakunin, in turn, recognized “the immense and undeniable service rendered to humanity by the French Revolution which is father to us all.” The principle of authority has been eliminated from the people’s consciousness forever and order imposed from above has henceforth become impossible. All that remains is to “organize society so that it can live without government.” Bakunin relied on popular tradition to achieve this. “In spite of the oppressive and harmful tutelage of the State,” the masses have, through the centuries, “spontaneously developed within themselves many, if not all, of the essential elements of the material and moral order of real human unity.”

The Need for Organization

Anarchist theory does not see itself as a synonym for disorganization. Proudhon was the first to proclaim that anarchism is not disorder but order, is the natural order in contrast to the artificial

order imposed from above, is true unity as against the false unity brought about by constraint. Such a society “thinks, speaks, and acts like a man, precisely because it is no longer represented by a man, no longer recognizes personal authorities; because, like every organized living being, like the infinite of Pascal, it has its center everywhere and its circumference nowhere.” Anarchy is “organized, living society,” “the highest degree of liberty and order to which humanity can aspire.” Perhaps some anarchists thought otherwise but the Italian Errico Malatesta called them to order:

“Under the influence of the authoritarian education given to them, they think that authority is the soul of social organization and repudiate the latter in order to combat the former... Those anarchists opposed to organization make the fundamental error of believing that organization is impossible without authority. Having accepted this hypothesis they reject any kind of organization rather than accept the minimum of authority... If we believed that organization could not exist without authority we would be authoritarians, because we would still prefer the authority which imprisons and saddens life to the disorganization which makes it impossible.”

The twentieth-century anarchist Voline developed and clarified this idea:

“A mistaken — or, more often, deliberately inaccurate — interpretation alleges that the libertarian concept means the absence of all organization. This is entirely false: it is not a matter of “organization” or “nonorganization,” but of two different principles of organization... Of course, say the anarchists, society must be organized. However, the new organization... must be established freely, socially, and, above all, from below. The principle of organization must not issue from a center created in advance to capture the whole and impose itself upon it but, on the contrary, it must come from all sides to create nodes of coordination, natural centers to serve all these points... On the other hand, the other kind of “organization,” copied from that of the old oppressive and exploitative society,... would exaggerate all the blemishes of the old society... It could then only be maintained by means of a new artifice.”

In effect, the anarchists would be not only protagonists of true organization but “first-class organizers,” as Henri Lefebvre admitted in his book on the Commune. But this philosopher thought he saw a contradiction here — “a rather surprising contradiction which we find repeatedly in the history of the working-class movement up to present times, especially in Spain.” It can only “astonish” those for whom libertarians are *a priori* disorganizers.

Self-Management

When Marx and Engels drafted the Communist Manifesto of 1848, on the eve of the February Revolution, they foresaw, at any rate for a long transitional period, all the means of production centralized in the hands of an all-embracing State. They took over Louis Blanc’s authoritarian idea of conscripting both agricultural and industrial workers into “armies of labor.” Proudhon was the first to propound an anti-statist form of economic management.

During the February Revolution workers’ associations for production sprang up spontaneously in Paris and in Lyon. In 1848 this beginning of self-management seemed to Proudhon far more the

revolutionary event than did the political revolution. It had not been invented by a theoretician or preached by doctrinaires, it was not the State which provided the original stimulus, but the people. Proudhon urged the workers to organize in this way in every part of the Republic, to draw in small property, trade, and industry, then large property and establishments, and, finally, the greatest enterprises of all (mines, canals, railways, etc.), and thus “become masters of all.”

The present tendency is to remember only Proudhon’s naive and passing idea of preserving small-scale trade and artisans’ workshops. This was certainly naive, and doubtless uneconomic, but his thinking on this point was ambivalent. Proudhon was a living contradiction: he castigated property as a source of injustice and exploitation and had a weakness for it, although only to the extent that he saw in it a guarantee of the independence of the individual. Moreover, Proudhon is too often confused with what Bakunin called “the little so-called Proudhonian coterie” which gathered around him in his last years. This rather reactionary group was stillborn. In the First International it tried in vain to put across private ownership of the means of production against collectivism. The chief reason this group was short-lived was that most of its adherents were all too easily convinced by Bakunin’s arguments and abandoned their so-called Proudhonian ideas to support collectivism.

In the last analysis, this group, who called themselves *mutuellistes*, were only partly opposed to collectivism: they rejected it for agriculture because of the individualism of the French peasant, but accepted it for transport, and in matters of industrial self-management actually demanded it while rejecting its name. Their fear of the word was largely due to their uneasiness in the face of the temporary united front set up against them by Bakunin’s collectivist disciples and certain authoritarian Marxists who were almost open supporters of state control of the economy.

Proudhon really moved with the times and realized that it is impossible to turn back the clock. He was realistic enough to understand that “small industry is as stupid as petty culture” and recorded this view in his *Carnets*. With regard to large-scale modern industry requiring a large labor force, he was resolutely collectivist: “In future, large-scale industry and wide culture must be the fruit of association.” “We have no choice in the matter,” he concluded, and waxed indignant that anyone had dared to suggest that he was opposed to technical progress.

In his collectivism he was, however, as categorically opposed to statism. Property must be abolished. The community (as it is understood by authoritarian communism) is oppression and servitude. Thus Proudhon sought a combination of property and community: this was association. The means of production and exchange must be controlled neither by capitalist companies nor by the State. Since they are to the men who work in them “what the hive is to the bee,” they must be managed by associations of workers, and only thus will collective powers cease to be “alienated” for the benefit of a few exploiters. “We, the workers, associated or about to be associated,” wrote Proudhon in the style of a manifesto,

“do not need the State... Exploitation by the State always means rulers and wage slaves. We want the government of man by man no more than the exploitation of man by man. Socialism is the opposite of governmentalism... We want these associations to be... the first components of a vast federation of associations and groups united in the common bond of the democratic and social republic.

Proudhon went into detail and enumerated precisely the essential features of workers’ self-management:

Every associated individual to have an indivisible share in the property of the company.

Each worker to take his share of the heavy and repugnant tasks.

Each to go through the gamut of operations and instruction, of grades and activities, to insure that he has the widest training. Proudhon was insistent on the point that “the worker must go through all the operations of the industry he is attached to.”

Office-holders to be elected and regulations submitted to the associates for approval.

Remuneration to be proportionate to the nature of the position held, the degree of skill, and the responsibility carried. Every associate to share in the profits in proportion to the service he has given.

Each to be free to set his own hours, carry on his duties, and to leave the association at will.

The associated workers to choose their leaders, engineers, architects, and accountants. Proudhon stressed the fact that the proletariat still lacks technicians: hence the need to bring into workers’ self-management programs “industrial and commercial persons of distinction” who would teach the workers business methods and receive fixed salaries in return: there is “room for all in the sunshine of the revolution.”

This libertarian concept of self-management is at the opposite pole from the paternalistic, statist form of self-management set out by Louis Blanc in a draft law of September 15, 1849. The author of *The Organization of Labor* wanted to create workers’ associations sponsored and financed by the State. He proposed an arbitrary division of the profits as follows: 25 percent to a capital amortization fund; 25 percent to a social security fund; 25 percent to a reserve fund; 25 percent to be divided among the workers.¹

Proudhon would have none of self-management of this kind. In his view the associated workers must not “submit to the State,” but “be the State itself.” “Association... can do everything and reform everything without interference from authority, can encroach upon authority and subjugate it.” Proudhon wanted “to go toward government through association, not to association through government.” He issued a warning against the illusion, cherished in the dreams of authoritarian socialists, that the State could tolerate free self-management. How could it endure “the formation of enemy enclaves alongside a centralized authority”? Proudhon prophetically warned: “While centralization continues to endow the State with colossal force, nothing can be achieved by spontaneous initiative or by the independent actions of groups and individuals.”

It should be stressed that in the congresses of the First International the libertarian idea of self-management prevailed over the statist concept. At the Lausanne Congress in 1867 the committee reporter, a Belgian called Cesar de Paepe, proposed that the State should become the owner of undertakings that were to be nationalized. At that time Charles Longuet was a libertarian, and he replied: “All right, on condition that it is understood that we define the State as ‘the collective of the citizens’..., also that these services will be administered not by state functionaries... but by groupings of workers.” The debate continued the following year (1868) at the Brussels Congress and this time the same committee reporter took care to be precise on this point: “Collective property would belong to society as a whole, but would be conceded to associations of workers. The State would be no more than a federation of various groups of workers.” Thus clarified, the resolution was passed.

¹ Cf. the 1963 decrees by which the Algerian Republic institutionalized the self-management which had been originated spontaneously by the peasants. The apportionment — if not the actual percentages — is very similar, and the last quarter, “to be divided among tile workers,” is the same as the “balance” over which there was controversy in Algeria.

However, the optimism which Proudhon had expressed in 1848 with regard to self-management was to prove unjustified. Not many years later, in 1857, he severely criticized the existing workers' associations; inspired by naive, utopian illusions, they had paid the price of their lack of experience. They had become narrow and exclusive, had functioned as collective employers, and had been carried away by hierarchical and managerial concepts. All the abuses of capitalist companies "were exaggerated further in these so-called brotherhoods." They had been torn by discord, rivalry, defections, and betrayals. Once their managers had learned the business concerned, they retired to "set up as bourgeois employers on their own account." In other instances, the members had insisted on dividing up the resources. In 1848 several hundred workers' associations had been set up; nine years later only twenty remained.

As opposed to this narrow and particularist attitude, Proudhon advocated a "universal" and "synthetic" concept of self-management. The task of the future was far more than just "getting a few hundred workers into associations"; it was "the economic transformation of a nation of thirty-six million souls." The workers' associations of the future should work for all and not "operate for the benefit of a few." Self-management, therefore, required the members to have some education: "A man is not born a member of an association, he becomes one." The hardest task before the association is to "educate the members." It is more important to create a "fund of men" than to form a "mass of capital."

With regard to the legal aspect, it had been Proudhon's first idea to vest the ownership of their undertaking in the workers' associations but now he rejected this narrow solution. In order to do this he distinguished between possession and ownership. Ownership is absolute, aristocratic, feudal; possession is democratic, republican, egalitarian: it consists of the enjoyment of an usufruct which can neither be alienated, nor given away, nor sold. The workers should hold their means of production in *alleu* like the ancient Germans,² but would not be the outright owners. Property would be replaced by federal, cooperative ownership vested not in the State but in the producers as a whole, united in a vast agricultural and industrial federation.

Proudhon waxed enthusiastic about the future of such a revised and corrected form of self-management: "It is not false rhetoric that states this, it is an economic and social necessity: the time is near when we shall be unable to progress on any but these new conditions... Social classes... must merge into one single producers' association." Would self-management succeed? "On the reply to this... depends the whole future of the workers. If it is affirmative an entire new world will open up for humanity; if it is negative the proletariat can take it as settled... There is no hope for him in this wicked world."

The Bases of Exchange

How were dealings between the different workers' associations to be organized? At first Proudhon maintained that the exchange value of all goods could be measured by the amount of labor necessary to produce them. The workers were to be paid in "work vouchers"; trading agencies or social shops were to be set up where they would buy goods at retail prices calculated in hours of work. Large-scale trade would be carried on through a compensatory clearinghouse or People's Bank which would accept payment in work vouchers. This bank would also serve as a credit es-

² *Alleu* is a feudal term for heritable inalienable property. The Germans were a German tribe in which individual freedom was highly developed. (Translator's note.)

establishment lending to workers' associations the sums needed for effective operation. The loans would be interest free.

This so-called *mutuelliste* scheme was rather utopian and certainly difficult to operate in a capitalist system. Early in 1849 Proudhon set up the People's Bank and in six weeks some 20,000 people joined, but it was short-lived. It was certainly farfetched to believe that *mutuellisme* would spread like a patch of oil and to exclaim, as Proudhon did then: "It really is the new world, the promised society which is being grafted on to the old and gradually transforming it!"

The idea of wages based on the number of hours worked is debatable on many grounds. The libertarian communists of the Kropotkin school — Malatesta, Elise Reclus, Carlo Cafiero — did not fail to criticize it. In the first place, they thought it unjust. Cafiero argued that "three hours of Peter's work may be worth five of Paul's." Other factors than duration must be considered in determining the value of labor: intensity, professional and intellectual training, etc. The family commitments of the workers must also be taken into account.³ Moreover, in a collectivist regime the worker remains a wage slave of the community that buys and supervises his labor. Payment by hours of work performed cannot be an ideal solution; at best it would be a temporary expedient. We must put an end to the morality of account books, to the philosophy of "credit and debit." This method of remuneration, derived from modified individualism, is in contradiction to collective ownership of the means of production, and cannot bring about a profound revolutionary change in man. It is incompatible with anarchism; a new form of ownership requires a new form of remuneration. Service to the community cannot be measured in units of money. Needs will have to be given precedence over services, and all the products of the labor of all must belong to all, each to take his share of them freely. *To each according to his need* should be the motto of libertarian communism.

Kropotkin, Malatesta, and their followers seem to have overlooked the fact that Proudhon had anticipated their objections and revised his earlier ideas. In his *Theorie de la Propriete*, published after his death, he explained that he had only supported the idea of equal pay for equal work in his "First Memorandum on Property" of 1840: "I had forgotten to say two things: first, that labor is measured by combining its duration with its intensity; second, that one must not include in the worker's wages the amortization of the cost of his education and the work he did on his own account as an unpaid apprentice, nor the premiums to insure him against the risks he runs, all of which vary in different occupations." Proudhon claimed to have "repaired" this "omission" in his later writings in which he proposed that mutual insurance cooperative associations should compensate for unequal costs and risks. Furthermore, Proudhon did not regard the remuneration of the members of a workers' association as "wages" but as a share of profits freely determined by associated and equally responsible workers. In an as yet unpublished thesis, Pierre Hauptman, one of Proudhon's most recent exponents, comments that workers' self-management would have no meaning if it were not interpreted in this way.

The libertarian communists saw fit to criticize Proudhon's *mutuellisme* and the more logical collectivism of Bakunin for not having determined the way in which labor would be remunerated in a socialist system. These critics seemed to have overlooked the fact that the two founders of anarchism were anxious not to lay down a rigid pattern of society prematurely. They wanted to leave the self-management associations the widest choice in this matter. The libertarian com-

³ Cf. a similar discussion in the Critique of the Gotha Programme, drafted by Karl Marx in 1875 though not published until 1891.

munists themselves were to provide the justification for this flexibility and refusal to jump to conclusions, so different from their own impatient forecasts: they stressed that in the ideal system of their choice “labor would produce more than enough for all” and that “bourgeois” norms of remuneration could only be replaced by specifically “communist” norms when the era of abundance had set in, and not before. In 1884 Malatesta, drafting the program for a projected anarchist international, admitted that communism could be brought about immediately only in a very limited number of areas and, “for the rest,” collectivism would have to be accepted “for a transitional period.”

For communism to be possible, a high stage of moral development is required of the members of society, a sense of solidarity both elevated and profound, which the upsurge of the revolution may not suffice to induce. This doubt is the more justified in that material conditions favorable to this development will not exist at the beginning.

Anarchism was about to face the test of experience, on the eve of the Spanish Revolution of 1936, when Diego Abad de Santillan demonstrated the immediate impracticability of libertarian communism in very similar terms. He held that the capitalist system had not prepared human beings for communism: far from developing their social instincts and sense of solidarity it tends in every way to suppress and penalize such feelings.

Santillan recalled the experience of the Russian and other revolutions to persuade the anarchists to be more realistic. He charged them with receiving the most recent lessons of experience with suspicion or superiority. He maintained that it is doubtful whether a revolution would lead directly to the realization of our ideal of communist anarchism. The collectivist watchword, “to each the product of his labor,” would be more appropriate than communism to the requirements of the real situation in the first phase of a revolution’ when the economy would be disorganized, production at a low ebb, and food supplies a priority. The economic models to be tried would, at best, evolve slowly toward communism. To put human beings brutally behind bars by imprisoning them in rigid forms of social life would be an authoritarian approach which would hinder the revolution. *Mutuellisme*, communism, collectivism are only different means to the same end. Santillan turned back to the wise empiricism of Proudhon and Bakunin, claiming for the coming Spanish Revolution the right to experiment freely: “The degree of *mutuellisme*, collectivism, or communism which can be achieved will be determined freely in each locality and each social sphere.” In fact, as will be seen later, the experience of the Spanish “collectives” of 1936 illustrated the difficulties arising from the premature implementation of integral communism⁴.

Competition

Competition is one of the norms inherited from the bourgeois economy which raises thorny problems when preserved in a collectivist or self-management economy. Proudhon saw it as an “expression of social spontaneity” and the guarantee of the “freedom” of the association. Moreover, it would for a long time to come provide an “irreplaceable stimulus” without which an “immense slackening off” would follow the high tension of industry. He went into detail:

⁴ Cuba is today gropingly and prematurely trying to find the way to integral communism.

“The working brotherhood is pledged to supply society with the goods and services asked from it at prices as near as possible to the cost of production... Thus the workers’ association denies itself any amalgamation [of a monopolistic type], subjects itself to the law of competition, and keeps its books and records open to society, which reserves the power to dissolve the association as the ultimate sanction of society’s right of supervision.” “Competition and association are interdependent... The most deplorable error of socialism is to have considered it [competition] as the disorder of society. There can... be... no question of destroying competition... It is a matter of finding an equilibrium, one could say a policing agent.”

Proudhon’s attachment to the principle of competition drew the sarcasm of Louis Blanc: “We cannot understand those who have advocated the strange linking of two contrary principles. To graft brotherhood onto competition is a wretched idea: it is like replacing eunuchs by hermaphrodites.” The pre-Marxian Louis Blanc wanted to “reach a uniform price” determined by the State, and prevent all competition between establishments within an industry. Proudhon retorted that prices “can only be fixed by competition, that is, by the power of the consumer... to dispense with the services of those who overcharge...” “Remove competition... and you deprive society of its motive force, so that it runs down like a clock with a broken spring.”

Proudhon, however, did not hide from himself the evils of competition, which he described very fully in his treatise on political economy. He knew it to be a source of inequality and admitted that “in competition, victory goes to the big battalions.” It is so “anarchic” (in the pejorative sense of the term) that it operates always to the benefit of private interests, necessarily engenders civil strife and, in the long run, creates oligarchies. “Competition kills competition.”

In Proudhon’s view, however, the absence of competition would be no less pernicious. Taking the tobacco administration,⁵ he found that its products were too dear and its supplies inadequate simply because it had long been a monopoly free from competition. If all industries were subject to such a system, the nation would never be able to balance its income and expenditures. The competition Proudhon dreamed of was not to be the laissez-faire competition of the capitalist economic system, but competition endowed with a higher principle to “socialize” it, competition which would function on the basis of fair exchange, in a spirit of solidarity, competition which would both protect individual initiative and bring back to society the wealth which is at present diverted from it by capitalist appropriation.

It is obvious that there was something utopian in this idea. Competition and the so-called market economy inevitably produce inequality and exploitation, and would do so even if one started from complete equality. They could not be combined with workers’ self-management unless it were on a temporary basis, as a necessary evil, until (1) a psychology of “honest exchange” had developed among the workers; (2) most important, society as a whole had passed from conditions of shortage to the stage of abundance, when competition would lose its purpose.

Even in such a transitional period, however, it seems desirable that competition should be limited, as in Yugoslavia today, to the consumer-goods sector where it has at least the one advantage of protecting the interests of the consumer.

The libertarian communist would condemn Proudhon’s version of a collective economy as being based on a principle of conflict; competitors would be in a position of equality at the start,

⁵ A state monopoly in France. (Translator’s note.)

only to be hurled into a struggle which would inevitably produce victors and vanquished, and where goods would end up by being exchanged according to the principles of supply and demand; “which would be to fall right back into competition and the bourgeois world.” Some critics of the Yugoslav experiment from other communist countries use much the same terms to attack it. They feel that self-management in any form merits the same hostility they harbor toward a competitive market economy, as if the two ideas were basically and permanently inseparable.

Centralization and Planning

At all events, Proudhon was aware that management by workers’ associations would have to cover large units. He stressed the “need for centralization and large units” and asked: “Do not workers’ associations for the operation of heavy industry mean large units?” “We put economic centralization in the place of political centralization.” However, his fear of authoritarian planning made him instinctively prefer competition inspired by solidarity. Since then, anarchist thinkers have become advocates of a libertarian and democratic form of planning, worked out from the bottom up by the federation of self-managing enterprises.

Bakunin foresaw that self-management would open perspectives for planning on a world-wide scale:

“Workers’ cooperative associations are a new historical phenomenon; today as we witness their birth we cannot foresee their future, but only guess at the immense development which surely awaits them and the new political and social conditions they will generate. It is not only possible but probable that they will, in time, outgrow the limits of today’s counties, provinces, and even states to transform the whole structure of human society, which will no longer be divided into nations but into industrial units.”

These would then “form a vast economic federation” with a supreme assembly at its head. With the help of “world-wide statistics, giving data as comprehensive as they are detailed and precise,” it would balance supply and demand, direct, distribute, and share out world industrial production among the different countries so that crises in trade and employment, enforced stagnation, economic disaster, and loss of capital would almost certainly entirely disappear.

Complete Socialization?

There was an ambiguity in Proudhon’s idea of management by the workers’ associations. It was not always clear whether the self-management groups would continue to compete with capitalist undertakings — in other words, whether a socialist sector would coexist with a private sector, as is said to be the present situation in Algeria and other newly independent countries — or whether, on the other hand, production as a whole would be socialized and made subject to self-management.

Bakunin was a consistent collectivist and clearly saw the dangers of the coexistence of the two sectors. Even in association the workers cannot accumulate the necessary capital to stand up to large-scale bourgeois capital. There would also be a danger that the capitalist environment

would contaminate the workers' associations so that "a new class of exploiters of the labor of the proletariat" would arise within them. Self-management contains the seeds of the full economic emancipation of the working masses, but these seeds can only germinate and grow when "capital itself, industrial establishments, raw materials, and capital equipment... become the collective property of workers' associations for both agricultural and industrial production, and these are freely organized and federated among themselves." "Radical, conclusive social change will only be brought about by means affecting the whole society," that is, by a social revolution which transforms private property into collective property. In such a social organization the workers would be their own collective capitalists, their own employers. Only "those things which are truly for personal use" would remain private property.

Bakunin admitted that producers' cooperatives served to accustom the workers to organizing themselves, and managing their own affairs, and were the first steps in collective working-class action, but he held that until the social revolution had been achieved such islands in the midst of the capitalist system would have only a limited effect, and he urged the workers "to think more of strikes than of cooperatives."

Trade Unions

Bakunin also valued the part played by trade unions, "the natural organizations of the masses," "the only really effective weapon" the workers could use against the bourgeoisie. He thought the trade-union movement could contribute more than the ideologists to organizing the forces of the proletariat independently of bourgeois radicalism. He saw the future as the national and international organization of the workers by trade.

Trade unionism was not specially mentioned at the first congresses of the International. From the Basel Congress in 1869 onward, it became a prime issue, owing to the influence of the anarchists: after the abolition of the wage system, trade unions would become the embryo of the administration of the future; government would be replaced by councils of workers' organizations.

In 1876 James Guillaume, a disciple of Bakunin, wrote his *Idées sur l'Organisation Sociale*, in which he made self-management incorporate trade unionism. He advocated the creation of corporate federations of workers, in particular trades which would be united "not, as before, to protect their wages against the greed of the employers, but... to provide mutual guarantees for access to the tools of their trade, which would become the collective property of the whole corporate federation as the result of reciprocal contracts." Bakunin's view was that these federations would act as planning agencies, thus filling one of the gaps in Proudhon's plan for self-management. One thing had been lacking in his proposals: the link which would unite the various producers' associations and prevent them from running their affairs egotistically, in a parochial spirit, without care for the general good or the other workers' associations. Trade unionism was to fill the gap and articulate self-management. It was presented as the agent of planning and unity among producers.

The Communes

During his early career Proudhon was entirely concerned with economic organization. His suspicion of anything political led him to neglect the problem of territorial administration. It was enough for him to say that the workers must take the place of the State without saying precisely how this would come about. In the latter years of his life he paid more attention to the political problem, which he approached from the bottom up in true anarchist style. On a local basis men were to combine among themselves into what he called a “natural group” which “constitutes itself into a city or political unit, asserting itself in unity, independence, and autonomy.” “Similar groups, some distance apart, may have interests in common; it is conceivable that they may associate together and form a higher group for mutual security.” At this point the anarchist thinker saw the specter of the hated State: never, never should the local groups “as they unite to safeguard their interests and develop their wealth... go so far as to abdicate in a sort of self-immolation at the feet of the new Moloch.” Proudhon defined the autonomous commune with some precision: it is essentially a “sovereign being” and, as such, “has the right to govern and administer itself, to impose taxes, to dispose of its property and revenue, to set up schools for its youth and appoint teachers,” etc. “That is what a commune is, for that is what collective political life is... It denies all restrictions, is self-limiting; all external coercion is alien to it and a menace to its survival.” It has been shown that Proudhon thought self-management incompatible with an authoritarian State; similarly, the commune could not coexist with authority centralized from above:

“There is no halfway house. The commune will be sovereign or subject, all or nothing. Cast it in the best role you can; as soon as it is no longer subject to its own law, recognizes a higher authority, [and] the larger grouping... of which it is a member is declared to be superior..., it is inevitable that they will at some time disagree and come into conflict. As soon as there is a conflict the logic of power insures victory for the central authority, and this without discussion, negotiation, or trial, debate between authority and subordinate being impermissible, scandalous, and absurd.”

Bakunin slotted the commune into the social organization of the future more logically than Proudhon. The associations of productive workers were to be freely allied within the communes and the communes, in their turn, freely federated among themselves. “Spontaneous life and action have been held in abeyance for centuries by the all-absorbing and monopolistic power of the State; its abdication will return them to the communes.”

How would trade unionism relate to the communes? In 1880 the Courtelary district of the Jura Federation⁶ was sure of its answer: “The organ of this local life will be a federation of trades, and this local federation will become the commune.” However, those drafting the report, not fully decided on this point, raised the question: “Is it to be a general assembly of all the inhabitants, or delegations from the trades... which will draw up the constitution of the commune?” The conclusion was that there were two possible systems to be considered. Should the trade union or the commune have priority? Later, especially in Russia and Spain, this question divided the “anarcho-communists” from the “anarcho-syndicalists.”

⁶ A Swiss branch of the International which had adopted Bakunin’s ideas.

Bakunin saw the commune as the ideal vehicle for the expropriation of the instruments of production for the benefit of self-management. In the first stage of social reorganization it is the commune which will give the essential minimum to each “dispossessed” person as compensation for the goods confiscated. He described its internal organization with some precision. It will be administered by a council of elected delegates with express positive mandates; these will always be responsible to the electorate and subject to recall. The council of the commune may elect from among its number executive committees for each branch of the revolutionary administration of the commune. Dividing responsibility among so many has the advantage of involving the greatest number of the rank and file in management. It curtails the disadvantages of a system of representation in which a small number of elected delegates could take over all the duties, while the people remained almost passive in rarely convoked general assemblies. Bakunin instinctively grasped that elected councils must be “working bodies,” with both regulatory and executive duties – what Lenin was later to call “democracy without parliamentarianism” in one of his libertarian moods. Again the Courtelary district made this idea more explicit:

“In order to avoid falling back into the errors of centralized and bureaucratic administration, we think that the general interests of the commune should be administered by different special commissions for each branch of activity and not by a single local administrative body... This arrangement would prevent administration from taking on the character of government.”

The followers of Bakunin showed no such balanced judgment of the necessary stages of historical development. In the 1880’s they took the collectivist anarchists to task. In a critique of the precedent set by the Paris Commune of 1871, Kropotkin scolded the people for having “once more made use of the representative system within the Commune,” for having “abdicated their own initiative in favor of an assembly of people elected more or less by chance,” and he lamented that some reformers “always try to preserve this government by proxy at any price.” He held that the representative system had had its day. It was the organized domination of the bourgeoisie and must disappear with it. “For the new economic era which is coming, we must seek a new form of political organization based on a principle quite different from representation.” Society must kind forms of political relations closer to the people than representative government, “nearer to self-government, to government of oneself by oneself.”

For authoritarian or libertarian socialists, the ideal to be pursued must surely be this direct democracy which, if pressed to the limits in both economic self-management and territorial administration, would destroy the last vestiges of any kind of authority. It is certain, however, that the necessary condition for its operation is a stage of social evolution in which all workers would possess learning and skills as well as consciousness, while at the same time abundance would have taken the place of shortage. In 1880, long before Lenin, the district of Courtelary proclaimed: “The more or less democratic practice of universal suffrage will become decreasingly important in a scientifically organized society.” But not before its advent.

The Disputed Term “State”

The reader knows by now that the anarchists refused to use the term “State” even for a transitional situation. The gap between authoritarians and libertarians has not always been very wide

on this score. In the First International the collectivists, whose spokesman was Bakunin, allowed the terms “regenerate State,” “new and revolutionary State,” or even “socialist State” to be accepted as synonyms for “social collective.” The anarchists soon saw, however, that it was rather dangerous for them to use the same word as the authoritarians while giving it a quite different meaning.

They felt that a new concept called for a new word and that the use of the old term could be dangerously ambiguous; so they ceased to give the name “State” to the social collective of the future.

The Marxists, for their part, were anxious to obtain the cooperation of the anarchists to make the principle of collective ownership triumph in the International over the last remnant of neo-Proudhonian individualism. So they were willing to make verbal concessions and agreed half-heartedly to the anarchists’ proposal to substitute for the word “State” either *federation* or *solidarisation* of communes. In the same spirit, Engels attacked his friend and compatriot August Bebel about the Gotha Programme of the German social democrats, and thought it wise to suggest that he “suppress the term ‘State’ throughout, using instead Gemeinwesen, a good old German word meaning the same as the French word ‘Commune.’” At the Basel Congress of 1869, the collectivist anarchists and the Marxists had united to decide that once property had been socialized it would be developed by *communes solidarisees*. In his speech Bakunin dotted the i’s:

“I am voting for collectivization of social wealth, and in particular of the land, in the sense of social liquidation. By social liquidation I mean the expropriation of all who are now proprietors, by the abolition of the juridical and political State which is the sanction and sole guarantor of property as it now is. As to subsequent forms of organization... I favor the solidarisation of communes... with all the greater satisfaction because such solidarisation entails the organization of society from the bottom up.”

How Should the Public Services be Managed?

The compromise which had been worked out was a long way from eliminating ambiguity, the more so since at the very same Basel Congress the authoritarian socialists had not felt shy about applauding the management of the economy by the State. The problem subsequently proved especially thorny when discussion turned to the management of large-scale public services like railways, postal services, etc. By the Hague Congress of 1872, the followers of Marx and those of Bakunin had parted company. Thus the debate on public services arose in the misnamed “anti-authoritarian” International which had survived the split. This question created fresh discord between the anarchists and those more or less “statist” socialists who had chosen to detach themselves from Marx and remain with the anarchists in the International.

Since such public services are national in scale, it is obvious that they cannot be managed by the workers’ associations alone, nor by the communes alone. Proudhon tried to solve the problem by “balancing” workers’ management by some form of “public initiative,” which he did not explain fully. Who was to administer the public services? The federation of the communes, answered the libertarians; the State, the authoritarians were tempted to reply.

At the Brussels Congress of the International in 1874, the Belgian socialist Cesar de Paepe tried to bring about a compromise between the two conflicting views. Local public services would go to the communes to be run under the direction of the local administrative body itself, nominated by

the trade unions. Public services on a larger scale would be managed by a regional administration consisting of nominees of the federation of communes and supervised by a regional chamber of labor, while those on a national scale would come under the "Workers' State," that is, a State "based on a combination of free workers' communes." The anarchists were suspicious of this ambiguous organization but de Paepe preferred to take this suspicion as a misunderstanding: was it not after all a verbal quarrel? If that was so he would be content to put the word "State" aside while keeping and even extending the actual thing "under the more pleasant disguise of some other term."

Most of the libertarians thought that the report from the Brussels Congress amounted to a restoration of the State: they saw the "Workers' State" turning inevitably into an "authoritarian State." If it was only a verbal quarrel they could not see why they should christen the new society without government by the very name used to describe the organization which was to be abolished. At a subsequent congress at Berne, in 1876, Malatesta admitted that the public services required a unique, centralized form of organization; but he refused to have them administered from above by a State. His adversaries seemed to him to confuse the State with society, that "living organic body." In the following year, 1877, at the Universal Socialist Congress in Ghent, Cesar de Paepe admitted that his precious Workers' State or People's State "might for a period be no more than a State of wage earners," but that "must be no more than a transitional phase imposed by circumstances," after which the nameless, urgent masses would not fail to take over the means of production and put them in the hands of the workers' associations. The anarchists were not appeased by this uncertain and distant perspective: what the State took over it would never give up.

Federalism

To sum up: the future libertarian society was to be endowed with a dual structure: economic, in the form of a federation of self-managing workers' associations; administrative, in the form of a federation of the communes. The final requirement was to crown and articulate this edifice with a concept of wider scope, which might be extended to apply to the whole world: federalism.

As Proudhon's thought matured, the federalist idea was clarified and became predominant. One of his last writings bore the title *Du Principe Federatif et de la Necessite de Reconstituer de Parti de la Revolution* (1863) and, as previously mentioned, toward the end of his life he was more inclined to call himself a federalist than an anarchist. We no longer live in the age of small, ancient cities which, moreover, even in their time, sometimes came together on a federal basis. The problem of our time is that of administering large countries. Proudhon commented: "If the State were never to extend beyond the area of a city or commune I would leave everyone to make his own judgment, and say no more. But we must not forget that it is a matter of vast conglomerations of territory within which cities, towns, and villages can be counted by the thousand." No question of fragmenting society into microcosms. Unity is essential.

It was, however, the intention of the authoritarians to rule these local groups by the laws of "conquest," to which Proudhon retorted: "I declare to them that this is completely impossible, by virtue of the very law of unity."

"All these groups... are indestructible organisms... which can no more divest themselves of their sovereign independence than a member of the city can lose his citi-

zenship or prerogatives as a free man... All that would be achieved... would be the creation of an irreconcilable antagonism between the general sovereignty and each of the separate sovereignties, setting authority against authority; in other words, while supposedly developing unity one would be organizing division.”

In such a system of “unitary absorption” the cities or natural groups “would always be condemned to lose their identity in the superior agglomeration, which one might call artificial.” Centralization means “retaining in governmental relationship groups which are autonomous by their nature”; “... that is, for modern society, the true tyranny.” It is a system of imperialism, communism, absolutism, thundered Proudhon, adding in one of those amalgamations of which he was a master: “All these words are synonyms.”

On the other hand, unity, real unity, centralization, real centralization, would be indestructible if a bond of law, a contract of mutuality, a pact of federation were concluded between the various territorial units:

“What really centralizes a society of free men... is the contract. Social unity... is the product of the free union of citizens... For a nation to manifest itself in unity, this unity must be centralized... in all its functions and faculties; centralization must be created from the bottom up, from the periphery to the center, and all functions must be independent and self-governing. The more numerous its foci, the stronger the centralization will be.”

The federal system is the opposite of governmental centralization. The two principles of libertarianism and authoritarianism which are in perpetual conflict are destined to come to terms: “Federation resolves all the problems which arise from the need to combine liberty and authority. The French Revolution provided the foundations for a new order, the secret of which lies with its heir, the working class. This is the new order: to unite all the people in a ‘federation of federations.’” This expression was not used carelessly: a universal federation would be too big; the large units must be federated between themselves. In his favorite prophetic style Proudhon declared: “The twentieth century will open the era of federations.”

Bakunin merely developed and strengthened the federalist ideas of Proudhon. Like Proudhon, he acclaimed the superiority of federal unity over authoritarian unity: “When the accursed power of the State is no longer there to constrain individuals, associations, communes, provinces, or regions to live together, they will be much more closely bound, will constitute a far more viable, real, and powerful whole than what they are at present forced into by the power of the State, equally oppressive to them all.” The authoritarians “are always confusing... formal, dogmatic, and governmental unity with a real and living unity which can only derive from the freest development of all individuals and groups, and from a federal and absolutely voluntary alliance... of the workers” associations in the communes and, beyond the communes, in the regions, beyond the regions, in the nations.”

Bakunin stressed the need for an intermediate body between the commune and the national federal organ: the province or region, a free federation of autonomous communes. It must not, however, be thought that federalism would lead to egoism or isolation. Solidarity is inseparable from freedom: “While the communes remain absolutely autonomous, they feel... solidarity among themselves and unite closely without losing any of their freedom.” In the modern world,

moral, material, and intellectual interests have created real and powerful unity between the different parts of one nation, and between the different nations; that unity will outlive the State.

Federalism, however, is a two-edged weapon. During the French Revolution the “federalism” of the Girondins was reactionary, and the royalist school of Charles Maurras advocated it under the name of “regionalism.” In some countries, like the United States, the federal constitution is exploited by those who deprive men of color of their civil rights. Bakunin thought that socialism alone could give federalism a revolutionary content. For this reason his Spanish followers showed little enthusiasm for the bourgeois federalist party of Pi y Margall, which called itself Proudhonist, and even for its “cantonalist” left wing during the brief, and abortive, episode of the republic of 1873.⁷

Internationalism

The federalist idea leads logically to internationalism, that is to say, the organization of nations on a federal basis into the “large, fraternal union of mankind.” Here again Bakunin showed up the bourgeois utopianism of a federal idea not based on international and revolutionary socialism. Far ahead of his time, he was a “European,” as people say today; he called for and desired a United States of Europe, the only way “of making a civil war between the different peoples in the European family impossible.” He was careful, however, to issue a warning against any European federation based on states “as they are at present constituted.”

“No centralized, bureaucratic, and hence military State, albeit called a republic, could enter seriously and sincerely into an international federation. By its very constitution, such a State will always be an overt or covert denial of internal liberty, and hence, necessarily, a permanent declaration of war, a menace to the existence of neighboring countries.” Any alliance with a reactionary State would be a “Betrayal of the revolution.” The United States of Europe, first, and later, of the world, can only be set up after the overthrow of the old order which rests from top to bottom on violence and the principle of authority. On the other hand, if the social revolution takes place in any one country, any foreign country which has made a revolution on the same principles should be received into a revolutionary federation regardless of existing state frontiers.

True internationalism rests on self-determination, which implies the right of secession. Following Proudhon, Bakunin propounded that “each individual, each association, commune, or province, each region and nation, has the absolute right to determine its own fate, to associate with others or not, to ally itself with whomever it will, or break any alliance, without regard to so-called historical claims or the convenience of its neighbors.” “The right to unite freely and separate with the same freedom is the most important of all political rights, without which confederation will always be disguised centralization.”

Anarchists, however, did not regard this principle as leading to secession or isolation. On the contrary, they held “the conviction that once the right to secede is recognized, secession will, in fact, become impossible because national units will be freely established and no longer the product of violence and historical falsehood.” Then, and then only, will they become “truly strong, fruitful, and permanent.”

⁷ Pi y Margall was a minister in the period between 1873 and 1874 when a republic was briefly established in Spain. (Translator’s note.) When, in January 1937, Fedenca Montseny, a woman anarchist who had become a minister, praised the regionalism of Pi y Margall, Gaston Leval replied that he was far from a faithful follower of Bakunin.

Later, Lenin, and the early congresses of the Third International, adopted this concept from Bakunin, and the Bolsheviks made it the foundation of their policy on nationalities and of their anti-colonialist strategy – until they eventually belied it to turn to authoritarian centralization and disguised imperialism.

Decolonization

It is noteworthy that logical deduction led the originators of federalism to a prophetic anticipation of the problems of decolonization. Proudhon distinguished the unit “based on conquest” from the “rational” unit and saw that “every organization that exceeds its true limits and tends to invade or annex other organizations loses in strength what it gains in size, and moves toward dissolution.” The more a city (i.e., a nation) extends its population or its territory, the nearer it comes to tyranny and, finally, disruption:

“If it sets up subsidiaries or colonies some distance away, these subsidiaries or colonies will, sooner or later, change into new cities which will remain linked to the mother city only by federation, or not at all...

When the new city is ready to support itself it will itself declare its independence: by what right should the parent city presume to treat it as a vassal, as property to be exploited?

Thus in our time we have seen the United States emancipate itself from England; and Canada likewise in fact, if not in name; Australia set out on the road to separation by the consent, and with the approval, of the mother country. In the same way Algeria will, sooner or later, constitute itself an African France unless for abominable, selfish motives we keep it as a single unit by means of force and poverty.”

Bakunin had an eye on the underdeveloped countries and doubted whether “imperialist Europe” could keep 800 million Asiatics in servitude. “Two-thirds of humanity, 800 million Asians asleep in their servitude will necessarily awaken and begin to move. But in what direction and to what end?” He declared “strong sympathy for any national uprising against any form of oppression” and commended to the subject peoples the fascinating example of the Spanish uprising against Napoleon. In spite of the fantastic disproportion between the native guerrillas and the imperial troops, the occupying power failed to put them down, and the French were driven out of Spain after a five-year struggle.

Every people “has the right to be itself and no one is entitled to impose its costume, its customs, its language, its opinions, or its laws.” However, Bakunin also believed that there could be no true federalism without socialism and wished that national liberation could be achieved “as much in the economic as in the political interests of the masses” and “not with ambitious intent to set up a powerful State.” Any revolution for national independence “will necessarily be against the people... if it is carried out without the people and must therefore depend for success on a privileged class,” and will thus become “a retrogressive, disastrous, counter-revolutionary movement.”

It would be regrettable if the decolonized countries were to cast off the foreign yoke only to fall into indigenous political or religious servitude. Their emancipation requires that “all faith

in any divine or human authority be eradicated among the masses.” The national question is historically secondary to the social question and salvation depends on the social revolution. An isolated national revolution cannot succeed. The social revolution inevitably becomes a world revolution.

Bakunin foresaw that decolonization would be followed by an ever expanding federation of revolutionary peoples: “The future lies initially with the creation of a European-American international unit. Later, much later, this great European-American nation will merge with the African and Asiatic units.”

This analysis brings us straight into the middle of the twentieth century.

Anarchism in Revolutionary Practice

1880–1914

Anarchism Becomes Isolated From the Working-Class Movement

It is now time to examine anarchism in action. Which brings us to the eve of the twentieth century. Libertarian ideas certainly played some part in the revolutions of the nineteenth century but not an independent one. Proudhon had taken a negative attitude to the 1848 Revolution even before its outbreak. He attacked it as a *political* revolution, a bourgeois booby trap, and, indeed, much of this was true. Moreover, according to Proudhon, it was inopportune and its use of barricades and street battles was outdated, for he himself dreamed of a quite different road to victory for his panacea: *mutuelliste* collectivism. As for the Paris Commune, while it is true that it spontaneously broke away from “traditional statist centralization,” it was the product of a “compromise,” as Henri Lefebvre has noted, a sort of “united front” between the Proudhonists and Bakuninites on the one hand and the Jacobins and Blanquists on the other. It “boldly repudiated” the State, but Bakunin had to admit that the internationalist anarchists were a “tiny minority” in its ranks.

As a result of Bakunin’s impetus, anarchism had, however, succeeded in grafting itself onto the First International – a proletarian, internationalist, apolitical, mass movement. But sometime around 1880 the anarchists began to deride “the timid International of the first period,” and sought to set up in its place what Malatesta in 1884 described as the “redoubtable International,” which was to be anarchist, communist, anti-religious, anti-parliamentary, and revolutionary, all at the same time. This scarecrow was very flimsy: anarchism cut itself off from the working-class movement, with the result that it deteriorated and lost its way in sectarianism and minority activism.

What caused this decline? One reason was the swiftness of industrial development and the rapid conquest of political rights by workers who then became more receptive to parliamentary reformism. It followed that the international working-class movement was taken over by politically minded, electoralist, reformist social democrats whose purpose was not the social revolution but the legal conquest of the bourgeois State and the satisfaction of short-term demands.

When they found themselves a small minority, the anarchists abandoned the idea of militancy within large popular movements. Free rein was given to utopian doctrines, combining premature anticipations and nostalgic evocations of a golden age; Kropotkin, Malatesta, and their friends turned their backs on the road opened up by Bakunin on the pretext of keeping their doctrine pure. They accused Bakunin, and anarchist literature in general, of having been “too much colored by Marxism.” The anarchists turned in on themselves, organized themselves for direct action in small clandestine groups which were easily infiltrated by police informers.

Bakunin’s retirement was soon followed by his death and, from 1876 on, anarchism caught the bug of adventurism and wild fantasy. The Berne Congress launched the slogan of “propaganda by the deed.” Cafiero and Malatesta handed out the first lesson of action. On April 5, 1877, they directed a band of some thirty armed militants who suddenly appeared in the mountains of the

Italian province of Benevento, burned the parish records of a small village, distributed the funds in the tax collector's safe to the poor, and tried to install libertarian communism on a miniature, rural, infantile scale. In the end they were tracked down, numb with cold, and yielded without resistance.

Three years later, on December 25, 1880, Kropotkin was declaiming in his journal *Le Revolte*: "Permanent revolt in speech, writing, by the dagger and the gun, or by dynamite... anything suits us that is alien to legality." Between "propaganda by the deed" and attacks on individuals, only a step remained. It was soon taken.

The defection of the mass of the working class had been one of the reasons for the recourse to terrorism, and "propaganda by the deed" did indeed make some contribution to awakening the workers from their apathy. Writing in *La Revolution Proletarienne*, November 1937, Robert Lonzon¹ maintained that "it was like the stroke of a gong bringing the French proletariat to its feet after the prostration into which it had been plunged by the massacres of the Commune [by the right]..., [and was] the prelude to the foundation of the CGT [Confederation General du Travail] and the mass trade-union movement of the years 1900–1910." This rather optimistic view is corrected or supplemented² by the views of Fernand Pelloutier, a young anarchist who later went over to revolutionary syndicalism: he believed the use of dynamite had deterred the workers from professing libertarian socialism, however disillusioned they might have been with parliamentary socialism; none of them dared call himself an anarchist lest he seem to opt for isolated revolt as against collective action.

The social democrats were not slow to use the weapons against the anarchists furnished by the combination of bombs and Kropotkinist utopias.

Social-Democratic Condemnation of Anarchism

For many years the socialist working-class movement was divided into irreconcilable segments: while anarchism slid into terrorism combined with passive waiting for the millennium, the political movement, more or less dishonestly claiming to be Marxist, became bogged down in "parliamentary cretinism." Pierre Monatte, an anarchist who turned syndicalist, later recalled: "The revolutionary spirit in France was dying out... year by year. The revolutionary ideas of Guesde were now only verbal or, worse, electoral and parliamentary; those of Jaures simply, and very frankly, ministerial and governmental." In France, the divorce between anarchists and socialists was completed at the Le Havre Congress of 1880, when the newborn workers' party threw itself into electoral politics.

In Paris in 1889 the social democrats from various countries decided to revive the long-neglected practice of holding international socialist congresses. This opened the way for the creation of the Second International and some anarchists thought it necessary to attend the meeting. Their presence gave rise to violent incidents, since the social democrats used their superior numbers to suppress all argument from their opponents. At the Brussels Congress of 1891 the libertarians were booed and expelled. However, many working-class delegates from

¹ *La Revolution Proletarienne* is a French monthly; Robert Louzon a veteran revolutionary syndicalist. (Translator's note.)

² Robert Lonzon pointed out to the author that from a dialectic point of view this statement and that of Pelloutier are in no way mutually exclusive: terrorism had contradictory effects on the working-class movement.

England, Italy, and Holland, though they were indeed reformists, withdrew in protest. The next congress was held in Zurich in 1893, and the social democrats claimed that in the future they could exclude all non-trade union organizations which did not recognize the necessity for “political action,” that is to say, the conquest of bourgeois power by the ballot.

At the London Congress of 1896, a few French and Italian anarchists circumvented this exclusionary condition by getting trade unions to appoint them as delegates. This was not simply a subterfuge, for, as we shall see below, the anarchists had once more found the path of reality – they had entered the trade-union movement. But when one of them, Paul Delesalle, tried to mount the rostrum, he was thrown violently to the bottom of the steps and injured. Jaures accused the anarchists of having transformed the trade unions into revolutionary anarchist groups and of disrupting them, just as they had come to the congress only to disrupt it, “to the great benefit of bourgeois reaction.”

The German social-democratic leaders at the congress, the inveterate electoralists Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, showed themselves as savage to the anarchists as they had been in the First International. Supported by Marx’s daughter, Eleanor Aveling, who regarded the anarchists as “madmen,” they had their own way with the meeting and got it to pass a resolution excluding from future congresses all “anti-parliamentarians” in whatever guise they might appear.

Later, in *State and Revolution*, Lenin presented the anarchists with a bouquet which concealed some thorns. He stood up for them in relation to the social democrats, accusing the latter of having “left to the anarchists a monopoly of criticism of parliamentarianism” and of having “labeled” such criticism as “anarchist.” It was hardly surprising that the proletariat of the parliamentary countries became disgusted with such socialists and more and more sympathetic to the anarchists. The social democrats had termed any effort to destroy the bourgeois State as anarchist. The anarchists “correctly described the opportunist character of the ideas of most socialist parties on the State.”

According to Lenin, Marx and Proudhon were as one in desiring “the demolition of the existing machine of the State.” “The opportunists are unwilling to admit the similarity between Marxism and the anarchism of Proudhon and Bakunin.” The social democrats entered into debate with the anarchists in an “unMarxist” manner. Their critique of anarchism boiled down to pure bourgeois banality: “We recognize the State, the anarchists don’t.” The anarchists are in a strong position to retort that this kind of social democracy is failing in its duty of providing for the revolutionary education of the workers. Lenin castigated an anti-anarchist pamphlet by the Russian social democrat Plekhanov as “very unjust to the anarchists,” “sophistical,” “full of vulgar argument, insinuating that there is no difference between an anarchist and a bandit.”

Anarchists in the Trade Unions

In the 1890’s the anarchists had reached a dead end and they were cut off from the world of the workers which had become the monopoly of the social democrats. They snuggled into little sects, barricaded themselves into ivory towers where they polished up increasingly unrealistic dogmas; or else they performed and applauded acts of individual terrorism, and let themselves be caught in a net of repression and reprisal.

Kropotkin deserves credit for being one of the first to confess his errors and to recognize the sterility of “propaganda by the deed.” In a series of articles which appeared in 1890 he affirmed “that one must be with the people, who no longer want isolated acts, but want men of action inside their ranks.” He warned his readers against “the illusion that one can defeat the coalition of exploiters with a few pounds of explosives.” He proposed a return to mass trade unionism like that of which the First International had been the embryo and propagator: “Monster unions embracing millions of proletarians.”

It was the imperative duty of the anarchists to penetrate into the trade unions in order to detach the working masses from the false socialists who were deceiving them. In 1895 an anarchist weekly, *Les Temps Nouveaux*, published an article by Fernand Pelloutier entitled “Anarchism and the Trade Unions” which expounded the new tactic. Anarchism could do very well without dynamite and must approach the masses, both to propagate anarchist ideas as widely as possible and to save the trade-union movement from the narrow corporatism in which it had become bogged down. The trade union must be a “practical school of anarchism.” As a laboratory of economic struggle, detached from electoral competition and administered on anarchist lines, was not the trade union the only libertarian and revolutionary organization which could counterbalance and destroy the evil influence of the social-democratic politicians? Pelloutier linked the trade unions to the libertarian communist society which remained the ultimate objective of the anarchist: on the day when the revolution breaks out, he asked, “would they not be an almost libertarian organization, ready to succeed the existing order, thus effectively abolishing all political authority; each of its parts controlling the means of production, managing its own affairs, sovereign over itself by the free consent of its members?”

Later, at the International Anarchist Congress of 1907, Pierre Monatte declared: “Trade unionism... opens up new perspectives for anarchism, too long fumed in on itself.” On the one hand, “trade unionism... has renewed anarchism’s awareness of its working-class roots; on the other, the anarchists have made no small contribution to setting the working-class movement on the road to revolution and to popularizing the idea of direct action.” After a lively debate, this congress adopted a compromise resolution which opened with the following statement of principle: “This International Anarchist Congress sees the trade unions both as combat units in the class struggle for better working conditions, and as associations of producers which can serve to transform capitalist society into an anarcho-communist society.”

The syndicalist anarchists met with some difficulties in their efforts to draw the whole libertarian movement onto the new road they had chosen. The “pure ones” of anarchism cherished insurmountable suspicions with regard to the trade-union movement. They resented it for having its feet too firmly on the ground. They accused it of a complacent attitude toward capitalist society, of being an integral part of it, of limiting itself to short-term demands. They disputed its claim to be able to resolve the social problem single-handed. At the 1907 congress Malatesta replied sharply to Monatte, maintaining that the industrial movement was for the anarchist a means and not an end: “Trade unionism is not, and never will be, anything but a legalistic and conservative movement, unable to aim beyond — if that far! — the improvement of working conditions.” The trade-union movement is made short-sighted by the pursuit of immediate gains and turns the workers away from the final struggle: “One should not ask workers to strike; but rather to continue working, for their own advantage.” Malatesta ended by warning his hearers against the conservatism of trade-union bureaucracies: “In the industrial movement the official

is a danger comparable only to parliamentarianism. Any anarchist who has agreed to become a permanent and salaried official of a trade union is lost to anarchism.”

To this Monatte replied that the trade-union movement was certainly no more perfect than any other human institution: “Far from hiding its faults, I think it is wise to have them always in mind so as to react against them.” He recognized that trade union officialdom aroused sharp criticism, often justified. But he protested against the charge of wishing to sacrifice anarchism and the revolution to trade unionism: “As with everyone else here, anarchy is our final aim. However, because times have changed we have changed our conception of the movement and of the revolution... If, instead of criticizing the past, present, or even future mistakes of trade unionism from above, the anarchists would concern themselves more intimately with its work, the dangers that lurk in trade unionism would be averted forever.”

The anger of the sectarian anarchists was not entirely without cause. However, the kind of trade union of which they disapproved belonged to a past period: that which was at first purely and simply corporative, and later, the blind follower of those social democratic politicians who had multiplied in France during the long years following the repression of the Commune. The trade unionism of class struggle, on the other hand, had been regenerated by the anarcho-syndicalists who had entered it, and it gave the “pure” anarchists the opposite cause for complaint: it claimed to produce its own ideology, to “be sufficient unto itself.” Its most effective spokesman, Emile Pouget, maintained: “The trade union is superior to any other form of cohesion between individuals because the task of partial amelioration and the more decisive one of social transformation can be carried on side by side within its framework. It is precisely because the trade union answers this twofold need,... no longer sacrificing the present to the future or the future to the present, that the trade union stands out as the best kind of group.”

The concern of the new trade unionism to emphasize and preserve its “independence” was proclaimed in a famous charter adopted by the CGT congress in Amiens in 1906. The statement was not inspired so much by opposition to anarchism as by the desire to get rid of the tutelage of bourgeois democracy and its extension in the working-class movement, social democracy. It was also felt important to preserve the cohesion of the trade union movement when confronted with a proliferation of rival political sects, such as existed in France before “socialist unity” was established. Proudhon’s work *De la Capacité Politique des Classes Ouvrières* (1865) was taken by the revolutionary syndicalists as their bible; from it they had selected for particular attention the idea of “separation”: being a distinct class, the proletariat must refuse all support from the opposing class.

Some anarchists, however, were shocked by the claim of trade unionism to do without their patronage. Malatesta exclaimed that it was a radically false doctrine which threatened the very existence of anarchism. Jean Grave, his faithful follower, echoed: “Trade unionism can — and must — be self-sufficient in its struggle against exploitation by the employers, but it cannot pretend to be able to solve the social problem by itself.” It “is so little sufficient unto itself that the very idea of what it is, of what it should be, and of what it should do, had to come to it from outside.”

In spite of these recriminations, the revolutionary ferment brought with them by the anarchist converts to trade unionism made the trade-union movement in France and the other Latin countries a power to be reckoned with in the years before the Great War. This affected not only the bourgeoisie and government, but also the social-democratic politicians who thenceforth lost most of their control over the working-class movement. The philosopher Georges Sorel considered the entry of the anarchists into the trade unions as one of the major events of his time.

Anarchist doctrine had been diluted in a mass movement, only to emerge renewed and freshly tempered.

The libertarian movement was to remain impregnated with this fusion between the anarchist idea and the trade-union idea. Until 1914 the French CGT was the ephemeral product of this synthesis, but its most complete and durable product was to be the Spanish CNT (Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo). It was formed in 1910, taking advantage of the disintegration of the radical party of the politician Alexandre Lerroux. One of the spokesmen of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism, Diego Abad de Santillan, did not forget to give credit to Fernand Pelloutier, to Emile Pouget, and to the other anarchists who had understood how necessary it was to begin by implanting their ideas in the economic organizations of the proletariat.

Anarchism in the Russian Revolution

Anarchism had found its second wind in revolutionary syndicalism; the Russian Revolution gave it its third. This statement may at first surprise the reader, accustomed to think of the great revolutionary movement of October 1917 as the work and domain of the Bolsheviks alone. The Russian Revolution was, in fact, a great mass movement, a wave rising from the people which passed over and submerged ideological formations. It belonged to no one, unless to the people. In so far as it was an authentic revolution, taking its impulse from the bottom upward and spontaneously producing the organs of direct democracy, it presented all the characteristics of a social revolution with libertarian tendencies. However, the relative weakness of the Russian anarchists prevented them from exploiting situations which were exceptionally favorable to the triumph of their ideas.

The Revolution was ultimately confiscated and distorted by the mastery, according to some — the cunning, according to others — of the professional revolutionary team grouped around Lenin. But this defeat of both anarchism and the authentic popular revolution was not entirely sterile for the libertarian idea. In the first place, the collective appropriation of the means of production has not again been put in question, and this safeguards the ground upon which, one day perhaps, socialism from below may prevail over state regimentation; moreover, the Russian experience has provided the occasion for some Russian and some non-Russian anarchists to learn the complex lessons of a temporary defeat — lessons of which Lenin himself seemed to have become aware on the eve of his death. In this context they could rethink the whole problem of revolution and anarchism. According to Kropotkin, echoed by Voline, it taught them, should they ever need to know, how *not* to make a revolution. Far from proving that libertarian socialism is impracticable, the Soviet experience, on the contrary, broadly confirmed the prophetic correctness of the views of the founders of anarchism and, in particular, their critique of authoritarian socialism.

A Libertarian Revolution

The point of departure of the Revolution of 1917 was that of 1905, during which a new kind of revolutionary organ had come into being: the soviets. They were born in the factories of St. Petersburg during a spontaneous general strike. In the almost complete absence of a trade-union movement and tradition, the soviets filled a vacuum by coordinating the struggle of the factories on strike. The anarchist Voline was one of the small group which had the idea of setting up the first soviet, in close liaison with the workers and at their suggestion. His evidence coincides with that of Trotsky, who became president of the soviet a few months later. In his account of 1905 he wrote, without any pejorative intent — quite the contrary: “The activity of the soviet represented the organization of anarchy. Its existence and its subsequent development marked the consolidation of anarchy.”

This experience had made a permanent mark upon working-class consciousness and, when the second Russian Revolution broke out in February 1917, its leaders did not have to invent

anything. The workers took over the factories spontaneously. The soviets revived on their own initiative. Once again, they took the professional revolutionaries by surprise. On Lenin's own admission, the masses of peasants and workers were "a hundred times further to the left" than the Bolsheviks. The prestige of the soviets was such that it was only in their name and at their behest that the October insurrection could be launched.

In spite of their vigor, however, they were lacking in homogeneity, revolutionary experience, and ideological preparation. This made them easy prey to political parties with uncertain revolutionary ideas. Although it was a minority organization, the Bolshevik Party was the only really organized revolutionary force which knew where it was going. It had no rivals on the extreme left in either the political or the trade-union field. It had first-class cadres at its disposal, and set in motion, as Voline admitted, "a feverish, overwhelming, fierce activity."

The party machine, however — of which Stalin was at that time an obscure ornament — had always regarded the soviets with suspicion as embarrassing competitors. Immediately after the seizure of power, the spontaneous and irresistible tendency toward the socialization of production was, at first, channeled through workers' control. A decree of November 14, 1917, legalized the participation of workers in the management of enterprises and the fixing of prices; it abolished trade secrets, and compelled the employers to publish their correspondence and their accounts. According to Victor Serge, "the leaders of the Revolution did not intend to go beyond this." In April 1918 they "still intended... to set up mixed companies with shares, in which the Soviet State and Russian and foreign capital would all participate." "The initiative for measures of expropriation came from the masses and not from authority."

As early as October 20, 1917, at the first Congress of Factory Councils, a motion inspired by anarchism was presented. It proposed "control over production, and that control commissions should not be simply investigative bodies, but... from this moment on cells of the future preparing to transfer production to the hands of the workers." "In the very early days of the October Revolution," Anna Pankratova¹ reported, "anarchist tendencies were the more easily and successfully manifested, because the capitalists put up the liveliest resistance to the enforcement of the decree on workers' control and actually refused workers' participation in production."

Workers' control in effect soon showed itself to be a half measure, halting and inefficient. The employers sabotaged it, concealed their stocks, removed tools, challenged or locked out the workers; sometimes they used the factory committees as simple agents or aides to management; they even thought it profitable to try to have their firms nationalized. The workers responded to these maneuvers by seizing the factories and running them for their own benefit. "We ourselves will not send the owners away," the workers said in their resolutions, "but we will take charge of production if they will not insure that the factories function." Anna Pankratova adds that, in this first period of "chaotic" and "primitive" socialization, the factory councils "frequently took over the management of factories whose owners had been dismissed or had fled."

Workers' control soon had to give place to socialization. Lenin literally did violence to his more timorous lieutenants by throwing them into the "crucible of living popular creativity," by obliging them to speak in authentic libertarian language. The basis of revolutionary reconstruction was to be workers' self-management. It alone could arouse in the masses such revolutionary enthusiasm that the impossible would become possible. When the last manual worker, any unemployed person, any cook, could see the factories, the land, the administration in the hands of

¹ A Bolshevik historian who later became a Stalinist.

associations of workers, of employees, of officials, of peasants; rationing in the hands of democratic committees, etc.; all created spontaneously by the people — “when the poor see and feel that, there will be no force able to defeat the social revolution.” The future seemed to be opening up for a republic of the type of the Commune of 1871, a republic of soviets.

According to Voline’s account, “in order to catch the imagination of the masses, gain their confidence and their sympathy, the Bolshevik Party announced... slogans which had up till then been characteristic... of anarchism.” *All power to the soviets* was a slogan which the masses intuitively understood in the libertarian sense. Peter Archinoff reported that “the workers interpreted the idea of soviet power as that of their own right to dispose of themselves socially and economically.” At the Third Congress of Soviets, at the beginning of 1918, Lenin declared: “Anarchist ideas have now taken on living form.” Soon after, at the Seventh Party Congress, March 8, he proposed for adoption theses which dealt among other things with the socialization of production administered by workers’ organizations (trade unions, factory committees, etc.); the abolition of officials in charge of manual trades, of the police and the army; the equality of salaries and remuneration; the participation of all members of the soviets in management and administration of the State; the complete elimination by stages of the said State and of the use of money. At the Trade-Union Congress (spring 1918), Lenin described the factories as “self-governing communes of producers and consumers.” The anarcho-syndicalist Maximoff goes so far as to maintain that “the Bolsheviks had not only abandoned the theory of the gradual withering away of the State, but Marxist ideology in general. They had become some kind of anarchists.”

An Authoritarian Revolution

This audacious alignment with the instinct of the masses and their revolutionary temper may have succeeded in giving the Bolsheviks command over the revolution, but had nothing to do with their traditional ideology or their real intentions. They had been authoritarians for a long time, and were imbued with ideas of the State, of dictatorship, of a ruling party, of management of the economy from above, of all things which were in flagrant contradiction with a really libertarian conception of soviet democracy.

State and Revolution was written on the eve of the October insurrection and mirrors the ambivalence of Lenin’s thoughts. Some pages might have been written by a libertarian and, as we have seen above², some credit at least is given to the anarchists. However, this call for a revolution from below runs parallel to a statement of the case for a revolution from above. Concepts of a hierarchical, centralized state system are not half concealed afterthoughts but, on the contrary, are frankly expressed: the State will survive the conquest of power by the proletariat and will wither away only after a transitional period. How long is this purgatory to last? This is not concealed; we are told rather with relief than with regret that the process will be “slow,” and “of long duration.” Under the guise of soviet power, the revolution will bring forth the “proletarian State,” or “dictatorship of the proletariat”; the writer even lets slip the expression “bourgeois State without the bourgeoisie,” just when he is revealing his inmost thoughts. This omnivorous State surely intends to take everything over.

Lenin took a lesson from contemporary German state capitalism, the *Kriegswirtschaft* (war economy). Another of his models was the organization of modern large-scale industry by cap-

² See *Social-Democratic Condemnation of Anarchism*.

italism, with its “iron discipline.” He was particularly entranced by a state monopoly such as the posts and telegraphs and exclaimed: “What an admirably perfected mechanism! The whole of economic life organized like the postal services,... that is the State, that is the economic base which we need.” To seek to do without “authority” and “subordination” is an “anarchist dream,” he concluded. At one time he had waxed enthusiastic over the idea of entrusting production and exchange to workers’ associations and to self-management. But that was a misdeal. Now he did not hide his magic prescription: all citizens becoming “employees and workers of one universal single state trust,” the whole of society converted into “one great office and one great factory.” There would be soviets, to be sure, but under the control of the workers’ party, a party whose historic task it is to “direct” the proletariat. The most clear-minded Russian anarchists were not misled by this view. At the peak of Lenin’s libertarian period they were already warning the workers to be on their guard: in their journal, *Golos Truda* (The Voice of Labor), in the last months of 1917 and early in 1918 Voline wrote the following prophetic warning:

“Once they have consolidated and legalized their power, the Bolsheviks — who are socialists, politicians, and believers in the State, that is to say, centralist and authoritarian men of action — will begin to arrange the life of the country and the people by governmental and dictatorial means imposed from the centers... Your soviets... will gradually become simply executive organs of the will of the central government... An authoritarian political state apparatus will be set up and, acting from above, it will seek to crush everything with its iron fist... Woe betide anyone who is not in agreement with the central authority.

“All power to the soviets will become in effect the authority of the party leaders.”

It was Voline’s view that it was the increasingly anarchist tendencies of the masses which obliged Lenin to turn away from his original path for a time. He would allow the State, authority, the dictatorship, to remain only for an hour, for a short moment. And then would come “anarchism.” “But, good God, do you not foresee... what citizen Lenin will say when real power has been consolidated and it has become possible not to listen any more to the voice of the masses?” Then he will come back to the beaten path. He will create “a Marxist State,” of the most complete type.

It would, of course, be risky to maintain that Lenin and his team consciously set a trap for the masses. There was more doctrinal dualism in them than deliberate duplicity. The contradiction between the two poles of their thought was so obvious, so flagrant, that it was to be foreseen that it would soon impinge upon events. Either the anarchist trend and the pressure of the masses would oblige the Bolsheviks to forget the authoritarian aspect of their concepts, or, on the contrary, the consolidation of their power, coinciding with the exhaustion of the people’s revolutionary upsurge, would lead them to put aside their transitory anarchist thoughts.

A new factor then made its appearance, disturbing the balance of the issues in question: the terrible circumstances of the civil war and the foreign intervention, the disorganization of transport, the shortage of technicians. These things drove the Bolshevik leaders to emergency measures, to dictatorship, to centralization, and to recourse to the “iron fist.” The anarchists, however, denied that these were the result simply of objective causes external to the Revolution. In their opinion they were due in part to the internal logic of the authoritarian ideas of Bolshevism, to the weakness of an overcentralized and excessively bureaucratic authority. According to Voline, it

was, among other things, the incompetence of the State, and its desire to direct and control everything, that made it incapable of reorganizing the economic life of the country and led to a real “breakdown”; that is, to the paralysis of industry, the ruin of agriculture, and the destruction of all connections between the various branches of the economy.

As an example, Voline told the story of the former Nobel oil refinery at Petrograd. It had been abandoned by its owners and its 4,000 workers decided to operate it collectively. They addressed themselves to the Bolshevik government in vain. Then they tried to make the plant work on their own initiative. They divided themselves into mobile groups and tried to find fuel, raw materials, outlets, and means of transport. With regard to the latter they had actually begun discussions with their comrades among the railwaymen. The government became angry, feeling that its responsibility to the country prevented it from allowing each factory to act independently. The workers’ council persisted and called a general assembly of the workers. The People’s Commissar of Labor took the trouble to give a personal warning to the workers against a “serious act of insubordination.” He castigated their attitude as “anarchistic and egotistical.” He threatened them with dismissal without compensation. The workers retorted that they were not asking for any privileges: the government should let the workers and peasants all over the country act in the same way. All in vain, the government stuck to its point of view and the factory was closed.

One Communist confirms Voline’s analysis: Alexandra Kollontay. In 1921 she complained that numerous examples of workers’ initiative had come to grief amid endless paperwork and useless administrative discussions: “How much bitterness there is among the workers... when they see what they could have achieved if they had been given the right and the freedom to act... Initiative becomes weak and the desire for action dies down.”

In fact the power of the soviets only lasted a few months, from October 1917 to the spring of 1918. The factory councils were very soon deprived of their power, on the pretext that self-management did not take account of the “rational” needs of the economy, that it involved an egoism of enterprises competing one with the other, grasping for scarce resources, wanting to survive at any price even if other factories were more important “for the State” and better equipped. In brief, according to Anna Pankratova, the situation was moving toward a fragmentation of the economy into “autonomous producers’ federations of the kind dreamed of by the anarchists.” No doubt the budding workers’ self-management was not above reproach. It had tried, painfully and tentatively, to create new forms of production which had no precedent in world history. It had certainly made mistakes and taken wrong turns. That was the price of apprenticeship. As Alexandra Kollontay maintained, communism could not be “born except by a process of practical research, with mistakes perhaps, but starting from the creative forces of the working class itself.”

The leaders of the Party did not hold this view. They were only too pleased to take back from the factory committees the power which they had not in their heart of hearts been happy to hand over. As early as 1918, Lenin stated his preference for the “single will” in the management of enterprises. The workers must obey “unconditionally” the single will of the directors of the work process. All the Bolshevik leaders, Kollontay tells us, were “skeptical with regard to the creative abilities of workers’ collectives.” Moreover, the administration was invaded by large numbers of petty bourgeois, left over from old Russian capitalism, who had adapted themselves all too quickly to institutions of the soviet type, and had got themselves into responsible positions in the various commissariats, insisting that economic management should be entrusted to them and not to workers’ organizations.

The state bureaucracy played an increasing role in the economy. From December 5, 1917, on, industry was put under a Supreme Economic Council, responsible for the authoritarian coordination of the activity of all organs of production. From May 26 to June 4, 1918, the Congress of Economic Councils met and decided that the directorate of each enterprise should be composed of members two-thirds of whom would be nominated by the regional councils or the Supreme Economic Council and only one third elected by workers on the spot. A decree of May 28, 1918, extended collectivization to industry as a whole but, by the same token, transformed the spontaneous socializations of the first months of the revolution into nationalizations. The Supreme Economic Council was made responsible for the administration of the nationalized industries. The directors and technical staff were to remain at their posts as appointees of the State. At the Second Congress of the Supreme Economic Council at the end of 1918, the factory councils were roundly trounced by the committee reporter for trying to direct the factories in the place of the board of directors.

For the sake of appearances, elections to factory committees continued to take place, but a member of the Communist cell read out a list of candidates drawn up in advance and voting was by show of hands in the presence of the armed "Communist guards" of the enterprise. Anyone who declared his opposition to the proposed candidates became subject to economic sanctions (wage cuts, etc.). As Peter Archinoff reported, there remained a single omnipresent master — the State. Relations between the workers and this new master became similar to those which had previously existed between labor and capital.

The functions of the soviets had become purely nominal. They were transformed into institutions of government power. "You must become basic cells of the State," Lenin told the Congress of Factory Councils on June 27, 1918. As Voline expressed it, they were reduced to the role of "purely administrative and executive organs responsible for small, unimportant local matters and entirely subject to 'directives' from the central authorities: government and the leading organs of the Party." They no longer had "even the shadow of power." At the Third Trades-Union Congress (April 1920), the committee reporter, Lozovosky, admitted: "We have abandoned the old methods of workers' control and we have preserved only the principle of state control." From now on this "control" was to be exercised by an organ of the State: the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate.

The industrial federations which were centralist in structure had, in the first place, helped the Bolsheviks to absorb and subjugate the factory councils which were federalist and libertarian in their nature. From April 1, 1918, the fusion between the two types of organization was an accomplished fact. From then on the trade unions played a disciplinary role under the supervision of the Party. The union of workers in the heavy metal industries of Petrograd forbade "disruptive initiatives" from the factory councils and objected to their "most dangerous" tendency to put this or that enterprise into the hands of the workers. This was said to be the worst way of imitating production cooperatives, "the idea of which had long since been bankrupt" and which would "not fail to transform themselves into capitalist undertakings." "Any enterprise abandoned or sabotaged by an industrialist, the product of which was necessary to the national economy, was to be placed under the control of the State." It was "not permissible" that the workers should take over such enterprises without the approval of the trade-union organization.

After this preliminary take-over operation the trade unions were, in their turn, tamed, deprived of any autonomy, purged; their congresses were postponed, their members arrested, their organizations disbanded or merged into larger units. At the end of this process any anarcho-syndicalist

tendency had been wiped out, and the trade-union movement was completely subordinated to the State and the single party.

The same thing happened with regard to consumers' cooperatives. In the early stages of the Revolution they had arisen everywhere, increased in numbers, and federated with each other. Their offense, however, was that they were outside the control of the Party and a certain number of social democrats (Mensheviks) had infiltrated them. First, local shops were deprived of their supplies and means of transport on the pretext of "private trade" and "speculation," or even without any pretext at all. Then, all free cooperatives were closed at one stroke and state cooperatives set up bureaucratically in their place. The decree of March 20, 1919, absorbed the consumer cooperatives into the Commissariat of Food Supplies and the industrial producer cooperatives into the Supreme Economic Council. Many members of cooperatives were thrown into prison.

The working class did not react either quickly or vigorously enough. It was dispersed, isolated in an immense, backward, and for the most part rural country exhausted by privation and revolutionary struggle, and, still worse, demoralized. Finally, its best members had left for the fronts of the civil war or had been absorbed into the party and government apparatus. Nevertheless, quite a number of workers felt themselves more or less done out of the fruits of their revolutionary victories, deprived of their rights, subjected to tutelage, humiliated by the arrogance and arbitrary power of the new masters; and these became aware of the real nature of the supposed "proletarian State." Thus, during the summer of 1918, dissatisfied workers in the Moscow and Petrograd factories elected delegates from among their number, trying in this way to oppose their authentic "delegate councils" to the soviets of enterprises already captured by authority. Kollontay bears witness that the worker felt sore and understood that he had been pushed aside. He could compare the life style of the soviet functionaries with the way in which he lived — he upon whom the "dictatorship of the proletariat" was based, at least in theory.

By the time the workers really saw the light it was too late. Power had had the time to organize itself solidly and had at its disposal repressive forces fully able to break any attempted autonomous action on the part of the masses. According to Voline, a bitter but unequal struggle lasted some three years, and was entirely unknown outside Russia. In this a working-class vanguard opposed a state apparatus determined to deny the division which had developed between itself and the masses. From 1919 to 1921, strikes increased in the large cities, in Petrograd especially, and even in Moscow. They were severely repressed, as we shall see further on.

Within the directing Party itself a "Workers' Opposition" arose which demanded a return to the democracy of the soviets and self-management. At the Tenth Party Congress in March 1921, one of its spokesmen, Alexandra Kollontay, distributed a pamphlet asking for freedom of initiative and organization for the trade unions and for a "congress of producers" to elect a central administrative organ for the national economy. The brochure was confiscated and banned. Lenin persuaded almost the whole congress to vote for a resolution identifying the theses of the Workers' Opposition with "petty-bourgeois and anarchist deviations": the "syndicalism," the "semi-anarchism" of the oppositionists was in his eyes a "direct danger" to the monopoly of power exercised by the Party in the name of the proletariat. From then on all opposition within the Party was forbidden and the way was open to "totalitarianism," as was admitted by Trotsky years later.

The struggle continued within the central leadership of the trade unions. Tomsy and Riazanov were excluded from the Presidium and sent into exile, because they had stood for trade unions independent of the Party. The leader of the workers' opposition, Shlyapaikov, met the same fate, and was soon followed by the prime mover of another opposition group: G. I. Miasnikov, a gen-

uine worker who had put the Grand Duke Michael to death in 1917. He had been a party member for fifteen years and, before the revolution, spent more than seven years in prison and seventy-five days on a hunger strike. In November 1921, he dared to state in a pamphlet that the workers had lost confidence in the Communists, because the Party no longer had a common language with the rank and file and was now using against the working class the repressive measures brought in against the bourgeoisie between 1918 and 1920.

The Part Played by the Anarchists

What part did the Russian anarchists play in this drama in which a libertarian-style revolution was transmuted into its opposite? Russia had no libertarian traditions and it was in foreign lands that Bakunin and Kropotkin became anarchists. Neither played a militant anarchist role inside Russia at any time. Up to the time of the 1917 Revolution, only a few copies of short extracts from their writings had appeared in Russia, clandestinely and with great difficulty. There was nothing anarchist in the social, socialist, and revolutionary education of the Russians. On the contrary, as Voline told us, “advanced Russian youth were reading literature which always presented socialism in a statist form.” People’s minds were soaked in ideas of government, having been contaminated by German social democracy.

The anarchists “were a tiny handful of men without influence,” at the most a few thousand. Voline reported that their movement was “still far too small to have any immediate, concrete effect on events.” Moreover, most of them were individualist intellectuals not much involved in the working-class movement. Voline was an exception, as was Nestor Makhno, who could move the hearts of the masses in his native Ukraine. In Makhno’s memoirs he passed the severe judgment that “Russian anarchism lagged behind events or even functioned completely outside them.”

However, this judgment seems to be less than fair. The anarchists played a far from negligible part in events between the February and October revolutions. Trotsky admitted this more than once in his *History of the Russian Revolution*. “Brave” and “active,” though few in numbers, they were a principled opposition in the Constituent Assembly at a time when the Bolsheviks had not yet turned anti-parliamentary. They put out the call “all power to the soviets” long before Lenin’s party did so. They inspired the movement for the spontaneous socialization of housing, often against the will of the Bolsheviks. Anarcho-syndicalist activists played a part in inducing workers to take over the factories, even before October.

During the revolutionary days that brought Kerensky’s bourgeois republic to an end, the anarchists were in the forefront of the military struggle, especially in the Dvinsk regiment commanded by old libertarians like Grachoff and Fedotoff. This force dislodged the counter-revolutionary “cadets.” Aided by his detachment, the anarchist Gelezniakov disbanded the Constituent Assembly: the Bolsheviks only ratified the accomplished fact. Many partisan detachments were formed or led by anarchists (Mokrooussoff, Cherniak, and others), and fought unremittingly against the White armies between 1918 and 1920.

Scarcely a major city was without an anarchist or anarcho-syndicalist group, spreading a relatively large amount of printed matter — papers, periodicals, leaflets, pamphlets, and books. There were two weeklies in Petrograd and a daily in Moscow, each appearing in 25,000 copies. Anarchist sympathizers increased as the Revolution deepened and then moved away from the masses.

The French captain Jacques Sadoul, on a mission in Russia, wrote in a report dated April 6, 1918: "The anarchist party is the most active, the most militant of the opposition groups and probably the most popular... The Bolsheviks are anxious." At the end of 1918, according to Voline, "this influence became so great that the Bolsheviks, who could not accept criticism, still less opposition, became seriously disturbed." Voline reports that for the Bolshevik authorities "it was equivalent... to suicide to tolerate anarchist propaganda. They did their best first to prevent, and then to forbid, any manifestation of libertarian ideas and finally suppressed them by brute force."

The Bolshevik government "began by forcibly closing the offices of libertarian organizations, and forbidding the anarchists from taking part in any propaganda or activity." In Moscow on the night of April 12, 1918, detachments of Red Guards, armed to the teeth, took over by surprise twenty-five houses occupied by the anarchists. The latter, thinking that they were being attacked by White Guards, replied with gunfire. According to Voline, the authorities soon went on to "more violent measures: imprisonment, outlawing, and execution." "For four years this conflict was to keep the Bolshevik authorities on their toes... until the libertarian trend was finally crushed by military measures (at the end of 1921)."

The liquidation of the anarchists was all the easier since they had divided into two factions, one of which refused to be tamed while the other allowed itself to be domesticated. The latter regarded "historical necessity" as justification for making a gesture of loyalty to the regime and, at last temporarily, approving its dictatorial actions. They considered a victorious end to the civil war and the crushing of the counter-revolution to be the first necessities.

The more intransigent anarchists regarded this as a short-sighted tactic. For the counter-revolutionary movements were being fed by the bureaucratic impotence of the government apparatus and the disillusionment and discontent of the people. Moreover, the authorities ended up by making no distinction between the active wing of the libertarian revolution which was disputing its methods of control, and the criminal activities of its right-wing adversaries. To accept dictatorship and terror was a suicidal policy for the anarchists who were themselves to become its victims. Finally, the conversion of the so-called soviet anarchists made the crushing of those other, irreconcilable, ones easier, for they were treated as "false" anarchists, irresponsible and unrealistic dreamers, stupid muddlers, madmen, sowers of division, and, finally, counterrevolutionary bandits.

Victor Serge was the most brilliant, and therefore considered the most authoritative, of the converted anarchists. He worked for the regime and published a pamphlet in French which attempted to defend it against anarchist criticism. The book he wrote later, *L'An I de la Revolution Russe*, is largely a justification of the liquidation of the soviets by Bolshevism. The Party — or rather its elite leadership — is presented as the brains of the working class. It is up to the duly selected leader of the vanguard to discover what the proletariat can and must do. Without them, the masses organized in soviets would be no more than "a sprinkling of men with confused aspirations shot through with gleams of intelligence."

Victor Serge was certainly too clear-minded to have any illusions about the real nature of the central Soviet power. But this power was still haloed with the prestige of the first victorious proletarian revolution; it was loathed by world counter-revolution; and that was one of the reasons — the most honorable — why Serge and many other revolutionaries saw fit to put a padlock on their tongues. In the summer of 1921 the anarchist Gaston Leval came to Moscow in the Spanish delegation to the Third Congress of the Communist International. In private, Serge confided to him that "the Communist Party no longer practices the dictatorship of the proletariat but dicta-

torship over the proletariat.” Returning to France, Leval published articles in *Le Libertaire* using well documented facts, and placing side by side what Victor Serge had told him confidentially and his public statements, which he described as “conscious lies.” In *Living My Life*, the great American anarchist Emma Goldman was no kinder to Victor Serge, whom she had seen in action in Moscow.

The Makhnovtchina

It had been relatively easy to liquidate the small, weak nuclei of anarchists in the cities, but things were different in the Ukraine, where the peasant Nestor Makhno had built up a strong rural anarchist organization, both economic and military. Makhno was born of poor Ukrainian peasants and was twenty years old in 1919. As a child, he had seen the 1905 Revolution and later became an anarchist. The Czarist regime sentenced him to death, commuted to eight years’ imprisonment, which was spent, more often than not in irons, in Boutirki prison, the only school he was ever to attend. He filled at least some of the gaps in his education with the help of a fellow-prisoner, Peter Archinoff.

Immediately after the October Revolution, Makhno took the initiative in organizing masses of peasants into an autonomous region, a roughly circular area 480 by 400 miles, with seven million inhabitants. Its southern end reached the Sea of Azov at the port of Berdiansk, and it was centered in Gulyai-Polye, a large town of 20,000 to 30,000 people. This was a traditionally rebellious region which had seen violent disturbances in 1905.

The story began when the German and Austrian armies of occupation imposed a right-wing regime which hastened to return to their former owners the lands which had been seized by revolutionary peasants. The land workers put up an armed defense of their new conquests. They resisted reaction but also the untimely intrusion of Bolshevik commissars, and their excessive levies. This vast *jacquerie*³ was inspired by a “lover of justice,” a sort of anarchist Robin Hood called “Father” Makhno by the peasants. His first feat of arms was the capture of Gulyai-Polye in mid-September 1918. The armistice of November 11, however, led to the withdrawal of the Austro-German occupation forces, and gave Makhno a unique opportunity to build up reserves of arms and supplies.

For the first time in history, the principles of libertarian communism were applied in the liberated Ukraine, and self-management was put into force as far as possible in the circumstances of the civil war. Peasants united in “communes” or “free-work soviets,” and communally tilled the land for which they had fought with the former owners. These groups respected the principles of equality and fraternity. Each man, woman, or child had to work in proportion to his or her strength, and comrades elected to temporary managerial functions subsequently returned to their regular work alongside the other members of the communes.

Each soviet was simply the executive of the will of the peasants in the locality from which it had been elected. Production units were federated into districts, and districts into regions. The soviets were integrated into a general economic system based on social equality; they were to be independent of any political party. No politician was to dictate his will to them under cover of soviet power. Members had to be authentic workers at the service of the laboring masses.

³ *Jacquerie* was the name given, to the French peasant revolt of 1358 (from *racques*, the nickname of the French peasant). (Translator’s note.)

When the Makhnovist partisans moved into an area they put up posters reading: "The freedom of the workers and peasants is their own, and not subject to any restriction. It is up to the workers and peasants themselves to act, to organize themselves, to agree among themselves in all aspects of their lives, as they themselves see fit and desire... The Makhnovists can do no more than give aid and counsel... In no circumstances can they, nor do they wish to, govern."

When, in 1920, Makhno's men were brought to negotiate with the Bolsheviks, they did so as their equals, and concluded an ephemeral agreement with them, to which they insisted that the following appendix be added: "In the area where the Makhnovist army is operating the worker and peasant population shall create its own free institutions for economic and political self-administration; these institutions shall be autonomous and linked federally by agreements with the governing organs of the Soviet Republics." The Bolshevik negotiators were staggered and separated the appendix from the agreement in order to refer it to Moscow where of course, it was, considered "absolutely inadmissible."

One of the relative weaknesses of the Makhnovist movement was its lack of libertarian intellectuals, but it did receive some intermittent aid from outside. This came first from Kharkov and Kursk where the anarchists, inspired by Voline, had in 1918 formed a union called *Nabat* (the tocsin). In 1919 they held a congress at which they declared themselves "categorically and definitely opposed to any form of participation in the soviets, which have become purely political bodies, organized on an authoritarian, centralized, statist basis." The Bolshevik government regarded this statement as a declaration of war and the *Nabat* was forced to give up all its activities. Later, in July, Voline got through to Makhno's headquarters and joined with Peter Archinoff to take charge of the cultural and educational side of the movement. He presided at the congress held in October at Alexandrovsk, where the "General Theses" setting out the doctrine of the "free soviets" were adopted.

Peasant and partisan delegates took part in these congresses. In fact, the civil organization was an extension of a peasant army of insurrection, practicing guerrilla tactics. This army was remarkably mobile, covering as much as 160 miles in a day, thanks not only to its cavalry but also to its infantry, which traveled in light horse-drawn carts with springs. This army was organized on a specifically libertarian, voluntary basis. The elective principle was applied at all levels and discipline freely agreed to: the rules of the latter were drawn up by commissions of partisans, then validated by general assemblies, and were strictly observed by all.

Makhno's *franc-tireurs* gave the White armies of intervention plenty of trouble. The units of Bolshevik Red Guards, for their part, were not very effective. They fought only along the railways and never went far from their armored trains, to which they withdrew at the first reverse, sometimes without taking on board all their own combatants. This did not give much confidence to the peasants who were short of arms and isolated in their villages and so would have been at the mercy of the counter-revolutionaries. Archinoff, the historian of the Makhnovtchina, wrote that "the honor of destroying Denikin's counter-revolution in the autumn of 1919 is principally due to the anarchist insurgents."

But after the units of Red Guards had been absorbed into the Red Army, Makhno persisted in refusing to place his army under the supreme command of the Red Army chief, Trotsky. That great revolutionary therefore believed it necessary to turn upon the insurrectionary movement. On June 4, 1919, he drafted an order banning the forthcoming Makhnovist congress, accusing them of standing out against Soviet power in the Ukraine. He characterized participation in the congress as an act of "high treason" and called for the arrest of the delegates. He refused to give

arms to Makhno's partisans, failing in his duty of assisting them, and subsequently accused them of "betrayal" and of allowing themselves to be beaten by the White troupe. The same procedure was followed eighteen years later by the Spanish Stalinists against the anarchist brigades.

The two armies, however, came to an agreement again, on two occasions, when the extreme danger caused by the intervention required them to act together. This occurred first in March 1919, against Denikin, the second during the summer and autumn of 1920, before the menace of the White forces of Wrangel which were finally destroyed by Makhno. But as soon as the supreme danger was past the Red Army returned to military operations against the partisans of Makhno, who returned blow for blow.

At the end of November 1920 those in power went so far as to prepare an ambush. The Bolsheviks invited the officers of the Crimean Makhnovist army to take part in a military council. There they were immediately arrested by the Cheka, the political police, and shot while their partisans were disarmed. At the same time a regular offensive was launched against Gulyai-Polye. The increasingly unequal struggle between libertarians and authoritarians continued for another nine months. In the end, however, overcome by more numerous and better equipped forces, Makhno had to give up the struggle. He managed to take refuge in Rumania in August 1921, and later reached Paris, where he died much later of disease and poverty. This was the end of the epic story of the Makhnovtchina. According to Peter Archinoff, it was the prototype of an independent movement of the working masses and hence a source of future inspiration for the workers of the world.

Kronstadt

In February-March 1921, the Petrograd workers and the sailors of the Kronstadt fortress were driven to revolt, the aspirations which inspired them being very similar to those of the Makhnovist revolutionary peasants.

The material conditions of urban workers had become intolerable through lack of foodstuffs, fuel, and transport, and any expression of discontent was being crushed by a more and more dictatorial and totalitarian regime. At the end of February strikes broke out in Petrograd, Moscow, and several other large industrial centers. The workers demanded bread and liberty; they marched from one factory to another, closing them down, attracting new contingents of workers into their demonstrations. The authorities replied with gunfire, and the Petrograd workers in turn by a protest meeting attended by 10,000 workers. Kronstadt was an island naval base forty-eight miles from Petrograd in the Gulf of Finland which was frozen during the winter. It was populated by sailors and several thousand workers employed in the naval arsenals. The Kronstadt sailors had been in the vanguard of the revolutionary events of 1905 and 1917. As Trotsky put it, they had been the "pride and glory of the Russian Revolution." The civilian inhabitants of Kronstadt had formed a free commune, relatively independent of the authorities. In the center of the fortress an enormous public square served as a popular forum holding as many as 30,000 persons.

In 1921 the sailors certainly did not have the same revolutionary makeup and the same personnel as in 1917; they had been drawn from the peasantry far more than their predecessors; but the militant spirit had remained and as a result of their earlier performance they retained the right to take an active part in workers' meetings in Petrograd. When the workers of the former capital went on strike they sent emissaries who were driven back by the forces of order. During two

mass meetings held in the main square they took up as their own the demands of the strikers. Sixteen thousand sailors, workers, and soldiers attended the second meeting held on March 1, as did the head of state, Kalinin, president of the central executive. In spite of his presence they passed a resolution demanding that the workers, Red soldiers, and sailors of Petrograd, Kronstadt, and the Petrograd province be called together during the next ten days in a conference independent of the political parties. They also called for the abolition of "political officers," asked that no political party should have privileges, and that the Communist shock detachments in the army and "Communist guards" in the factories should be disbanded.

It was indeed the monopoly of power of the governing party which they were attacking. The Kronstadt rebels dared to call this monopoly an "usurpation." Let the angry sailors speak for themselves, as we skim through the pages of the official journal of this new commune, the *Izvestia* of Kronstadt. According to them, once it had seized power the Communist Party had only one concern: to keep it by fair means or foul. It had lost contact with the masses, and proved its inability to get the country out of a state of general collapse. It had become bureaucratic and lost the confidence of the workers. The soviets, having lost their real power, had been meddled with, taken over, and manipulated, the trade unions were being made instruments of the State. An omnipotent police apparatus weighed on the people, enforcing its laws by gunfire and the use of terror. Economic life had become not the promised socialism, based on free labor, but a harsh state capitalism. The workers were simply wage earners under this national trust, exploited just as before. The irreverent men of Kronstadt went so far as to express doubt about the infallibility of the supreme leaders of the revolution. They mocked Trotsky, and even Lenin, irreverently. Their immediate demands were the restoration of all freedoms and free elections to all the organs of soviet democracy, but beyond this they were looking to a more distant objective with a clearly anarchist content: a "third revolution."

The rebels did, however, intend to keep within the framework of the Revolution and undertook to watch over the achievements of the social revolution. They proclaimed that they had nothing in common with those who would have wished to "return to the knout of Czarism," and though they did not conceal their intention of depriving the "Communists" of power, this was not to be for the purpose of "returning the workers and peasants to slavery." Moreover, they did not cut off all possibility of cooperation with the regime, still hoping "to be able to find a common language." Finally, the freedom of expression they were demanding was not to be for just anybody, but only for sincere believers in the Revolution: anarchists and "left socialists" (a formula which would exclude social democrats or Mensheviks).

The audacity of Kronstadt was much more than a Lenin or a Trotsky could endure. The Bolshevik leaders had once and for all identified the Revolution with the Communist Party, and anything which went against this myth must, in their eyes, appear as "counter-revolutionary." They saw the whole of Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy in danger. Kronstadt frightened them the more, since they were governing in the name of the proletariat and, suddenly, their authority was being disputed by a movement which they knew to be authentically proletarian. Lenin, moreover, held the rather simplistic idea that a Czarist restoration was the only alternative to the dictatorship of his own party. The statesmen of the Kremlin in 1921 argued in the same way as those, much later, in the autumn of 1956: Kronstadt was the forerunner of Budapest.

Trotsky, the man with the "iron fist," undertook to be personally responsible for the repression. "If you persist, you will be shot down from cover like partridges," he announced to the "mutineers." The sailors were treated as "White Guardists," accomplices of the interventionist Western powers,

and of the “Paris Bourse.” They were to be reduced to submission by force of arms. It was in vain that the anarchists Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, who had found asylum in the fatherland of the workers after being deported from the United States, sent a pathetic letter to Zinoviev, insisting that the use of force would do “incalculable damage to the social revolution” and adjuring the “Bolshevik comrades” to settle the conflict through fraternal negotiation. The Petrograd workers could not come to the aid of Kronstadt because they were already terrorized, and subject to martial law.

An expeditionary force was set up composed of carefully hand-picked troops, for many Red soldiers were unwilling to fire on their class brothers. This force was put under the command of a former Czarist officer, the future Marshall Tukachevsky. The bombardment of the fortress began on March 7. Under the heading “Let the world know!” the besieged inhabitants launched a last appeal: “May the blood of the innocent be on the head of the Communists, mad, drunk and enraged with power. Long live the power of the soviets!” The attacking force moved across the frozen Gulf of Finland on March 18 and quelled the “rebellion” in an orgy of killing.

The anarchists had played no part in this affair. However, the revolutionary committee of Kronstadt had invited two libertarians to join it: Yarchouk (the founder of the Kronstadt soviet of 1917) and Voline; in vain, for they were at the time imprisoned by the Bolsheviks. Ida Mett, historian of the Kronstadt revolt (in *La Commune de Cronstadt*), commented that “the anarchist influence was brought to bear only to the extent to which anarchism itself propagated the idea of workers’ democracy.” The anarchists did not play any direct part in events, but they associated themselves with them. Voline later wrote: “Kronstadt was the first entirely independent attempt of the people to free themselves of all control and carry out the social revolution: this attempt was made directly,... by the working masses themselves, without ‘political shepherds,’ without ‘leaders,’ or ‘tutors.’ Alexander Berkman added: “Kronstadt blew sky high the myth of the proletarian State; it proved that the dictatorship of the Communist Party and the Revolution were really incompatible.”

Anarchism Living and Dead

Although the anarchists played no direct part in the Kronstadt rising, the regime took advantage of crushing it to make an end of an ideology which continued to frighten them. A few weeks earlier, on February 8, the aged Kropotkin had died on Russian soil, and his remains had been given an imposing funeral, which was followed by an immense convoy of about 100,000 people. Over the heads of the crowd, among the red flags, one could see the black banners of the anarchist groups inscribed in letters of fire: “Where there is authority there is no freedom.” According to Kropotkin’s biographers, this was “the last great demonstration against Bolshevik tyranny, and many took part more to demand freedom than to praise the great anarchist.”

Hundreds of anarchists were arrested after Kronstadt, and only a few months later, the libertarian Fanny Baron and eight of her comrades were shot in the cellars of the Cheka prison in Moscow. Militant anarchism had received a fatal blow. But outside Russia, the anarchists who had lived through the Russian Revolution undertook an enormous labor of criticism and doctrinal revision which reinvigorated libertarian thought and made it more concrete. As early as September 1920, the congress of the Confederation of Anarchist Organizations of the Ukraine, Nabat, had categorically rejected the expression “dictatorship of the proletariat,” seeing that it

led inevitably to dictatorship over the masses by that fraction of the proletariat entrenched in the Party, by officials, and a handful of leaders. Just before he died Kropotkin had issued a "Message to the Workers of the West" in which he sorrowfully denounced the rise of a "formidable bureaucracy": "It seems to me that this attempt to build a communist republic on the basis of a strongly centralized state, under the iron law of the dictatorship of one party, has ended in a terrible fiasco. Russia teaches us how not to impose communism."

A pathetic appeal from the Russian anarcho-syndicalists to the world proletariat was published in the January 7–14, 1921, issue of the French journal *Le Libertaire*: "Comrades, put an end to the domination of your bourgeoisie just as we have done here. But do not repeat our errors; do not let state communism establish itself in your countries!" In 1920 the German anarchist, Rudolf Rocker, who later lived and died in the United States, wrote *Die Bankrotte des Russischen Staatskommunismus* (The Bankruptcy of State Communism), which appeared in 1921. This was the first analysis to be made of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution. In his view the famous "dictatorship of the proletariat" was not the expression of the will of a single class, but the dictatorship of a party pretending to speak in the name of a class and kept in power by force of bayonets. "Under the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia a new class has developed, the 'commissarocracy,' which oppresses the broad masses just as much as the old regime used to do." By systematically subordinating all the factors in social life to an all-powerful government endowed with every prerogative, "one could not fail to end up with the hierarchy of officials which proved fatal to the development of the Russian Revolution." "Not only did the Bolsheviks borrow the state apparatus from the previous society, but they have given it an all-embracing power which no other government arrogates to itself."

In June 1922 the group of Russian anarchists exiled in Germany published a revealing little book under the names of A. Gorielik, A. Komoff, and Voline: *Repression de l'Anarchisme en Russie Sovietique* (The Repression of Anarchism in Soviet Russia). Voline made a French translation which appeared at the beginning of 1923. It contained an alphabetical list of the martyrs of Russian anarchism. In 1921–1922, Alexander Berkman, and in 1922–1923, Emma Goldman published a succession of pamphlets on the dramatic events which they had witnessed in Russia.

In their turn, Peter Archinoff and Nestor Makhno himself, escaped Makhnovites who had taken refuge in the West, published their evidence.

The two great libertarian classics on the Russian Revolution, *The Guillotine at Work: Twenty Years of Terror in Russia* by G. P. Maximoff and *The Unknown Revolution* by Voline, came much later, during the Second World War, and were written with the maturity of thought made possible by the passage of the years.

For Maximoff, whose account appeared in America, the lessons of the past brought to him a sure expectation of a better future. The new ruling class in the U.S.S.R. cannot and will not be permanent, and it will be succeeded by libertarian socialism. Objective conditions are driving this development forward: "Is it conceivable... that the workers might desire the return of the capitalists to their enterprises? Never! for they are rebelling specifically against exploitation by the State and its bureaucrats." What the workers desire is to replace this authoritarian management of production with their own factory councils, and to unite these councils into one vast national federation. What they desire is workers' self-management. In the same way, the peasants have understood that there can be no question of returning to an individualist economy. Collective agriculture is the only solution, together with the collaboration of the rural collectives

with the factory councils and trade unions: in short, the further development of the program of the October Revolution in complete freedom.

Voline strongly asserted that any experiment on the Russian model could only lead to “state capitalism based on an odious exploitation of the masses,” the “worst form of capitalism and one which has absolutely nothing to do with the progress of humanity toward a socialist society.” It could do nothing but promote “the dictatorship of a single party which leads unavoidably to the repression of all freedom of speech, press, organization, and action, even for revolutionary tendencies, with the sole exception of the party in power,” and to a “social inquisition” which suffocates “the very breath of the Revolution.” Voline went on to maintain that Stalin “did not fall from the moon.” Stalin and Stalinism are, in his view, the logical consequence of the authoritarian system founded and established between 1918 and 1921. “This is the lesson the world must learn from the tremendous and decisive Bolshevik experiment: a lesson which gives powerful support to the libertarian thesis and which events will soon make clear to the understanding of all those who grieve, suffer, think, and struggle.”

Anarchism in the Italian Factory Councils

The Italian anarchists followed the example of events in Russia, and went along with the partisans of soviet power in the period immediately after the Great War. The Russian Revolution had been received with deep sympathy by the Italian workers, especially by their vanguard, the metal workers of the northern part of the country. On February 20, 1919, the Italian Federation of Metal Workers (FIOM) won a contract providing for the election of “internal commissions” in the factories. They subsequently tried to transform these organs of workers’ representation into factory councils with a managerial function, by conducting a series of strikes and occupations of the factories.

The last of these, at the end of August 1920, originated in a lockout by employers. The metal workers as a whole decided to continue production on their own. They tried persuasion and constraint alternately, but failed to win the cooperation of the engineers and supervisory personnel. The management of the factories had, therefore, to be conducted by technical and administrative workers’ committees. Self-management went quite a long way: in the early period assistance was obtained from the banks, but when it was withdrawn the self-management system issued its own money to pay the workers’ wages. Very strict self-discipline was required, the use of alcoholic beverages forbidden, and armed patrols were organized for self-defence. Very close solidarity was established between the factories under self-management. Ores and coal were put into a common pool, and shared out equitably.

The reformist wing of the trade unions opted for compromise with the employers. After a few weeks of managerial occupation, the workers had to leave the factories in exchange for a promise to extend workers’ control, a promise which was not kept. The revolutionary left wing, composed of anarchists and left socialists, cried treason, in vain.

This left wing had a theory, a spokesman, and a publication. The weekly *L’Ordine Nuovo* (The New Order) first appeared in Turin on May 1, 1919. It was edited by a left socialist, Antonio Gramsci, assisted by a professor of philosophy at Turin University with anarchist ideas, writing under the pseudonym of Carlo Petri, and also of a whole nucleus of Turin libertarians. In the factories, the *Ordine Nuovo* group was supported by a number of people, especially the anarcho-syndicalist militants of the metal trades, Pietro Ferrero and Maurizio Garino. The manifesto of *Ordine Nuovo* was signed by socialists and libertarians together, agreeing to regard the factory councils as “organs suited to future communist management of both the individual factory and the whole society.”

Ordine Nuovo tended to replace traditional trade unionism by the structure of factory councils. It was not entirely hostile to trade unions, which it regarded as the “strong backbone of the great proletarian body.” However, in the style of Malatesta in 1907, it was critical of the decadence of a bureaucratic and reformist trade-union movement, which had become an integral part of capitalist society; it denounced the inability of the trade unions to act as instruments of the proletarian revolution.

On the other hand, *Ordine Nuovo* attributed every virtue to the factory councils. It regarded them as the means of unifying the working class, the only organ which could raise the workers above the special interests of the different trades and link the “organized” with the “unorganized.” It gave the councils credit for generating a producers’ psychology, preparing the workers for self-management. Thanks to them the conquest of the factory became a concrete prospect for the lowliest worker, within his reach. The councils were regarded as a prefiguration of socialist society.

The Italian anarchists were of a more realistic and less verbose turn of mind than Antonio Gramsci, and sometimes indulged in ironic comment on the “thaumaturgical” excesses of the sermons in favor of factor’: councils. Of course they were aware of their merits, but stopped short of hyperbole. Gramsci denounced the reformism of the trade unions, not without reason, but the anarchosindicalists pointed out that in a non-revolutionary period the factory councils, too, could degenerate into organs of class collaboration. Those most concerned with trade unionism also thought it unjust that *Ordine Nuovo* indiscriminately condemned not only reformist trade unionism but the revolutionary trade unionism of their center, the Italian Syndicalist Union.¹

Lastly, and most important, the anarchists were somewhat uneasy about the ambiguous and contradictory interpretation which *Ordine Nuovo* put on the prototype of the factory councils, the soviets. Certainly Gramsci often used the term “libertarian” in his writings, and had crossed swords with the inveterate authoritarian Angelo Tasca, who propounded an undemocratic concept of the “dictatorship of the proletariat” which would reduce the factory councils to mere instruments of the Communist Party, and who even attacked Gramsci’s thinking as “Proudhonian.” Gramsci did not know enough about events in Russia to distinguish between the free soviets of the early months of the revolution and the tamed soviets of the Bolshevik State. This led him to use ambiguous formulations. He saw the factory council as the “model of the proletarian State,” which he expected to be incorporated into a world system: the Communist International. He thought he could reconcile Bolshevism with the withering away of the State and a democratic interpretation of the “dictatorship of the proletariat.”

The Italian anarchists had begun by welcoming the Russian soviets with uncritical enthusiasm. On June 1, 1919, Camillo Berneri, one of their number, had published an article entitled “Auto-Democracy” hailing the Bolshevik regime as “the most practical experiment in integral democracy on the largest scale yet attempted,” and “the antithesis of centralizing state socialism.”

However, a year later, at the congress of the Italian Anarchist Union, Maurizio Garino was talking quite differently: the soviets which had been set up in Russia by the Bolsheviks were materially different from workers’ self-management as conceived by the anarchists. They formed the “basis of a new State, inevitably centralized and authoritarian.”

The Italian anarchists and the friends of Gramsci were subsequently to follow divergent paths. The latter at first maintained that the Socialist Party, like the trade unions, was an organization integrated into the bourgeois system and that it was, consequently, neither necessary nor desirable to support it. They then made an “exception” for the communist groups within the Socialist

¹ Debate among anarcho-sindicalists on the relative merits of factory councils and trade unions was, moreover, nothing new; it had recently divided the anarchists in Russia and even caused a split in the ranks of the editorial team in charge of the libertarian paper *Golos Truda*, some members remaining faithful to classical syndicalism while others, including G. P. Maximoff, opted for the councils.

Party. After the split at Livorno on January 21, 1921, these groups formed the Italian Communist Party, affiliated with the Communist International.

The Italian libertarians, for their part, had to abandon some of their illusions and pay more attention to a prophetic letter written to them by Malatesta as early as the summer of 1919. This warned them against “a new government which has set itself up [in Russia] above the Revolution in order to bridle it and subject it to the purposes of a particular party... or rather the leaders of a party.” The old revolutionary argued prophetically that it was a dictatorship, with its decrees, its penal sanctions, its executive agents, and, above all, its armed forces which have served to defend the Revolution against its external enemies, but tomorrow will serve to impose the will of the dictators on the workers, to check the course of the Revolution, to consolidate newly established interests, and to defend a newly privileged class against the masses. Lenin, Trotsky, and their companions are certainly sincere revolutionaries, but they are preparing the governmental cadres which will enable their successors to profit by the Revolution and kill it. They will be the first victims of their own methods.

Two years later, the Italian Anarchist Union met in congress at Ancona on November 2–4, 1921, and refused to recognize the Russian government as a representative of the Revolution, instead denouncing it as “the main enemy of the Revolution,” “the oppressor and exploiter of the proletariat in whose name it pretends to exercise authority.” And the libertarian writer Luigi Fabbri in the same year concluded that “a critical study of the Russian Revolution is of immense importance... because the Western revolutionaries can direct their actions in such a way as to avoid the errors which have been brought to light by the Russian experience.”

Anarchism in the Spanish Revolution

The Soviet Mirage

The time lag between subjective awareness and objective reality is a constant in history. The Russian anarchists and those who witnessed the Russian drama drew a lesson as early as 1920 which only became known, admitted, and shared years later. The first proletarian revolution in triumph over a sixth of the globe had such prestige and glitter that the working-class movement long remained hypnotized by so imposing an example. "Councils" in the image of the Russian soviets sprang up all over the place, not only in Italy, as we have seen, but in Germany, Austria, and Hungary. In Germany the system of councils was the essential item in the program of the Spartacus League of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

In 1919 the president of the Bavarian Republic, Kurt Eisner, was assassinated in Munich. A Soviet Republic was then proclaimed under the leadership of the libertarian writer Gustav Landauer, who was in turn assassinated by the counter-revolution. His friend and companion in arms, the anarchist poet Erich Muhsam, composed a "Rate-Marseillaise" (Marseillaise of the Councils), in which the workers were called to arms not to form battalions but councils on the model of those of Russia and Hungary, and thus to make an end of the centuries-old world of slavery.

However, in the spring of 1920 a German opposition group advocating *Rate-Kommunismus* (Communism of the councils) left the Communist Party to form a German Communist Workers Party (KAPD).¹ The idea of councils inspired a similar group in Holland led by Hermann Gorter and Anton Pannekoek. During a lively polemic with Lenin, the former was not afraid to reply, in pure libertarian style, to the infallible leader of the Russian Revolution: "We are still looking for real leaders who will not seek to dominate the masses and will not betray them. As long as we do not have them we want everything to be done from the bottom upward and by the dictatorship of the masses over themselves. If I have a mountain guide and he leads me over a precipice, I prefer to do without." Pannekoek proclaimed that the councils were a form of self-government which would replace the forms of government of the old world; just like Gramsci he could see no difference between the latter and "Bolshevik dictatorship."

In many places, especially Bavaria, Germany, and Holland, the anarchists played a positive part in the practical and theoretical development of the system of councils.

Similarly, in Spain the anarcho-syndicalists were dazzled by the October Revolution. The Madrid congress of the CNT² (December 10–20, 1919), adopted a statement which stated that "the epic of the Russian people has electrified the world proletariat." By acclamation, "without reticence, as a beauty gives herself to the man she loves," the congress voted provisionally to join the Communist International because of its revolutionary character, expressing the hope, however, that a universal workers' congress would be called to determine the basis upon which

¹ In April 1922, the KAPD set up a "Communist Workers International" with Dutch and Belgian opposition groups.

² The Spanish National Confederation of Labor.

a true workers' international could be built. A few timid voices of dissent were heard, however: the Russian Revolution was a "political" revolution and did not incorporate the libertarian ideal. The congress took no notice and decided to send a delegation to the Second Congress of the Third International which opened in Moscow on July 15, 1920.

By then, however, the love match was already on the way to breaking up. The delegate representing Spanish anarcho-syndicalism was pressed to take part in establishing an international revolutionary trade-union center, but he jibed when presented with a text which referred to the "conquest of political power," "the dictatorship of the proletariat," and proposed an organic relationship between the trade unions and the communist parties which thinly disguised a relationship of subordination of the former to the latter. In the forthcoming meetings of the Communist International the trade-union organizations of the different nations would be represented by the delegates of the communist parties of their respective countries; and the projected Red Trade-Union International would be openly controlled by the Communist International and its national sections. Angel Pestana, the Spanish spokesman, set forth the libertarian conception of the social revolution and exclaimed: "The revolution is not, and cannot be, the work of a party. The most a party can do is to foment a *coup d'etat*. But a *coup d'etat* is not a revolution." He concluded: "You tell us that the revolution cannot take place without a communist party and that without the conquest of political power emancipation is not possible, and that without dictatorship one cannot destroy the bourgeoisie: all these assertions are absolutely gratuitous."

In view of the doubts expressed by the CNT delegate, the communists made a show of adjusting the resolution with regard to the "dictatorship of the proletariat." The Russian trade-union leader Lozovsky nevertheless ultimately published the text in its original form without the modifications introduced by Pestana, but bearing his signature. From the rostrum Trotsky had laid into the Spanish delegate for nearly an hour but the president declared the debate closed when Pestana asked for time to reply to these attacks.

Pestana spent several months in Moscow and left Russia on September 6, 1920, profoundly disillusioned by all that he had observed during that time. In an account of a subsequent visit to Berlin, Rudolf Rocker described Pestana as being like a man "saved from a shipwreck." He had not the heart to tell his Spanish comrades the truth. It seemed to him like "murder" to destroy the immense hope which the Russian Revolution had raised in them. As soon as he crossed the Spanish border he was thrown into prison and was thus spared the painful duty of being the first to speak.

During the summer of 1921 a different delegation from the CNT took part in the founding congress of the Red Trade-Union International. Among the CNT delegates there were young disciples of Russian Bolshevism, such as Joaquin Maurin and Andres Nin, but there was also a French anarchist, Gaston Leval, who had a cool head. He took the risk of being accused of "playing the game of the bourgeoisie" and "helping the counter-revolution" rather than keep silent. Not to tell the masses that what had failed in Russia was not the Revolution, but the State, and not "to show them behind the living Revolution, the State which was paralyzing and killing it," would have been worse than silence. He used these terms, in *Le Libertaire* in November 1921. He thought that "any honest and loyal collaboration" with the Bolsheviks had become impossible and, on his return to Spain, recommended to the CNT that it withdraw from the Third International and its bogus trade union affiliate.

Having been given this lead, Pestana decided to publish his first report and, subsequently, extend it by a second in which he would reveal the entire truth about Bolshevism:

The principles of the Communist Party are exactly the opposite of those which it was affirming and proclaiming during the first hours of the Revolution. The principles, methods, and final objectives of the Communist Party are diametrically opposed to those of the Russian Revolution... As soon as the Communist Party had obtained absolute power, it decreed that anyone who did not think as a communist (that is, according to its own definition) had no right to think at all... The Communist Party has denied to the Russian proletariat all the sacred rights which the Revolution had conferred upon it.

Pestana, further, cast doubt on the validity of the Communist International: a simple extension of the Russian Communist Party, it could not represent the Revolution in the eyes of the world proletariat.

The national congress of the CNT held at Saragossa in June 1922 received this report and decided to withdraw from the trade union front, the Red Trade-Union International. It was also decided to send delegates to an international anarcho-syndicalist conference held in Berlin in December, from which resulted a "Workers' International Association." This was not a real international, since aside from the important Spanish group, it had the support of very small numbers in other countries.³

From the time of this breach Moscow bore an inveterate hatred for Spanish anarchism. Joaquin Maurin and Andres Nin were disowned by the CNT and left it to found the Spanish Communist Party. In May 1924 Maurin published a pamphlet declaring war to the death on his former comrades: "The complete elimination of anarchism is a difficult task in a country in which the workers' movement bears the mark of fifty years of anarchist propaganda. *But we shall get them.*" A threat which was later carried out.

The Anarchist Tradition in Spain

The Spanish anarchists had thus reamed the lesson of the Russian Revolution very early, and this played a part in inspiring them to prepare an antinomian revolution. The degeneration of authoritarian communism increased their determination to bring about the victory of a libertarian form of communism. They had been cruelly disappointed in the Soviet mirage and, in the words of Diego Abad de Santillan, saw in anarchism "the last hope of renewal during this somber period."

The basis for a libertarian revolution was pretty well laid in the consciousness of the popular masses and in the thinking of libertarian theoreticians. According to Jose Peirats, anarcho-syndicalism was, "because of its psychology, its temperament, and its reactions, the most Spanish thing in all Spain." It was the double product of a compound development. It suited both the backward state of a poorly developed country, in which rural living conditions remained archaic, and also the growth of a modern proletariat born of industrialization in certain areas. The unique feature of Spanish anarchism was a strange mixture of past and future. The symbiosis between these two tendencies was far from perfect.

³ In France, for example, the trade unionists who followed Pierre Besnard were expelled from the *Confederation Generale du Travail Unitaire* (obedient to the Communists) and, in 1924, founded the *Confederation Genlrle du Travail Syndicaliste Revolutionnaire*.

In 1918, the CNT had more than a million trade-union members. In the industrial field it was strong in Catalonia, and rather less so in Madrid and Valencia;⁴ but it also had deep roots in the countryside, among the poor peasants who preserved a tradition of village communalism, tinged with local patriotism and a cooperative spirit. In 1898 the author Joaquin Costa had described the survivals of this agrarian collectivism. Many villages still had common property from which they allocated plots to the landless, or which they used together with other villages for pasturage or other communal purposes. In the region of large-scale landownership, in the south, the agricultural day laborers preferred socialization to the division of the land.

Moreover, many decades of anarchist propaganda in the countryside, in the form of small popular pamphlets, had prepared the basis for agrarian collectivism. The CNT was especially powerful among the peasants of the south (Andalusia), of the east (area of the Levant around Valencia), and of the northeast (Aragon, around Saragossa).

This double base, both industrial and rural, had turned the libertarian communism of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism in somewhat divergent directions, the one communalist, the other syndicalist. The communalism was expressed in a more local, more rural spirit, one might almost say: more southern, for one of its principal bastions was in Andalusia. Syndicalism, on the other hand, was more urban and unitarian in spirit – more northerly, too, since its main center was Catalonia. Libertarian theoreticians were somewhat torn and divided on this subject.

Some had given their hearts to Kropotkin and his erudite but simplistic idealization of the communes of the Middle Ages which they identified with the Spanish tradition of the primitive peasant community. Their favorite slogan was the “free commune.” Various practical experiments in libertarian communism took place during the peasant insurrections which followed the foundation of the Republic in 1931. By free mutual agreement some groups of small-peasant proprietors decided to work together, to divide the profits into equal parts, and to provide for their own consumption by “drawing from the common pool.” They dismissed the municipal administrations and replaced them by elected committees, naively believing that they could free themselves from the surrounding society, taxation, and military service.

Bakunin was the founder of the Spanish collectivist, syndicalist, and internationalist workers’ movement. Those anarchists who were more realistic, more concerned with the present than the golden age, tended to follow him and his disciple Ricardo Mella. They were concerned with economic unification and believed that a long transitional period would be necessary during which it would be wiser to reward labor according to the hours worked and not according to need. They envisaged the economic structure of the future as a combination of local trade-union groupings and federations of branches of industry.

For a long time the *syndicatos unicos* (local unions) predominated within the CNT. These groups, close to the workers, free from all corporate egoism, served as a physical and spiritual home for the proletariat.⁵ Training in these local unions had fused the ideas of the trade union and the commune in the minds of rank-and-file militants.

⁴ Whereas in Castile and in the Asturias, etc., the social-democratic trade union center, the General Union of Workers (UGT) was predominant.

⁵ The CNT only agreed to the creation of industrial federations in 1931. In 1919 this had been rejected by the “pure” anarchists as leading toward centralism and bureaucracy; but it had become essential to reply to the concentration of capitalism by the concentration of the unions in a single industry. The large industrial federations were only really stabilized in 1937.

The theoretical debate in which the syndicalists opposed the anarchists at the International Anarchist Congress of 1907⁶ was revived in practice to divide the Spanish anarcho-syndicalists. The struggle for day-to-day demands within the CNT had created a reformist tendency in the face of which the FAI (*Federacion Anarquista Iberica*), founded in 1927, undertook the defense of the integrity of anarchist doctrines. In 1931 a “Manifesto of the Thirty” was put out by the syndicalist tendency condemning the “dictatorship” of minorities within the trade-union movement, and declaring the independence of trade unionism and its claim to be sufficient unto itself. Some trade unions left the CNT and a reformist element persisted within that trade-union center even after the breach had been healed on the eve of the July 1936 Revolution.

Theory

The Spanish anarchists continuously published the major and even minor works of international anarchism in the Spanish language. They thus preserved from neglect, and even perhaps absolute destruction, the traditions of a socialism both revolutionary and free. Augustin Souchy was a German anarcho-syndicalist writer who put himself at the service of Spanish anarchism. According to him, “the problem of the social revolution was continuously and systematically discussed in their trade-union and group meetings, in their papers, their pamphlets, and their books.”

The proclamation of the Spanish Republic, in 1931, led to an outburst of “anticipatory” writings: Peirats lists about fifty titles, stressing that there were many more, and emphasizes that this “obsession with revolutionary construction” led to a proliferation of writings which contributed greatly to preparing the people for a revolutionary road. James Guillaume’s pamphlet of 1876, *Ide’es sur L’Organisation Sociale*, was known to the Spanish anarchists because it had been largely quoted in Pierre Besnard’s book, *Les Syndicats Ouvriers et la Revolution Sociale*, which appeared in Paris in 1930. Gaston Leval had emigrated to the Argentine and in 1931 published *Social Reconstruction in Spain*, which gave direct inspiration to the important work of Diego Abad de Santillan, to be discussed below.

In 1932, the country doctor Isaac Puente published a rather naive and idealistic outline of libertarian communism; its ideas were taken up by the Saragossa congress of the CNT in May 1936. Puente himself had become the moving spirit of an insurrectionary committee in Aragon in 1933.

The Saragossa program of 1936 defined the operation of a direct village democracy with some precision. A communal council was to be elected by a general assembly of the inhabitants and formed of representatives of various technical committees. The general assembly was to meet whenever the interests of the commune required it, on the request of members of the communal council or on the direct demand of the inhabitants. The various responsible positions would have no executive or bureaucratic character. The incumbents (with the exception of a few technicians and statisticians) would carry out their duties as producers, like everybody else, meeting at the end of the day’s work to discuss matters of detail which did not require decisions by the general assembly.

Active workers were to receive a producer’s card on which would be recorded the amount of labor performed, evaluated in daily units, which could be exchanged for goods. The inactive

⁶ See *Anarchists in the Trade Unions*.

members of the population would receive simply a consumer's card. There was to be no general norm: the autonomy of the communes was to be respected. If they thought fit, they could establish a different system of internal exchange, on the sole condition that it did not injure the interests of the other communes. The right to communal autonomy would, however, not obviate the duty of collective solidarity within the provincial and regional federations of communes.

One of the major concerns of the members of the Saragossa congress was the cultivation of the mind. Throughout their lives all men were to be assured of access to science, art, and research of all kinds, provided only that these activities remained compatible with production of material resources. Society was no longer to be divided into manual workers and intellectuals: all were to be, simultaneously, both one and the other. The practice of such parallel activities would insure a healthy balance in human nature. Once his day's work as a producer was finished the individual was to be the absolute master of his own time. The CNT foresaw that spiritual needs would begin to be expressed in a far more pressing way as soon as the emancipated society had satisfied material needs.

Spanish anarcho-syndicalism had long been concerned to safeguard the autonomy of what it called "affinity groups." There were many adepts of naturism and vegetarianism among its members, especially among the poor peasants of the south. Both these ways of living were considered suitable for the transformation of the human being in preparation for a libertarian society. At the Saragossa congress the members did not forget to consider the fate of groups of naturists and nudists, "unsuited to industrialization." As these groups would be unable to supply all their own needs, the congress anticipated that their delegates to the meetings of the confederation of communes would be able to negotiate special economic agreements with the other agricultural and industrial communes. Does this make us smile? On the eve of a vast, bloody, social transformation, the CNT did not think it foolish to try to meet the infinitely varied aspirations of individual human beings.

With regard to crime and punishment the Saragossa congress followed the teachings of Bakunin, stating that social injustice is the main cause of crime and, consequently, once this has been removed offenses will rarely be committed. The congress affirmed that man is not naturally evil. The shortcomings of the individual, in the moral field as well as in his role as producer, were to be investigated by popular assemblies which would make every effort to find a just solution in each separate case.

Libertarian communism was unwilling to recognize the need for any penal methods other than medical treatment and reeducation. If, as the result of some pathological condition, an individual were to damage the harmony which should reign among his equals he would be treated for his unbalanced condition, at the same time that his ethical and social sense would be stimulated. If erotic passions were to go beyond the bounds imposed by respect for the freedom of others, the Saragossa congress recommended a "change of air," believing it to be as good for physical illness as for lovesickness. The trade-union federation really doubted that such extreme behavior would still occur in surroundings of sexual freedom.

When the CNT congress adopted the Saragossa program in May 1936, no one really expected that the time to apply it would come only two months later. In practice the socialization of the land and of industry which was to follow the revolutionary victory of July 19 differed considerably from this idyllic program. While the word "commune" occurred in every line, the term actually used for socialist production units was to be *collectividades*. This was not simply a change

of terminology: the creators of Spanish self-management looked to other sources for their inspiration.

Two months before the Saragossa congress Diego Abad de Santillan had published a book, *El Organismo Economico de la Revolucion* (The Economic Organization of the Revolution). This outline of an economic structure drew a somewhat different inspiration from the Saragossa program.

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Santillan was not a rigid and sterile disciple of the great anarchists of the nineteenth century. He regretted that anarchist literature of the previous twenty-five or thirty years should have paid so little attention to the concrete problems of a new economy, and that it had not opened up original perspectives on the future. On the other hand, anarchism had produced a superabundance of works, in every language, going over and over an entirely abstract conception of liberty. Santillan compared this indigestible body of work with the reports presented to the national and international congresses of the First International, and the latter seemed to him the more brilliant for the comparison. He thought they had shown a very much better understanding of economic problems than had appeared in subsequent periods.

Santillan was not backward, but a true man of his times. He was aware that “the tremendous development of modern industry has created a whole series of new problems, which it was impossible to foresee at an earlier time.” There is no question of going back to the Roman chariot or to primitive forms of artisan production. Economic insularity, a parochial way of thinking, the *patria chica* (little fatherland) dear to the hearts of rural Spaniards nostalgic for a golden age, the small-scale and medieval “free commune” of Kropotkin — all these must be relegated to a museum of antiquities. They are the vestiges of out-of-date communalist conceptions. No “free communes” can exist from the economic point of view: “Our ideal is the commune which is associated, federated, integrated into the total economy of the country, and of other countries in a state of revolution.” To replace the single owner by a hydra-headed owner is not collectivism, is not self-management. The land, the factories, the mines, the means of transport are the product of the work of all and must be at the service of all. Nowadays the economy is neither local, nor even national, but world-wide. The characteristic feature of modern life is the cohesion of all the productive and distributive forces. “A socialized economy, directed and planned, is an imperative necessity and corresponds to the trend of development of the modern economic world.”

Santillan foresaw the function of coordinating and planning as being carried out by a federal economic council, which would not be a political authority, but simply an organ of coordination, an economic and administrative regulator. Its directives would come from below, from the factory councils federated into trade union councils for different branches of industry, and into local economic councils. The federal council is thus at the receiving end of two chains of authority, one based on locality and the other on occupation. The organizations at the base provide it with statistics so that it will be aware of the real economic situation at any given moment. In this way it can spot major deficiencies, and determine the sectors in which new industries or crops are most urgently required. “The policemen will no longer be necessary when the supreme authority lies in figures and statistics.” In such a system state coercion has no utility, is sterile, even impossible. The federal council sees to the propagation of new norms, the growth of interdependence between the regions and the formation of national solidarity. It stimulates research into new methods of work, new manufacturing processes, new agricultural techniques. It distributes labor from one region to another, from one branch of the economy to another.

There is no doubt that Santillan learned a great deal from the Russian Revolution. On the one hand, it taught him to beware of the danger of a resurgence of the state and bureaucratic apparatus; but, on the other, it taught him that a victorious revolution can not avoid passing through intermediate economic forms,⁷ in which there survives for a time what Marx and Lenin call “bourgeois law.” For instance, there could be no question of abolishing the banking and monetary system at one fell swoop. These institutions must be transformed and used as a temporary means of exchange to keep social life moving and prepare the way to new economic forms.

Santillan was to play an important part in the Spanish Revolution: he became, in turn, a member of the central committee of the anti-fascist militia (end of July 1936), a member of the Catalan Economic Council (August 11), and Economics Minister of the Catalan government (mid-December).

An “Apolitical” Revolution

The Spanish Revolution was, thus, relatively well prepared, both in the minds of libertarian thinkers and in the consciousness of the people. It is therefore not surprising that the Spanish Right regarded the electoral victory of the Popular Front in February 1936 as the beginning of a revolution.

In fact, the masses soon broke out of the narrow framework of their success at the ballot box. They ignored the rules of the parliamentary game and did not even wait for a government to be formed to set the prisoners free. The farmers ceased to pay rent to the landlords, the agricultural day laborers occupied land and began to cultivate it, the villagers got rid of their municipal councils and hastened to administer themselves, the railwaymen went on strike to enforce a demand for the nationalization of the railways. The building workers of Madrid called for workers’ control, the first step toward socialization.

The military chiefs, under the leadership of Colonel Franco, responded to the symptoms of revolution by a *putsch*. But they only succeeded in accelerating the progress of a revolution which had, in fact, already begun. In Madrid, in Barcelona, in Valencia particularly, in almost every big city but Seville, the people took the offensive, besieged barracks, set up barricades in the streets and occupied strategic positions. The workers rushed from all sides to answer the call of their trade unions. They assaulted the strongholds of the Franco forces, with no concern for their own lives, with naked hands and uncovered breasts. They succeeded in taking guns from the enemy and persuading soldiers to join their ranks.

Thanks to this popular fury the military *putsch* was checked within the first twenty-four hours; and then the social revolution began quite spontaneously. It went forward unevenly, of course, in different regions and cities, but with the greatest impetuosity in Catalonia and, especially, Barcelona. When the established authorities recovered from their astonishment, they found that they simply no longer existed. The State, the police, the army, the administration, all seemed to have lost their *raison d’etre*. The Civil Guard had been driven off or liquidated and the victorious workers were maintaining order. The most urgent task was to organize food supplies: committees distributed foodstuffs from barricades transformed into canteens, and then opened communal restaurants. Local administration was organized by neighborhood committees, and war committees saw to the departure of the workers’ militia to the front. The trade-union center

⁷ Not to be confused with intermediate political forms, which the anarchists, unlike the Marxists, reject.

had become the real town hall. This was no longer the “defence of the republic” against fascism, it was the Revolution — a Revolution which, unlike the Russian one, did not have to create all its organs of authority from scratch: the election of soviets was made unnecessary by the omnipresent anarcho-syndicalist organization with its various committees at the base. In Catalonia the CNT and its conscious minority, the FAI, were more powerful than the authorities, which had become mere phantoms.

In Barcelona especially, there was nothing to prevent the workers’ committees from seizing *de jure* the power which they were already exercising *de facto*. But they did not do so. For decades, Spanish anarchism had been warning the people against the deceptions of “politics” and emphasizing the primacy of the “economic.” It had constantly sought to divert the people from a bourgeois democratic revolution in order to lead them to the social revolution through direct action. On the brink of the Revolution, the anarchists argued something like this: let the politicians do what they will; we, the “apolitical,” will lay hands on the economy. On September 3, 1936, the *CNT-FAI Information Bulletin* published an article entitled “The Futility of Government,” suggesting that the economic expropriation which was taking place would lead *ipso facto* to the “liquidation of the bourgeois State, which would die of asphyxiation.”

Anarchists in Government

This underestimation of government, however, was very rapidly reversed and the Spanish anarchists suddenly became governmentals. Soon after the Revolution of July 19 in Barcelona, an interview took place between the anarchist activist Garcia Oliver and the president of the Catalonian government, the bourgeois liberal Companys. He was ready to resign but was kept in office. The CNT and the FAI refused to exercise an anarchist “dictatorship,” and declared their willingness to collaborate with other left groupings. By mid-September, the CNT was calling on the prime minister of the central government, Largo Caballero, to set up a fifteen-member “Defence Council” in which they would be satisfied with five places. This was as good as accepting the idea of participating in a cabinet under another name.

The anarchists ended up by accepting portfolios in two governments: first in Catalonia and subsequently in Madrid. The Italian anarchist, Camillo Berneri, was in Barcelona and, on April 14, 1937, wrote an open letter to his comrade, minister Federica Montseny, reproaching the anarchists with being in the government only as hostages and fronts “for politicians who flirt with the [class] enemy.”⁸ It is true that the State with which the Spanish anarchists had agreed to become integrated remained a bourgeois State whose officials and political personnel often had but little loyalty to the republic. What was the reason for this change of heart?

The Spanish Revolution had taken place as the consequence of a proletarian counterattack against a counter-revolutionary *coup d’etat*. From the beginning the Revolution took on the character of self-defence, a military character, because of the necessity to oppose the cohorts of Colonel Franco with anti-fascist militia. Faced by a common danger, the anarchists thought

⁸ The International Workers’ Association to which the CNT was affiliated had a special congress in Paris, June 11–13, 1937, at which the anarcho-syndicalist trade-union center was reproached for participating in government and for the concessions it had made in consequence. With this backing, Sebastien Faure decided to publish a series of articles in the July 8, 15, and 22 issues of *Le Libertaire*, entitled “The Fatal Slope.” These were severely critical of the decision of the Spanish anarchists to take part in government. The CNT was enraged and brought about the resignation of the secretary of the International Workers’ Association, Pierre Besnard.

that they had no choice but to join with all the other trade-union forces, and even political parties, which were ready to stand against the Franco rebellion. As the fascist powers increased their support for Franco, the anti-fascist struggle degenerated into a real war, a total war of the classical type. The libertarians could only take part in it by abandoning more and more of their principles, both political and military. They reasoned, falsely, that the victory of the Revolution could only be assured by first winning the war and, as Santillan was to admit, they “sacrificed everything” to the war. Berneri argued in vain against the priority of the war as such, and maintained that the defeat of Franco could only be insured by a *revolutionary* war. To put a brake on the Revolution was, in fact, to weaken the strongest arm of the Republic: the active participation of the masses. An even more serious aspect of the matter was that Republican Spain, blockaded by the Western democracies and in grave danger from the advancing fascist troupe, needed Russian military aid in order to survive. This aid was given on a two-fold condition: 1) the Communist Party must profit from it as much as possible, and the anarchists as little as possible; 2) Stalin wanted at any price to prevent the victory of a social revolution in Spain, not only because it would have been libertarian, but because it would have expropriated capital investments belonging to Britain which was presumed to be an ally of the U.S.S.R. in the “democratic alliance” against Hitler. The Spanish Communists went so far as to deny that a revolution had taken place: a legal government was simply trying to overcome a military mutiny. In May 1937, there was a bloody struggle in Barcelona and the workers were disarmed by the forces of order under Stalinist command. In the name of united action against the fascists the anarchists forbade the workers to retaliate. The sad persistence with which they threw themselves into the error of the Popular Front, until the final defeat of the Republic, cannot be dealt with in this short book.

Self-Management in Agriculture

Nevertheless, in the field to which they attached the greatest importance, the economic field, the Spanish anarchists showed themselves much more intransigent and compromised to a much lesser degree. Agricultural and industrial self-management was very largely self-propelled. But as the State grew stronger and the war more and more totalitarian, an increasingly sharp contradiction developed between a bourgeois republic at war and an experiment in communism or rather in libertarian collectivism. In the end, it was self-management which had to retreat, sacrificed on the altar of “antifascism.” According to Peirats, a methodical study of this experiment in self-management has yet to be made; it will be a difficult task, since self-management presented so many variants in different places and at different times. This matter deserves all the more attention, because relatively little is known about it. Even within the Republican ranks it was either passed over or under-rated. The civil war submerged it and even today overshadows it in human memory. For example, there is no reference to it in the film *To Die in Madrid*, and yet it is probably the most creative legacy of Spanish anarchism.

The Revolution of July 19, 1936, was a lightning defensive action by the people to counter the *pronunciamento* of Franco. The industrialists and large landowners immediately abandoned their property and took refuge abroad. The workers and peasants took over this abandoned property, the agricultural day laborers decided to continue cultivating the soil on their own. They associated together in “collectives” quite spontaneously. In Catalonia a regional congress of peasants was called together by the CNT on September 5 and agreed to the collectivization of land under

trade union management and control. Large estates and the property of fascists were to be socialized, while small landowners would have free choice between individual property and collective property. Legal sanction came later: on October 7, 1936, the Republican central government confiscated without indemnity the property of "persons compromised in the fascist rebellion." This measure was incomplete from a legal point of view, since it only sanctioned a very small part of the take-overs already carried out spontaneously by the people; the peasants had carried out expropriation without distinguishing between those who had taken part in the military *putsch* and those who had not.

In underdeveloped countries where the technical resources necessary for large-scale agriculture are absent, the poor peasant is more attracted by private property, which he has not yet enjoyed, than by socialized agriculture. In Spain, however, libertarian education and a collectivist tradition compensated for technical underdevelopment, countered the individualistic tendencies of the peasants, and turned them directly toward socialism. The latter was the choice of the poorer peasants, while those who were slightly better off, as in Catalonia, clung to individualism. A great majority (90 percent) of land workers chose to join collectives from the very beginning. This decision created a close alliance between the peasants and the city workers, the latter being supporters of the socialization of the means of production by the very nature of their function. It seems that social consciousness was even higher in the country than in the cities.

The agricultural collectives set themselves up with a twofold management, economic and geographical. The two functions were distinct, but in most cases it was the trade unions which assumed them or controlled them. A general assembly of working peasants in each village elected a management committee which was to be responsible for economic administration. Apart from the secretary, all the members continued their manual labor. Work was obligatory for all healthy men between eighteen and sixty. The peasants were divided into groups of ten or more, each led by a delegate, and each being allocated an area to cultivate, or an operation to perform, appropriate to the age of its members and the nature of the work concerned. The management committee received the delegates from the groups every evening. With regard to local administration, the commune frequently called the inhabitants together in general assembly to receive reports of activities undertaken. Everything was put into the common pool with the exception of clothing, furniture, personal savings, small domestic animals, garden plots, and poultry kept for family use. Artisans, hairdressers, shoemakers, etc., were grouped in collectives; the sheep belonging to the community were divided into flocks of several hundreds, put in the charge of shepherds, and methodically distributed in the mountain pastures.

With regard to the distribution of products, various systems were tried out, some based on collectivism and others on more or less total communism, and still others resulting from a combination of the two. Most commonly, payment was based on family needs. Each head of a family received a daily wage of specially marked pesetas which could only be exchanged for consumer goods in the communal shops, which were often set up in the church or its buildings. Any balance not consumed was placed in a peseta credit account for the benefit of the individual. It was possible to draw a limited amount of pocket money from this balance. Rent, electricity, medical care, pharmaceuticals, old-age assistance, etc., were all free. Education was also free and often given in schools set up in former convents; it was compulsory for all children under fourteen, who were forbidden to perform manual labor.

Membership in the collective continued to be voluntary, as was required by the basic concern of the anarchist for freedom. No pressure was brought to bear on the small farmers. Choosing to

remain outside the community, they could not expect to receive its services and benefits since they claimed to be sufficient unto themselves. However, they could opt to participate as they wished in communal work and they could bring their produce to the communal shops. They were admitted to general assemblies and the enjoyment of some collective benefits. They were forbidden only to take over more land than they could cultivate, and subject to only one restriction: that their presence or their property should not disturb the socialist order. In some places socialized areas were reconstituted into larger units by voluntary exchange of plots with individual peasants. In most villages individualists, whether peasants or traders, decreased in number as time went on. They felt isolated and preferred to join the collectives.

It appears that the units which applied the collectivist principle of day wages were more solid than the comparatively few which tried to establish complete communism too quickly, taking no account of the egoism still deeply rooted in human nature, especially among the women. In some villages where currency had been suppressed and the population helped itself from the common pool, producing and consuming within the narrow limits of the collectives, the disadvantages of this paralyzing self-sufficiency made themselves felt, and individualism soon returned to the fore, causing the breakup of the community by the withdrawal of many former small farmers who had joined but did not have a really communist way of thinking.

The communes were united into cantonal federations, above which were regional federations. In theory all the lands belonging to a cantonal federation were treated as a single unit without intermediate boundaries.⁹ Solidarity between villages was pushed to the limit, and equalization funds made it possible to give assistance to the poorest collectives. Tools, raw materials, and surplus labor were all made available to communities in need.

The extent of rural socialization was different in different provinces. As already said, Catalonia was an area of small- and medium sized farms, and the peasantry had a strong individualistic tradition, so that here there were no more than a few pilot collectives. In Aragon, on the other hand, more than three-quarters of the land was socialized. The creative initiative of the agricultural workers in this region had been stimulated by a libertarian militia unit, the Durruti Column, passing through on its way to the northern front to fight the Franco troops, and by the subsequent establishment of a revolutionary authority created at the base, which was unique of its kind in Republican Spain. About 450 collectives were set up, with some half a million members. In the Levant region (five provinces, capital Valencia), the richest in Spain, some 900 collectives were established, covering 43 percent of the geographical area, 50 percent of citrus production, and 70 percent of the citrus trade. In Castile, about 300 collectives were created, with around 100,000 members. Socialization also made headway in Estremadura and part of Andalusia, while a few early attempts were quickly repressed in the Asturias.

It should be remembered that grass-roots socialism was not the work of the anarcho-syndicalists alone, as many people have supposed. According to Gaston Leval, the supporters of self-management were often "libertarians without knowing it." In Estremadura and Andalusia, the social-democratic, Catholic, and in the Asturias even communist, peasants took the initiative in collectivization. However, in the southern areas not controlled by the anarchists, where municipalities took over large estates in an authoritarian manner, the day laborers unfortunately did not feel this to be a revolutionary transformation: their wages and conditions were not changed; there was no self-management.

⁹ "In theory," because there was some litigation between villages on this subject.

Agricultural self-management was an indisputable success except where it was sabotaged by its opponents or interrupted by the war. It was not difficult to beat the record of large-scale private ownership, for it had been deplorable. Some 10,000 feudal landowners had been in possession of half the territory of the Spanish Peninsula. It had suited them to let a large part of their land lie fallow rather than to permit the development of a stratum of independent farmers, or to give their day laborers decent wages; to do either of these would have undermined their medieval feudal authority. Thus their existence had retarded the full development of the natural wealth of the Spanish land.

After the Revolution the land was brought together into rational units, cultivated on a large scale and according to the general plan and directives of agronomists. The studies of agricultural technicians brought about yields 30 to 50 percent higher than before. The cultivated areas increased, human, animal, and mechanical energy was used in a more rational way, and working methods perfected. Crops were diversified, irrigation extended, reforestation initiated, and tree nurseries started. Piggeries were constructed, rural technical schools built, and demonstration farms set up, selective cattle breeding was developed, and auxiliary agricultural industries put into operation. Socialized agriculture showed itself superior on the one hand to large-scale absentee ownership, which left part of the land fallow; and on the other to small farms cultivated by primitive techniques, with poor seed and no fertilizers.

A first attempt at agricultural planning was made, based on production and consumption statistics produced by the collectives, brought together by the respective cantonal committees and then by the regional committee which controlled the quantity and quality of production within its area. Trade outside the region was handled by a regional committee which collected the goods to be sold and in exchange for them bought the goods required by the region as a whole. Rural anarcho-syndicalism showed its organizational ability and capacity for coordination to best advantage in the Levant. The export of citrus required methodical modern commercial techniques; they were brilliantly put into play, in spite of a few lively disputes with rich producers.

Cultural development went hand in hand with material prosperity: a campaign was undertaken to bring literacy to adults; regional federations set up a program of lectures, films, and theatrical performances in all the villages. These successes were due not only to the strength of the trade-union organization but, to a considerable degree, also to the intelligence and initiative of the people. Although the majority of them were illiterate, the peasants showed a degree of socialist consciousness, practical good sense, and spirit of solidarity and sacrifice which drew the admiration of foreign observers. Fenner Brockway, then of the British Independent Labour Party, now Lord Brockway, visited the collective of Segorbe and reported: "The spirit of the peasants' their enthusiasm, and the way they contribute to the common effort and the pride which they take in it, are all admirable."

Self-Management in Industry

Self-management was also tried out in industry, especially in Catalonia, the most industrialized area in Spain. Workers whose employers had fled spontaneously undertook to keep the factories going. For more than four months, the factories of Barcelona, over which waved the red and black flag of the CNT, were managed by revolutionary workers' committees without help or interference from the State, sometimes even without experienced managerial help. The prole-

tariat had one piece of good fortune in being aided by technicians. In Russia in 1917–1918, and in Italy in 1920, during those brief experiments in the occupation of the factories, the engineers had refused to help the new experiment of socialization; in Spain many of them collaborated closely with the workers from the very beginning.

A trade-union conference representing 600,000 workers was held in Barcelona in October 1936, with the object of developing the socialization of industry. The initiative of the workers was institutionalized by a decree of the Catalan government dated October 24, 1936. This ratified the *fait accompli*, but introduced an element of government control alongside self-management. Two sectors were created, one socialist, the other private. All factories with more than a hundred workers were to be socialized (and those with between fifty and a hundred could be, on the request of three-quarters of the workers), as were those whose proprietors either had been declared “subversive” by a people’s court or had stopped production, and those whose importance justified taking them out of the private sector. (In fact many enterprises were socialized because they were heavily in debt.)

A factory under self-management was directed by a managerial committee of five to fifteen members representing the various trades and services. They were nominated by the workers in general assembly and served for two years, half being changed each year. The committee appointed a manager to whom it delegated all or part of its own powers. In very large factories the selection of a manager required the approval of the supervisory organization. Moreover, a government controller was appointed to each management committee. In effect it was not complete self-management but a sort of joint management in very close liaison with the Catalonian government.

The management committee could be recalled, either by the general meeting of the workers or by the general council of the particular branch of the industry (composed of four representatives of management committees, eight of the trade unions, and four technicians appointed by the supervisory organization). This general council planned the work and determined the division of the profits, and its decisions were mandatory. In those enterprises which remained in private hands an elected workers’ committee was to control the production process and conditions of work “in close collaboration with the employer.” The wage system was maintained intact in the socialized factories. Each worker continued to be paid a fixed wage. Profits were not divided on the factory level and wages rose very little after socialization, in fact even less than in the sector which remained private.

The decree of October 24, 1936, was a compromise between aspirations to self-management and the tendency to tutelage by the leftist government, as well as a compromise between capitalism and socialism. It was drafted by a libertarian minister, and ratified by the CNT, because anarchist leaders were in the government. How could they object to the intervention of government in self-management when they themselves had their hands on the levers of power? Once the wolf is allowed into the sheepfold he always ends up by acting as its master.

In spite of the considerable powers which had been given to the general councils of branches of industry, it appeared in practice that workers’ self-management tended to produce a sort of parochial egoism, a species of “bourgeois cooperativism,” as Peirats called it, each production unit concerning itself only with its own interests. There were rich collectives and poor collectives. Some could pay relatively high wages while others could not even manage to maintain the wage level which had prevailed before the Revolution. Some had plenty of raw materials, others were very short, etc. This imbalance was fairly soon remedied by the creation of a cen-

tral equalization fund, which made it possible to distribute resources fairly. In December 1936, a trade-union assembly was held in Valencia, where it was decided to coordinate the various sectors of production into a general organic plan, which would make it possible to avoid harmful competition and the dissipation of effort.

At this point the trade unions undertook the systematic reorganization of whole trades, closing down hundreds of small enterprises and concentrating production in those that had the bat equipment. For instance: in Catalonia foundries were reduced from over 70 to 24, tanneries from 71 to 40, glass works from about 100 to about 30. However, industrial centralization under trade-union control could not be developed as rapidly and completely as the anarcho-syndicalist planners would have wished. Why was this? Because the Stalinists and reformists opposed the appropriation of the property of the middle class and showed scrupulous respect for the private sector.

In the other industrial centers of Republican Spain the Catalonian socialization decree was not in force and collectivizations were not so frequent as in Catalonia; however, private enterprises were often endowed with workers' control committees, as was the case in the Asturias.

Industrial self-management was, on the whole, as successful as agricultural self-management had been. Observers at first hand were full of praise, especially with regard to the excellent working of urban public services under self-management. Some factories, if not all, were managed in a remarkable fashion. Socialized industry made a major contribution to the war against fascism. The few arms factories built in Spain before 1936 had been set up outside Catalonia: the employers, in fact, were afraid of the Catalonian proletariat. In the Barcelona region, therefore, it was necessary to convert factories in great haste so that they might serve the defense of the Republic. Workers and technicians competed with each other in enthusiasm and initiative, and very soon war materiel made mainly in Catalonia was arriving at the front. No less effort was put into the manufacture of chemical products essential for war purposes. Socialized industry went ahead equally fast in the field of civilian requirements; for the first time the conversion of textile fibers was undertaken in Spain, and hemp, esparto, rice straw, and cellulose were processed.

Self-Management Undermined

In the meanwhile, credit and foreign trade had remained in the hands of the private sector because the bourgeois Republican government wished it so. It is true that the State controlled the banks, but it took care not to place them under self-management. Many collectives were short of working capital and had to live on the available funds taken over at the time of the July 1936 Revolution. Consequently they had to meet their day-to-day needs by chance acquisitions such as the seizure of jewelry and precious objects belonging to churches, convents, or Franco supporters who had fled. The CNT had proposed the creation of a "confederal bank" to finance self-management. But it was utopian to try to compete with private finance capital which had not been socialized. The only solution would have been to put all finance capital into the hands of the organized proletariat; but the CNT was imprisoned in the Popular Front, and dared not go as far as that.

The major obstacle, however, was the increasingly open hostility to self-management manifested by the various political general staffs of Republican Spain. It was charged with breaking the "united front" between the working class and the small bourgeoisie, and hence "playing the game" of the fascist enemy. (Its detractors went so far as to refuse arms to the libertarian van-

guard which, on the Aragon front, was reduced to facing the fascist machine guns with naked hands — and then being reproached for its “inactivity.”)

It was the Stalinist minister of agriculture, Vicente Uribe, who had established the decree of October 7, 1936, which legalized part of the rural collectivizations. Appearances to the contrary, he was imbued with an anti-collectivist spirit and hoped to demoralize the peasants living in socialized groups. The validation of collectivizations was subjected to very rigid and complicated juridical regulations. The collectives were obliged to adhere to an extremely strict time limit, and those which had not been legalized on the due date were automatically placed outside the law and their land made liable to being restored to the previous owners.

Uribe discouraged the peasants from joining the collectives and fomented discontent against them. In December 1936 he made a speech directed to the individualist small proprietors, declaring that the guns of the Communist Party and the government were at their disposal. He gave them imported fertilizer which he was refusing to the collectives. Together with his Stalinist colleague, Juan Comorera, in charge of the economy of Catalonia, he brought the small- and medium-scale landowners together into a reactionary union, subsequently adding the traders and even some owners of large estates disguised as smallholders. They took the organization of food supplies for Barcelona away from the workers’ unions and handed it over to private trade.

Finally, when the advance guard of the Revolution in Barcelona had been crushed in May 1937,¹⁰ the coalition government went so far as to liquidate agricultural self-management by military means. On the pretext that it had remained “outside the current of centralization,” the Aragon “regional defense council” was dissolved by a decree of August 10, 1937. Its founder, Joaquin Ascaso, was charged with “selling [...]” which was actually an attempt to get funds for the collectives. Soon after this, the 11th Mobile Division of Commander Lister (a Stalinist), supported by tanks, went into action against the collectives. Aragon was invaded like an enemy country, those in charge of socialized enterprises were arrested, their premises occupied, then closed; management committees were dissolved, communal shops emptied, furniture broken up, and flocks disbanded. The Communist press denounced “the crimes of forced collectivization.” Thirty percent of the Aragon collectives were completely destroyed.

Even by this brutality, however, Stalinism was not generally successful in forcing the peasants of Aragon to become private owners. Peasants had been forced at pistol point to sign deeds of ownership, but as soon as the Lister Division had gone, these were destroyed and the collectives rebuilt. As G. Munis, the Spanish Trotskyist, wrote: “This was one of the most inspiring episodes of the Spanish Revolution. The peasants reaffirmed their socialist beliefs in spite of governmental terror and the economic boycott to which they were subjected.”

There was another, less heroic, reason for the restoration of the Aragon collectives: the Communist Party had realized, after the event, that it had injured the life force of the rural economy, endangered the crops from lack of manpower, demoralized the fighters on the Aragon front, and dangerously reinforced the middle class of landed proprietors. The Party, therefore, tried to repair the damage it had itself done, and to revive some of the collectives. The new collectives, however, never regained the extent or quality of land of their predecessors, nor the original manpower, since many militants had been imprisoned or had sought shelter from persecution in the anarchist divisions at the front.

¹⁰ This refers to the time when the POUM (*Partido Obrero Unido Marxista*) together with rank-and-file anarchists came into armed conflict with the police and were defeated and crushed. (Translator’s note.)

Republicans carried out armed attacks of the same kind against agricultural self-management in the Levant, in Castile, and in the provinces of Huesca and Teruel. However, it survived, by hook or by crook, in many areas which had not yet fallen into the hands of the Franco troops, especially in the Levant.

The ambiguous attitude, to put it mildly, of the Valencia government to rural socialism contributed to the defeat of the Spanish Republic: the poor peasants were not always clearly aware that it was in their interests to fight for the Republic.

In spite of its successes, industrial self-management was sabotaged by the administrative bureaucracy and the authoritarian socialists. The radio and press launched a formidable preparatory campaign of denigration and calumny, questioning the honesty of the factory management councils. The Republican central government refused to grant any credit to Catalanian self-management even when the libertarian minister of the Catalanian economy, Fabregas, offered the billion pesetas of savings bank deposits as security. In June 1937, the Stalinist Comorera took over the portfolio of the economy, and deprived the self-managed factories of raw materials which he lavished on the private sector. He also failed to deliver to the socialist enterprises supplies which had been ordered for them by the Catalan administration.

The central government had a stranglehold over the collectives; the nationalization of transport made it possible for it to supply some and cut off all deliveries to others. Moreover, it imported Republican army uniforms instead of turning to the Catalanian textile collectives. On August 22, 1937, it passed a decree suspending the application of the Catalanian October 1936 socialization decree to the metal and mining industries. This was done on the pretext of the necessities of national defence; and the Catalanian decree was said to be "contrary to the spirit of the Constitution." Foremen and managers who had been driven out by self-management, or rather, those who had been unwilling to accept technical posts in the self-managed enterprises, were brought back, full of a desire for revenge.

The end came with the decree of August 11, 1938, which militarized all war industries under the control of the Ministry of War Supplies. An overblown and ill-behaved bureaucracy invaded the factories — a swarm of inspectors and directors who owed their position solely to their political affiliations, in particular to their recent membership in the Stalinist Communist Party. The workers became demoralized as they saw themselves deprived of control over enterprises which they had created from scratch during the first critical months of the war, and production suffered in consequence.

In other branches, Catalan industrial self-management survived until the Spanish Republic was crushed. It was slowed down, however, for industry had lost its main outlets and there was a shortage of raw materials, the government having cut off the credit necessary to purchase them.

To sum up, the newborn Spanish collectives were immediately forced into the strait jacket of a war carried on by classic military methods, in the name of which the Republic clipped the wings of its own vanguard and compromised with reaction at home.

The lesson which the collectives have left behind them, however, is a stimulating one. In 1938 Emma Goldman was inspired to praise them thus: "The collectivization of land and industry shines out as the greatest achievement of any revolutionary period. Even if Franco were to win and the Spanish anarchists were to be exterminated, the idea they have launched will live on." On July 21, 1937, Federica Montseny made a speech in Barcelona in which she clearly posed the alternatives: "On the one hand, the supporters of authority and the totalitarian State, of a state-directed economy, of a form of social organization which militarizes all men and converts the

State into one huge employer, one huge entrepreneur; on the other hand, the operation of mines, fields, factories and workshops, by the working class itself, organized in trade-union federations.” This was the dilemma of the Spanish Revolution, but in the near future it may become that of socialism the world over.

By Way of Conclusion

The defeat of the Spanish Revolution deprived anarchism of its only foothold in the world. It came out of this trial crushed, dispersed, and, to some extent, discredited. History condemned it severely and, in certain respects, unjustly. It was not in fact, or at any rate alone, responsible for the victory of the Franco forces. What remained from the experience of the rural and industrial collectives, set up in tragically unfavorable conditions, was on the whole to their credit. This experience was, however, underestimated, calumniated, and denied recognition. Authoritarian socialism had at last got rid of undesirable libertarian competition and, for years, remained master of the field. For a time it seemed as though state socialism was to be justified by the military victory of the U.S.S.R. against Nazism in 1945 and by undeniable, and even imposing, successes in the technical field.

However, the very excesses of this system soon began to generate their own negation. They engendered the idea that paralyzing state centralization should be loosened up, that production units should have more autonomy, that workers would do more and better work if they had some say in the management of enterprises. What medicine calls “antibodies” were generated in one of the countries brought into servitude by Stalin. Tito’s Yugoslavia freed itself from the too heavy yoke which was making it into a sort of colony. It then proceeded to re-evaluate the dogmas which could now so clearly be seen as anti-economic. It went back to school under the masters of the past, discovering and discreetly reading Proudhon. It bubbled in anticipation. It explored the too-little-known libertarian areas of thinking in the works of Marx and Lenin. Among other things it dug out the concept of the withering away of the State, which had not, it is true, been altogether eliminated from the political vocabulary, but had certainly become no more than a ritual formula quite empty of substance. Going back to the short period during which Bolshevism had identified itself with proletarian democracy from below, with the soviets, Yugoslavia gleaned a word which had been enunciated by the leaders of the October Revolution and then quickly forgotten: self-management. Attention was also fumed to the embryonic factory councils which had arisen at the same time, through revolutionary contagion, in Germany and Italy and, much later, Hungary. As reported in the French review *Arguments* by the Italian, Roberto Guiducci, the question arose whether “the idea of the councils, which had been suppressed by Stalinism for obvious reasons,” could not “be taken up again in modern terms.”

When Algeria was decolonized and became independent its new leaders sought to institutionalize the spontaneous occupations of abandoned European property by peasants and workers. They drew their inspiration from the Yugoslav precedent and took its legislation in this matter as a model.

If its wings are not clipped, self-management is undoubtedly an institution with democratic, even libertarian tendencies. Following the example of the Spanish collectives of 1936–1937, self-management seeks to place the economy under the management of the producers themselves. To this end a three-tier workers’ representation is set up in each enterprise, by means of elections: the sovereign general assembly; the workers’ council, a smaller deliberative body; and, finally,

the management committee, which is the executive organ. The legislation provides certain safeguards against the threat of bureaucratization: representatives cannot stand for re-election too often, must be directly involved in production, etc. In Yugoslavia the workers can be consulted by referendum as an alternative to general assemblies, while in very large enterprises general assemblies take place in work sections.

Both in Yugoslavia and in Algeria' at least in theory, or as a promise for the future, great importance is attributed to the commune, and much is made of the fact that self-managing workers will be represented there. In theory, again, the management of public affairs should tend to become decentralized, and to be carried out more and more at the local level.

These good intentions are far from being carried out in practice. In these countries self-management is coming into being in the framework of a dictatorial, military, police state whose skeleton is formed by a single party. At the helm there is an authoritarian and paternalistic authority which is beyond control and above criticism. The authoritarian principles of the political administration and the libertarian principles of the management of the economy are thus quite incompatible.

Moreover, a certain degree of bureaucratization tends to show itself even within the enterprises, in spite of the precautions of the legislators. The majority of the workers are not yet mature enough to participate effectively in self-management. They lack education and technical knowledge, have not got rid of the old wage-earning mentality, and too willingly put all their powers into the hands of their delegates. This enables a small minority to be the real managers of the enterprise, to arrogate to themselves all sorts of privileges and do exactly as they like. They also perpetuate themselves in directorial positions, governing without control from below, losing contact with reality and cutting themselves off from the rank-and-file workers, whom they often treat with arrogance and contempt. All this demoralizes the workers and turns them against self-management. Finally, state control is often exercised so indiscreetly and so oppressively that the "self-managers" do not really manage at all. The state appoints directors to the organs of self-management without much caring whether the latter agree or not, although, according to the law, they should be consulted. These bureaucrats often interfere excessively in management, and sometimes behave in the same arbitrary way as the former employers. In very large Yugoslav enterprises directors are nominated entirely by the State; these posts are handed out to his old guard by Marshall Tito.

Moreover, Yugoslavian self-management is extremely dependent on the State for finance. It lives on credits accorded to it by the State and is free to dispose of only a small part of its profits, the rest being paid to the treasury in the form of a tax. Revenue derived from the self-management sector is used by the State not only to develop the backward sectors of the economy, which is no more than just, but also to pay for the heavily bureaucratized government apparatus, the army, the police forces, and for prestige expenditure, which is sometimes quite excessive. When the members of self-managed enterprises are inadequately paid, this blunts the enthusiasm for self-management and is in conflict with its principles.

The freedom of action of each enterprise, moreover, is fairly strictly limited, since it is subject to the economic plans of the central authority, which are drawn up arbitrarily without consultation of the rank and file. In Algeria the self-managed enterprises are also obliged to cede to the State the commercial handling of a considerable portion of their products. In addition, they are placed under the supervision of "organs to supply disinterested technical of tutelage," which

are supposed and bookkeeping assistance but, in practice, tend to replace the organs of self-management and take over their functions.

In general, the bureaucracy of the totalitarian State is unsympathetic to the claims of self-management to autonomy. As Proudhon foresaw, it finds it hard to tolerate any authority external to itself. It dislikes socialization and longs for nationalization, that is to say, the direct management by officials of the State. Its object is to infringe upon self-management, reduce its powers, and in fact absorb it.

The single party is no less suspicious of self-management, and likewise finds it hard to tolerate a rival. If it embraces self-management, it does so to stifle it more effectively. The party has cells in most of the enterprises and is strongly tempted to take part in management, to duplicate the organs elected by the workers or reduce them to the role of docile instruments, by falsifying elections and setting out lists of candidates in advance. The party tries to induce the workers' councils to endorse decisions already taken in advance, and to manipulate and shape the national congresses of the workers.

Some enterprises under self-management react to authoritarian and centralizing tendencies by becoming isolationist, behaving as though they were an association of small proprietors, and trying to operate for the sole benefit of the workers involved. They tend to reduce their manpower so as to divide the cake into larger portions. They also seek to produce as little of everything instead of specializing. They devote time and energy to getting around plans or regulations designed to serve the interests of the community as a whole. In Yugoslavia free competition between enterprises has been allowed, both as a stimulant and to protect the consumer, but in practice the tendency to autonomy has led to flagrant inequalities output and to economic irrationalities.

Thus self-management itself incorporates a pendulum-like movement which makes it swing constantly between two extremes: excessive autonomy or excessive centralization; authority or anarchy; control from below or control from above. Through the years Yugoslavia, in particular, has corrected centralization by autonomy, then autonomy by centralization, constantly remodeling its institutions without so far successfully attaining a "happy medium."

Most of the weaknesses of self-management could be avoided or corrected if there were an authentic trade-union movement, independent of authority and of the single party, springing from the workers themselves and at the same time organizing them, and animated by the spirit characteristic of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism. In Yugoslavia and in Algeria, however, trade unionism is either subsidiary or supernumerary, or is subject to the State, to the single party. It cannot, therefore, adequately fulfill the task of conciliator between autonomy and centralization which it should undertake, and could perform much better than totalitarian political organs. In fact, a trade unionism which genuinely issued from the workers, who saw in it their own reflection, would be the most effective organ for harmonizing the centrifugal and centripetal forces, for "creating an equilibrium" as Proudhon put it, between the contradictions of self-management.

The picture, however, must not be seen as entirely black. Selfmanagement certainly has powerful and tenacious opponents, who have not given up hope of making it fail. But it has, in fact, shown itself quite dynamic in the countries where experiments are being carried on. It has opened up new perspectives for the workers and restored to them some pleasure in their work. It has opened their minds to the rudiments of authentic socialism, which involves the progressive disappearance of wages, the disalienation of the producer who will become a free and self-determining being. Selfmanagement has in this way increased productivity and registered considerable positive results, even during the trials and errors of the initial period.

From rather too far away, small circles of anarchists follow the development of Yugoslav and Algerian self-management with a mixture of sympathy and disbelief. They feel that it is bringing some fragments of their ideal into reality, but the experiment is not developing along the idealistic lines foreseen by libertarian communism. On the contrary it is being tried in an authoritarian framework which is repugnant to anarchism. There is no doubt that this framework makes self-management fragile: there is always a danger that it will be devoured by the cancer of authoritarianism. However, a close and unprejudiced look at self-management seems to reveal rather encouraging signs.

In Yugoslavia self-management is a factor favoring the democratization of the regime. It has created a healthier basis for recruitment in working-class circles. The party is beginning to act as an inspiration rather than a director, its cadres are becoming better spokesmen for the masses, more sensitive to their problems and aspirations. As Albert Meister, a young Swiss sociologist who set himself the task of studying this phenomenon on the spot, comments, self-management contains a "democratic virus" which, in the long run, invades the single party itself. He regards it as a "tonic." It welds the lower party echelons to the working masses. This development is so clear that it is bringing Yugoslav theoreticians to use language which would not disgrace a libertarian. For example, one of them, Stane Kavcic, states: "In future the striking force of socialism in Yugoslavia cannot be a political party and the State acting from the top down, but the people, the citizens, with constitutional rights which enable them to act from the base up." He continues bravely that self-management is increasingly loosening up "the rigid discipline and subordination which are characteristic of all political parties."

The trend is not so clear in Algeria, for the experiment is of more recent origin and still in danger of being called into question. A clue may be found in the fact that at the end of 1964, Hocine Zahouane, then head of orientation of the National Liberation Front, publicly condemned the tendency of the "organs of guidance" to place themselves above the members of the self-management groups and to adopt an authoritarian attitude toward them. He went on: "When this happens, socialism no longer exists. There remains only a change in the form of exploitation of the workers." This official concluded by asking that the producers "should be truly masters of their production" and no longer be "manipulated for ends which are foreign to socialism." It must be admitted that Hocine Zahouane has since been removed from office by a military coup d'état and has become the leading spirit of a clandestine socialist opposition. He is for the time being¹ in compulsory residence in a torrid area of the Sahara.

To sum up, self-management meets with all kinds of difficulties and contradictions, yet, even now, it appears in practice to have the merit of enabling the masses to pass through an apprenticeship in direct democracy acting from the bottom upward; the merit of developing, encouraging, and stimulating their free initiative, of imbuing them with a sense of responsibility instead of perpetuating age-old habits of passivity, submission, and the inferiority complex left to them by past oppression, as is the case under state communism. This apprenticeship is sometimes laborious, progresses rather slowly, loads society with extra burdens and may, possibly, be carried out only at the cost of some "disorder." Many observers think, however, that these difficulties, delays, extra burdens, and growing pains are less harmful than the false order, the false luster, the false "efficiency" of state communism which reduces man to nothing, kills the initiative of the people,

¹ As of July 1969.

paralyzes production, and, in spite of material advances obtained at a high price, discredits the very idea of socialism.

The U.S.S.R. itself is re-evaluating its methods of economic management, and will continue to do so unless the present tendency to liberalization is cancelled by a regression to authoritarianism. Before he fell, on October 15, 1964, Khrushchev seemed to have understood, however timidly and belatedly, the need for industrial decentralization. In December 1964 *Pravda* published a long article entitled "The State of the Whole People" which sought to define the changes of structure that differentiate the form of State "said to be of the whole people" from that of the "dictatorship of the proletariat"; namely, progress toward democratization, participation of the masses in the direction of society through self-management, and the revitalization of the soviets, the trade unions, etc.

The French daily *Le Monde* of February 16, 1965, published an article by Michel Tatu, entitled "A Major Problem: The Liberation of the Economy," exposing the most serious evils "affecting the whole Soviet bureaucratic machine, especially the economy." The high technical level this economy has attained makes the rule of bureaucracy over management even more unacceptable. As things are at present, directors of enterprises cannot make decisions on any subject without referring to at least one office, and more often to half a dozen. "No one disputes the remarkable technical, scientific, and economic progress which has been made in thirty years of Stalinist planning. The result, however, is precisely that this economy is now in the class of developed economies, and that the old structures which enabled it to reach this level are now totally, and ever more alarmingly, unsuitable." "Much more would be needed than detailed reforms; a spectacular change of thought and method, a sort of new de-Stalinization would be required to bring to an end the enormous inertia which permeates the machine at every level." As Ernest Mandel has pointed out, however, in an article in the French review *Les Temps Modernes*, decentralization cannot stop at giving autonomy to the directors of enterprises, it must lead to real workers' self-management.

The late Georges Gurvitch, a left-wing sociologist, came to a similar conclusion. He considers that tendencies to decentralization and workers' self-management have only just begun in the U.S.S.R., and that their success would show "that Proudhon was more right than one might have thought."

In Cuba the late state socialist Che Guevara had to quit the direction of industry, which he had run unsuccessfully owing to overcentralization. In *Cuba: Socialism and Development*, Rene Dumont, a French specialist in the Castro economy, deplures its "hypercentralization" and bureaucratization. He particularly emphasized the "authoritarian" errors of a ministerial department which tries to manage the factories itself and ends up with exactly the opposite results: "By trying to bring about a strongly centralized organization one ends up in practice... by letting any kind of thing be done, because one cannot maintain control over what is essential." He makes the same criticism of the state monopoly of distribution: the paralysis which it produces could have been avoided "if each production unit had preserved the function of supplying itself directly." "Cuba is beginning all over again the useless cycle of economic errors of the socialist countries," a Polish colleague in a very good position to know confided to Rene Dumont. The author concludes by abjuring the Cuban regime to turn to autonomous production units and, in agriculture, to federations of small farm-production cooperatives. He is not afraid to give the remedy a name, self-management, which could perfectly well be reconciled with planning. Unfortunately, the voice of Rene Dumont has not yet been heard in Havana.

The libertarian idea has recently come out of the shadow to which its detractors had relegated it. In a large part of the world the man of today has been the guinea pig of state communism, and is only now emerging, reeling, from the experience. Suddenly he is turning, with lively curiosity and often with profit, to the rough drafts for a new self-management society which the pioneers of anarchism were putting forward in the last century. He is not swallowing them whole, of course, but drawing lessons from them, and inspiration to try to complete the task presented by the second half of this century: to break the fetters, both economic and political, of what has been too simply called "Stalinism"; and this, without renouncing the fundamental principles of socialism: on the contrary, thereby discovering — or rediscovering — the forms of a real, authentic socialism, that is to say, socialism combined with liberty.

Proudhon, in the midst of the 1848 Revolution, wisely thought that it would have been asking too much of his artisans to go, immediately, all the way to "anarchy." In default of this maximum program, he sketched out a minimum libertarian program: progressive reduction in the power of the State, parallel development of the power of the people from below, through what he called clubs, and which the man of the twentieth century would call councils. It seems to be the more or less conscious purpose of many contemporary socialists to seek out such a program.

Although a possibility of revival is thus opened up for anarchism, it will not succeed in fully rehabilitating itself unless it is able to belie, both in theory and in practice, the false interpretations to which it has so long been subject. As we saw, in 1924 Joaquin Maurin was impatient to finish with it in Spain, and suggested that it would never be able to maintain itself except in a few "backward countries" where the masses would "cling" to it because they are entirely without "socialist education," and have been "left to their natural instincts." He concluded: "Any anarchist who succeeds in improving himself, in learning, and in seeing clearly, automatically ceases to be an anarchist."

The French historian of anarchism, Jean Maitron, simply confused "anarchy" and disorganization. A few years ago he imagined that anarchism had died with the nineteenth century, for our epoch is one of "plans, organization, and discipline." More recently the British writer George Woodcock saw fit to accuse the anarchists of being idealists swimming against the dominant current of history, feeding on an idyllic vision of the future while clinging to the most attractive features of a dying past. Another English specialist on the subject, James Joll, insists that the anarchists are out-of-date, for their ideas are opposed to the development of large-scale industry, to mass production and consumption, and depend on a retrograde romantic vision of an idealized society of artisans and peasants, and on a total rejection of the realities of the twentieth century and of economic organization.²

In the preceding pages I have tried to show that this is not a true picture of anarchism. Bakunin's works best express the nature of constructive anarchism, which depends on organization, on selfdiscipline, on integration, on federalist and noncoercive centralization. It rests upon large-scale modern industry, up-to-date techniques, the modern proletariat, and internationalism on a world scale. In this regard it is of our times, and belongs to the twentieth century. It may well be state communism, and not anarchism, which is out of step with the needs of the contemporary world.

² James Joll recently wrote to the author that after reading this book he had to some extent revised his views.

In 1924 Joaquin Maurin reluctantly admitted that throughout the history of anarchism “symptoms of decline” had been “followed by sudden revival.” The future may show that only in this reluctant admission was the Spanish Marxist a good prophet.

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THE HETERODOX ‘FOURTH PARADIGM’ OF LIBERTARIANISM: AN ABSTRACT ELEUTHEROLOGY PLUS CRITICAL RATIONALISM

J. C. LESTER

ABSTRACT: This article first explains the key libertarian insight into property and orthodox libertarianism’s philosophical confusion. It suggests making and applying distinctions among abstract liberty, practical liberty, moral defences, and critical rationalism. The two dominant (‘Lockean’ and ‘Hobbesian’) conceptions of interpersonal liberty are explained. A general account of libertarianism as a subset of classical liberalism is provided, and defended from a narrower view. Two abstract (non-propertarian and non-normative) theories of interpersonal liberty are developed and defended, and practical implications for these are derived and compared. This positive analysis is briefly related to morals. It is conjecturally concluded that this new paradigm of libertarianism solves the problems of the old paradigms.

“It’s an amazing fact that the nature of liberty is one of the least-discussed topics in what libertarians like to call ‘the literature of liberty.’”
Irfan Khawaja (2009, 155)

INTRODUCTION

The issue here is ‘liberty’ (from a Latin root), or ‘freedom’ (from an Anglo-Saxon root). But it is not ‘liberty’ in its most general sense: for that also applies outside the social realm, including to such matters as arise in physics and engineering (as any internet search

J. C. Lester (jclester@gmail.com) is an independent scholar.

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shows; and it can be hard to preclude such references when one is not interested in them). The issue here is only social or interpersonal liberty: the liberty that people have in relation to each other. This essay will sometimes refer to ‘interpersonal liberty’ and sometimes simply to ‘liberty’, but the former is always what is meant.

There is a philosophical approach to libertarianism that is very different from the mainstream, or orthodox, varieties.¹ It has two principal differences: an abstract theory of interpersonal liberty (i.e., non-propertarian and non-normative); and critical-rationalist epistemology² (i.e., no attempt to provide ‘*supporting*’³ justifications⁴ or ‘foundations’).⁵ This heterodox philosophical paradigm remains largely unknown and otherwise largely misunderstood. In general attempts to explain different types of libertarianism it is typically completely absent.⁶ If for no other reason, therefore, it would seem worthwhile to attempt to explain and defend it in outline; and that is one purpose of this essay. However, this is also an attempt to do this with more clarity, precision, and context than hitherto; and this has prompted some new arguments,

¹ Three main types are distinguished in Mack (2018, 1): “the natural rights approach, the cooperation-to-mutual-advantage approach, and the indirect utilitarian approach.”

² For detailed explanations of critical rationalism see, for instance, Popper ([1963] 1978) and Miller (1994).

³ ‘Supporting justifications’ entail circularities, infinite regresses, or dogmatic assumptions. As critical rationalism explains, all observations, arguments, explanations, and even logical inferences rest on, and thus logically amount to, assumptions. They thereby cannot offer support that transcends their assumptions (but those assumptions are either true or false, depending on the external facts). However, they can be criticized and tested—all within a framework of assumptions, of course (and presumably reality will tend to aid true assumptions to withstand criticisms and tests better than false ones, and true ones should resurface even if mistakenly rejected).

⁴ This is emphatically not to object to ‘justification’ used in the completely different sense that means *explaining* a conjecture and *squaring* (justifying) it with any known criticisms or ostensible counterexamples by adequately responding to them (which cannot, of course, offer any support to the conjecture: it merely appears to remain unrefuted so far).

⁵ It would be possible to accept the abstract theory of liberty but reject or ignore critical rationalism. But all the logical problems of attempting to support theories are unavoidable.

⁶ It is absent in, for instance, Mack (2018), Vossen (2019), Zwolinski (n.d.), and Boaz, (n.d.). This is a factual observation, not a complaint.

explanations, and conjectures.⁷ The result is still very far from being a pellucidly clear⁸ and completely settled account. It would undoubtedly benefit from greater critical scrutiny if only in order to clarify it further, and it might even be significantly corrected or utterly refuted. But regardless of how right or wrong this theory is, it poses questions and problems that the orthodox varieties do not and which need to be answered and solved.

THE KEY LIBERTARIAN INSIGHT AND ITS CONFUSED ORTHODOX INTERPRETATIONS

Whatever the various libertarian theories are stated to be, there appears to be one key insight that is behind them all. This is the realization—if only at an intuitive level—that property rights tend to protect and promote two very important things at once: some sense of interpersonal liberty as people not interfering with, or initiating constraints on, each other's lives (sometimes generally expressed as 'live and let live'); and maximal productivity, or economic efficiency, that benefits one and all (sometimes generally expressed as 'a rising tide lifts all boats'). However, as we shall see, this insight remains philosophically confused in the various orthodox forms of libertarianism: there is no clear analysis and clarification of the distinguishable parts. Instead, there is a conflation of certain kinds of deontological rights, good consequences, property rights, and 'supporting justifications'; and all the while being oblivious to the (absurd and ironic) fact that there is no explicit theory of interpersonal liberty to explain any of this.⁹ At the same time, these orthodox positions are often perceived and presented by advocacy texts as being crystal clear and completely cogent.¹⁰ Critical

⁷ This is partly intended to be a better version of the attempts that were Lester (1997; 2014, ch. 10).

⁸ Some typical, and thereby useful, misunderstandings that arise in one anonymous review will be dealt with in footnotes at various points.

⁹ Two classic examples are Nozick (1974) and Rothbard ([1973, 1978] 2006). But see virtually any mainstream libertarian text. The philosophical sophistication of the Nozick text obscures the fact that it is at the same time ultimately superficial as regards some of the issues raised in this essay.

¹⁰ A good short example is Long (2014). And see the critical response that is Lester (2014, ch. 6)

texts cite real philosophical problems^{11,12,13} but they are usually answered with, unwittingly, ad hoc maneuvers.¹⁴ The problem is that both the best criticisms and the best defences are fatally flawed insofar as they incorrectly assume, as they usually do, that something approximating to the current orthodox philosophical assumptions¹⁵ is necessary and sufficient to explain libertarianism and that supporting justifications¹⁶ are possible. General problems with the orthodox assumptions will be explained in what follows. More-detailed criticisms can be found in the texts cited in the various footnote references. But this essay is primarily a short explanation of the heterodox paradigm.

A CLEARER APPROACH: SEPARATING DISTINCT ISSUES

An adequate philosophical theory of libertarianism needs to make the following distinctions:

- 1) An abstract theory of interpersonal-liberty-in-itself that is independent of any type of property (i.e., ownership), or normativity.¹⁷
- 2) The practical and contingent, derived, objective applications of the abstract theory.
- 3) The separate moral and value defences of the abstract theory and its objective applications.
- 4) At every stage the abandonment of ‘supporting justifications’ in favour of critical rationalism, which explicitly uses

¹¹ Friedman (1989, ch. 41, 42). And see the critical response that is Lester ([2000] 2012, 71-123).

¹² “For Nozick, ... there is justice when there is no restriction on freedom. But freedom is then itself defined in terms of non-violation of rights, and the result is a tight definitional circle and no purchase either on the concept of freedom or the concept of justice,” Cohen (1995, 61).

¹³ See Sobel (2012, 2014).

¹⁴ E.g., Block (2011). And see the response that is Lester (2014, ch. 8).

¹⁵ Self-ownership, homesteading, just property, and either deontology or consequentialism are somehow ‘foundational’ to libertarianism—and all without an explicit theory of liberty.

¹⁶ I.e., “supporting justifications” as such, not of any particular assumptions. A review overlooks or misunderstands the references to critical rationalism and asks, “Supporting justifications of what?”

¹⁷ It will later be explained how Hobbes’s account in *Leviathan* is not adequate.

conjectures and criticisms.

That these distinctions are needed should become clearer as this explanation proceeds. This approach appears to be sufficiently radical to amount to a different philosophical paradigm of libertarianism. And this is a fortiori true if also combined with the extreme version of the, implicit, classical-liberal/libertarian compatibility conjecture: there is no systematic *practical* clash between interpersonal liberty (or the libertarian ideology) and want-satisfaction welfare (or preference-utilitarian morals). Some general philosophical explanations of this compatibility will be suggested at various points, but there cannot be a comprehensive social scientific defence of this conjecture here. The following account attempts a new, short, explanation of just such theories of liberty and libertarianism.

INTERPERSONAL LIBERTY

There are various competing conceptions of interpersonal liberty. But there are only two dominant conceptions in both common sense and in political or social philosophy. They are not negative liberty and positive liberty, as might be supposed. Rather, they are both types of so-called 'negative liberty'. One conception is that of people not *initiating* constraints on each other. This is something that could, as far as is practical, be universally observed: everyone could have maximal such liberty at the same time. This is more or less the conception that John Locke (1632–1704) uses in his *Second Treatise of Government* (1690).¹⁸ The other conception is that of people not being constraints in any way on each other. And this is something that will, in practice, be a universal zero-sum game: someone can gain such liberty only at the expense of someone else's loss of such liberty. This is more or less the conception that Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) uses in his *Leviathan* (1651), but here restricted

¹⁸ For instance, in section 57: "Liberty is freedom from restraint and violence by others; and this can't be had where there is no law. This freedom is not—as some say it is—a freedom for every man to do whatever he wants to do (for who could be free if every other man's whims might dominate him?); rather, it is a freedom to dispose in any way he wants of his person, his actions, his possessions, and his whole property—not to be subject in any of this to the arbitrary will of anyone else but freely to follow his own will, all within whatever limits are set by the laws that he is under." However, as we shall see later, bringing in "property" and "law" at this stage is partly what prevents this account from being the abstract theory of liberty that will be argued to be necessary.

only to interpersonal constraints—which Hobbes does not do.¹⁹ Neither conception is usually explicitly, clearly, and abstractly theorized, even by libertarian philosophers. Consequently, people sometimes switch between one and the other, or conflate the two, without realizing that this is what they are doing.²⁰

LIBERTARIANISM

‘Libertarianism’, in the social or political sense, is a modern name for a long-existing subset of classical liberalism:²¹ that which advocates maximum interpersonal liberty and either a minimal ‘night watchman’ state (minarchy) or no state (anarchy).²² The version of interpersonal liberty that libertarianism tends to assume is no-initiated-constraint liberty. This will be the primary focus here. However, it sometimes assumes no-constraint liberty. A clearer and more explicit theory of each can avoid much philosophical confusion and solve many related philosophical problems. This is useful not only for libertarianism; it will also apply to the common-sense conceptions whether or not they are being used by libertarians.

Some self-described libertarian texts make the characterisation of ‘libertarianism’ more precise. They assume that libertarianism

¹⁹ For instance, in chapter xxi. Of the liberty of subjects, “Liberty, or FREEDOME, signifieth (properly) the absence of Opposition; (by Opposition, I mean external Impediments of motion;)” (“Liberty What’); and “A FREE-MAN, is ‘he, that in those things, which by his strength and wit he is able to do, is not hindred to doe what he has a will to” (“What It Is To Be Free”). And so we see that Hobbes’s account relates to zero-sum action.

²⁰ Such due, general, acknowledgements to Locke and Hobbes are not intended to imply that what follows is about the details or implications of their specific theories of liberty.

²¹ For instance: “political philosophy that takes individual liberty to be the primary political value. It may be understood as a form of liberalism” (Boaz n.d.) “full-fledged libertarianism, as opposed to more moderate forms of classical liberalism.” (Zwolinski n.d.) “Depending on the context, libertarianism can be seen as either the contemporary name for classical liberalism, adopted to avoid confusion in those countries where liberalism is widely understood to denote advocacy of expansive government powers, or as a more radical version of classical liberalism.” (Conway 2008, 295–98).

²² On anarchism, see especially Molinari ([1849] 1977), and Bastiat ([1850] 2007). But there are also Jakob Mauvillon (1743–94), Julius Faucher (1820–78), and various others. Hence libertarianism (*avant la lettre*) seems to have long been be a type of classical liberalism, *contra* S. Freeman (2001). It is less clear that the politically-correct “liberalism” defended in that essay is entirely a version of classical liberalism.

involves “foundational philosophical commitments”²³ to some combination of certain deontological rights,²⁴ or self-ownership,²⁵ or the non-aggression principle (or axiom),²⁶ or ‘just’ (i.e., ‘libertarian’) private property, etc. This might²⁷ be seen as implying that the overall approach taken here is ‘not, real, libertarianism’. Such a position would appear to be somewhat like a Catholic rejecting Protestantism as ‘not, real, Christianity’. It would be dogmatism rather than precision. As what follows is explained as a heterodox paradigm of libertarianism in which abstract liberty is explicitly theorized and very similar practical implications are derived, it would seem perverse to deny that it is a form of libertarianism. If anything, it appears to be more coherently libertarian than the mainstream varieties.

AN ABSTRACT THEORY OF INTERPERSONAL LIBERTY

THE PHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEM AND ITS INTUITIVE BUT INCORRECT SOLUTIONS

A ‘practical theory of interpersonal liberty’ can be explained as an attempted account of what interpersonal liberty involves in contingent practice as regards rules and consequences. This can be done by using an intuition that implies a tacit theory²⁸ of

²³ “Most of the libertarian theories we have surveyed in this article have a common structure: foundational philosophical commitments are set out, theories are built upon them, and practical conclusions are derived from those theories.” (Zwolinski n.d.)

²⁴ The most well-known being Nozick (1974).

²⁵ Which even “left libertarianism” makes foundational. See Vallentyne, Steiner, and Otsuka (2005).

²⁶ For instance, Block (2003).

²⁷ Or, *therefore*, it also might not. This is not to imply, as a *JLS* review incorrectly supposes is intended, that all foundationalists would reject this as a form of libertarianism. However, some responses appear to do so; not least, Block (2019) which, for instance, calls “private property rights, the be-all, and end-all of libertarianism, along with the NAP” (p. 142). Reply in progress.

²⁸ A quoted *JLS* review comment with interspersed replies: This “suggests that intuitions about liberty are based on tacit theories of interpersonal liberty”. Yes, intuitions that rules and consequences can be categorized as fitting or not fitting liberty in practice thereby imply possession of some sort of theory, however muddled or protean, of abstract liberty to sort them. However, the far more important—non-psychological—matter here is that the possibility of an explicit, abstract theory of liberty is implied by such categorization. “But it isn’t clear that such theories have to be based on complete theories of interpersonal liberty”. It is

interpersonal liberty; and this is what most orthodox accounts of libertarianism do. But if we are explicitly to derive these rules and consequences, then we first need to have an explicit, abstract theory of interpersonal liberty. An ‘abstract theory of interpersonal liberty’ can be explained as an attempted account of what interpersonal liberty is in itself before any contingent practical applications.

How is an abstract theory of the liberty of libertarianism—and thereby also of the relevant dominant common-sense conception—to be understood? To have a theory of liberty that inherently involves particular property rules and particular moral rights is not to have a clearer and stronger theory. Rather, it is to attempt to have an unfalsifiable or uncriticisable theory. And that, as Karl Popper explained, is not clearer and stronger: it is really to avoid saying anything substantive at all. It is certainly to have no proper theory of liberty. Instead, it is in effect to assume the legitimacy or morality of certain rules or rights and then stipulatively or persuasively—and thereby vacuously—define those rules or rights as ‘libertarian’ and their flouting as ‘unlibertarian’ (or even ‘aggression’²⁹, or—still worse—‘coercion’³⁰). Texts that are

clear that they rarely are; they are usually inchoate and tacit. Why next mention “in particular theories of libertarian rights”? Why bring in rights at this stage? Before one can coherently assert “libertarian rights” one must first determine what is non-normatively libertarian (what factually fits liberty); whether there is a right to that is a separate, later, and normative question. “Someone might, [...] if Popper is right, have some theory in mind, but it might not be a worked-out but tacit complete theory of interpersonal liberty.” Of course it isn’t “worked-out” or “complete”. It would hardly be tacit if it were.

²⁹ The idea that libertarianism is about the absence of aggression, or the Non-Aggression Principle (NAP), or Non-Aggression Axiom—as found in Block (2003), for instance—means, it is explained, that one should “not initiate (or threaten) violence against the person or legitimately owned property of another.” Even if we interpret “violence” to mean only ‘violations’, this raises two crucial problems. 1) How do we know that any so-called “legitimately owned property” actually fits interpersonal liberty (after all, not all property rights fit liberty) unless we have an explicit abstract theory of liberty? 2) If “non-aggression” is absolute (as “non” ipso facto implies), then how can any ‘boundary crossings’, such as even the smallest pollution, be allowed or otherwise dealt with? Rothbard and his followers attempt answers (see, for instance, Block (2011, esp. 2.2–2.5); but they do not work (see in response, Lester [2014, ch. 8, esp. 2.2–2.5]).

³⁰ The narrow, plain-English meaning of ‘coercion’ is “the use of force to persuade someone to do something that they are unwilling to do” (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/coercion>), or “[a]ctual or threatened force for the purpose of compelling action by another person” (<https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/coercion>). In this sense, legitimate coercion is not a contradiction in

critical of libertarianism often note this. Therefore, it is better not to tie a theory of interpersonal liberty to specific property rules or to specific moral rights. Then it can be used independently to assess and explain whether any property rule or any moral right is in accord with liberty. Moreover, it is necessary that some such abstract theory is possible. For it is always coherent to ask whether, and how, some property rule or moral right is compatible with interpersonal liberty as a factual matter—rather than by some ideological definition of 'liberty' or 'libertarianism'.³¹ And if mainstream libertarianism—of all ideologies—cannot give a coherent answer to such a question, then it is in a state of philosophical confusion that is acutely ironic: it cannot; it is. In any case, the correct eleutherology (philosophical study and theorizing concerning interpersonal liberty) is a fundamental philosophical problem—not only one for libertarians. It is surely no less important than the correct epistemology, for instance. Therefore, if the following account is not the correct abstract theory of interpersonal liberty, still there must be such an abstract liberty to be correctly theorized and it is important that it be attempted.

Is it possible to formulate a libertarian theory of interpersonal liberty that is sufficiently abstract such that it is both non-proper-tarian and non-normative? First consider the dominant 'Lockean' conception. Conceptually, liberty is always about the absence of some kind of constraints on something. Here it is about the absence of some kind of constraints on people by people: interpersonal constraints (it is not about intrapersonal constraints—limits within a person—or the constraints of the natural world). More precisely here, it must be some sense of the absence of people *initiating*—whether intentionally or not—relevant constraints on each other in some

terms. A libertarian society would use legitimate coercion to defend liberty (and sometimes coercion is contractual or even the whole point of some libertarian interaction: boxers are using coercion on each other). However, libertarian texts sometimes use 'coercion' to mean any action that is 'unlibertarian' or flouts 'libertarian' property rights. For instance, "...liberty is by definition an absence of coercion..."; Machan (1998, 184).

³¹ A quoted *JLS* review comment followed by a reply: "This assumes that in order to answer the question, one must have a theory of interpersonal liberty. But couldn't one attempt to answer the question by pre-theoretical intuitions about liberty?" No, "pre-theoretical intuitions about liberty" cannot *explain* "whether, and *how*, some property rule or moral right is compatible with interpersonal liberty as a *factual* matter". At most they can assign an intuitive libertarian category to the "property rule or moral right".

way: a *purely* reactive or defensive constraint would preserve interpersonal liberty; a proactive or offensive constraint would reduce interpersonal liberty. But what, in the most abstract sense, is it about a person that cannot be proactively constrained by other people if he is to have his interpersonal liberty? This is the key question.

As we have seen, it cannot be either his property or his rights as such—however intuitive such answers may appear.³² It may, of course, be some of, or all of, or only his property or rights where these are compatible with liberty. But that brings us back to the problem. Without an independent, explicit, and abstract theory of liberty, we cannot determine with any clarity what is compatible with liberty. The other main intuitive contender is actions. That also runs into clear difficulties. Proactive constraints on possible actions that someone does not want to perform may not be cared about, or even noticed; so they will not be in any way oppressive (felt as constraining). And some proactive constraints on wanted actions will be perceived as much more oppressive than others in a way that cannot be explained merely in terms of actions. Moreover, sometimes it is not an action but some other wanted state of affairs that might be being constrained; and, again, in a way that admits of theoretically unexplained degrees of oppression. Therefore, abstract interpersonal liberty also does not appear to be about the absence of proactive constraints on actions as such.

THE COUNTER-INTUITIVE BUT CORRECT SOLUTION

So what is being relevantly constrained? The clues are in the references to people's wants. It is the proactive constraining of the satisfaction of wants. This is the most general description of what we do not want others to proactively constrain with respect to ourselves. And, therefore, it seems to fit what is required for the abstract theory of liberty, despite being a counter-intuitive answer for most orthodox libertarians. Hence we can theorize such 'libertarian liberty' as 'the absence of interpersonal proactively-imposed constraints on want-satisfaction' (or 'preference-satisfaction': as no distinction is made here). *Ex hypothesi*, this rules out both proactively imposing wants themselves (by—*ipso facto* unwanted—violent threats, fraud, secret drugging, etc.) and

³² What is currently intuitive for holders of any theories may change for them in the light of a perceived better alternative.

want-satisfactions that themselves would proactively constrain another person's want-satisfactions (for constraints on them would not be proactive but reactive). Otherwise, the wants may be indefinitely many, heterogeneous in nature, sometimes apparently incommensurable, varying in intensity and importance, biological necessities, or entirely contingent and transitory.

A focus on—and aggregation of ostensibly disparate types of—want-satisfactions ought not to seem too strange. Such want-satisfaction is fairly well understood in economics and in utilitarianism: whatever diverse things people actually want, they must in some sense be obtaining *ex ante* utility (or usefulness) from them; and people do make some kind of utility-maximising trade-offs among all of their own very different types of wants. Want-satisfaction, in itself, is even one interpretation of 'utility' in economics and in preference utilitarianism. Preference utilitarianism is distinguished from the other types by not necessarily having a positive conscious sensation as an effect or a goal. It has only a conscious 'utility' as a cause or motive: at the thought of achieving whatever is wanted (even if that is never experienced or known to come about by the person who wants it to be). Consequently, happy delusions are ruled out—unless those happen to be what someone spontaneously does want. Hence preference-utility (or want-satisfaction) is part of what helps us to make sense of the abstract conception of liberty and also of liberty's ultimate congruence with maximizing one conception of human welfare. For human welfare is rightly perceived as the other main social desideratum, but wrongly perceived as often in serious and systematic conflict with liberty.³³

A possible—even likely—criticism may be that this is, therefore, really some strange variety, or subset, of utilitarianism being presented as libertarianism. But positively promoting utility is no part of this abstract theory of liberty, let alone using some people for the benefit of others. The theory solely rules out proactive interpersonal constraints on individuals achieving their (non-proactively-constraining) goals. Utility does not even need to be mentioned. However, it is sometimes convenient to speak in terms of utility in order to explain the congruence of liberty with free-market economics and preference-utilitarian welfare.

³³ As already stated, this conjecture cannot be defended here in social scientific terms. That is primarily a task for economists.

A further criticism may be that, nevertheless, there are still some interpersonal-utility comparisons implied by this theory, and that this is—at the very least—problematic. And here it has to be conceded that an element of interpersonal-utility comparison is indeed implied. It appears to be theoretically unavoidable for the abstract theory. However, as we shall see later, it is only necessary to make the plausible assumption that people are very broadly similar in their responses to certain very fundamental choices. This is not to suppose, or require, or imply either complete homogeneity or any cardinality of people's want-satisfaction responses.³⁴

Now that the abstract theory of interpersonal liberty has been theorized as “the absence of interpersonal proactively-imposed constraints on want-satisfaction”, it may be convenient to abbreviate this unwieldy expression. “No” is shorter than “the absence of”; we are unlikely to forget that it is “interpersonal”, so that can usually be omitted; but “proactively” is crucial here, so best included (usually, at least); “constraints on” someone's “want-satisfaction” (from what it otherwise would have been) is an ‘imposed cost’ to him (in the sense of the opposite of a merely withheld benefit). Therefore, the full formulation can conveniently be abbreviated to ‘no proactively-imposed costs’ (or more briefly, ‘no proactive impositions’). Ten words have been reduced to four (or three). Whenever an abbreviated formulation is used, the full theory will be implied. Thus any alleged ‘proactively-imposed cost’ must in principle be translatable into the longer formulation. But none of these particular words really matter. The same abstract theory of liberty might be expressed in a different way, as long as the general idea is understood. (And it is now possible simply to

³⁴ At this point a review makes a somewhat muddled intervention: “if rights and non-aggression are just contingently related to liberty, how is it that wants are intrinsically connected to liberty in a way rights are not? Unless ‘wants’ and ‘liberty’ are equivalent, the inherent connection between the two calls out for an explanation that is not given.” A reply is best given in stages. 1) It is always best to accurately quote rather than to assume that a paraphrase is accurate. 2) To make a conceptual distinction between two things is not to imply that they are only “contingently related” (any particular number is conceptually distinct from mathematics as a subject, but they are necessarily related). 3) A positive theory of interpersonal liberty and what it entails in practice appears to be conceptually separable from a normative theory of “rights and non-aggression” and what they entail in practice. 4) It is explained in the text how wants relate to an abstract (non-propertyarian and non-normative) theory of interpersonal liberty. 5) Rights are either propertyarian or normative, and so cannot be part of any such abstract theory.

add—by analogy with all of the foregoing explanation—that the no-constraint, 'Hobbesian', theory of interpersonal liberty will be 'no impositions'.)

Note that this verbal formulation is not a *definition* of the word 'liberty'. It is a philosophical *theory* about the nature of the abstract liberty that libertarianism, and common sense, presupposes or entails. Definitions attempt to provide the meanings of words (whether by usage or by stipulation). Theories attempt to provide descriptions of the world. And the world includes the realm of all abstractions (which is also inhabited by all the entities of logic and mathematics). It is very remiss to fail to make, or fail to grasp, this crucial distinction. It is part of the philosophical philistinism of common sense when philosophy is seen as "merely arguing about words." Indeed, one orthodox response to what is being discussed here is that it is mere semantics that does not really contradict or correct anything in mainstream libertarianism.³⁵ As ought to be clear, that response does not bear serious philosophical scrutiny.³⁶

This may still appear to be too unlike any theory of what libertarian liberty plausibly could be. But we have seen that orthodox libertarianism has no proper abstract theory of liberty, and that abstract liberty cannot be explained in terms of property, or rights, or actions. That mainstream libertarianism does not have an explicit abstract theory of interpersonal liberty is as strange and scandalous as it would be if utilitarianism were to offer no explicit abstract theory of utility (in fact there are several). It might also be thought that this unorthodox account has not been given a sufficient, 'supporting justification'. And that is correct. For, as critical rationalism explains, 'supporting justifications' are logically impossible. Nevertheless, it would still be possible to further explain and defend this abstract account of interpersonal liberty at an abstract level. But rather than do that in this new, short, explanation, it will now be applied to the apparent contingent circumstances of the world. Will it produce the results

³⁵ Private communication. Name withheld to protect the guilty.

³⁶ A review asks, "How is it that the meanings of words and descriptions of the world are so separate?" Put as simply as possible, to define what a word means ("God", "phlogiston", "Yeti") is not to assert that the definition describes a real thing. Here we appear to have a real abstract thing—a tacit theory of abstract libertarian liberty—and we are attempting to provide an explicit theory that accurately describes it.

that libertarianism requires? If it does, then that should itself help to explain and defend it.

HYPOTHETICAL DERIVATIONS OF SELF-OWNERSHIP AND EXTERNAL PROPERTY

As initially stated, the focus has been on the no-initiated-constraint—'Lockean'—view of interpersonal liberty. But there are self-described 'Hobbesian' libertarians.³⁷ It should be illuminating to show how both of the main abstract theories of interpersonal liberty explained here can be applied to derive practical conclusions. These are hypothetical derivations concerning what the application of abstract liberty factually, or positively, entails; they are not advocacy, or normative. Then there is also the issue of whether these approaches are in any way different in their practical outcomes.

APPLYING NO-PROACTIVE-IMPOSITION LIBERTY

Here interpersonal liberty is interpreted as being free from peoples' *proactively*-imposed constraints on our want/preference-satisfactions; that is, people are not initiating interferences—whether intentionally or not—on our having what we want. If no one is proactively constraining us in this way, then we have full interpersonal liberty. If Adam initiates any control on—interferes with—Eve's body against Eve's preferences, then that is a proactive constraint on Eve: the body that, contingently, Eve more or less is. We can imagine a world where a person (understood as a unitary consciousness with appropriate capacities) does not care about control of their body or is not physically attached to a particular body (and can easily move to a different one). In either case, liberty might have different practical implications. But in the reality we seem to observe, for Adam to flout Eve's preferences as regards her body is not for Adam to exercise his own interpersonal liberty—as here conceived—but to exercise power over another person. And if Eve manages to prevent this, then she is not, significantly, proactively imposing on Adam (except, for instance, to the trivial, and reciprocal, degree that her body comprises natural resources that Adam might otherwise have used³⁸) but reactively defending

³⁷ Such as Hillel Steiner and Jan Narveson.

³⁸ Therefore, even this example does have some conflict in applying pure liberty. In which case it is immediately clear that all that can be achieved is the more

herself.³⁹ Hence, having ultimate control of one's body normally follows from having (more strictly, maximally applying) such liberty. This factual and contingent consequence is before needing to assume the legal institution of property (or needing to assume morals either). However, in order better to protect this ultimate control of one's body, it is efficient to institute self-ownership (which can be done with spontaneously-arising law⁴⁰ rather than by state command⁴¹).

With external resources (that is, resources external to people's bodies) it might be supposed that, logically, we at least need to

libertarian option (maximising liberty) and not perfect liberty. Another example might be the non-trivial disutility proactively imposed on Adam by Eve's existence and rejection of him versus the extreme disutility of Eve if Adam were to force himself upon her to reduce his disutility.

³⁹ A quoted *JLS* review comment with interspersed replies: "The author plausibly conjectures that the disutility to an individual from allowing interferences with his body will normally outweigh the utility gained by someone who interferes with it." That utilitarian comparison may be true, however what fits abstract liberty is not calculated by what is utilitarian. The correct abstract libertarian comparison is that the proactively imposed disutility on person A of interferences with A's body by person B far outweighs any proactively imposed disutility on B by his being required not thus to interfere. However, the basic idea can also be explained intrapersonally: it is far less of a proactively imposed cost to be required not to interfere with other's bodies than it is to be required to suffer their interference with yours. This "seems very plausible for two-person cases, but [...] what if one person, or the members of a small minority, is hated by a vast number of people and elimination of the hated would increase the utility of the majority?" Or, rather, what if it would decrease the proactively imposed disutility of the majority that the existence of one person, or a minority, causes? This is somewhat similar to one of the many criticisms dealt with in Lester ([2000] 2012): "A Critic of Religion" (pp. 66–69) (not all of those criticisms and replies could be incorporated into this relatively brief exposition). However, to reply directly but briefly, consider the universalized and long-term effects of institutionalizing a rule that a sufficiently hated person, or minority, can be put to death to minimize the proactively imposed cost that their mere existence causes. This would universally undermine toleration and stoke up hatred and fear. No one would dare to become too well known in case that somehow turned to infamy. To even express an opinion in public might become a serious risk. Therefore, such a rule would appear to allow more proactive impositions than not allowing it. Expressed individually, it is a lesser proactively imposed cost by far to know that someone you hate continues to live (even though you never need to see him or hear anything about him: if you choose to find out about him—or choose to experience media that might mention him—then that is not proactively imposed on you) than it is to live in fear that you, or any one of the many individuals that you value, can be killed if enough people somehow come to feel sufficient hatred.

⁴⁰ Or 'natural law', but only in the same sense that there are natural languages.

⁴¹ See, for instance, Benson (1990).

derive self-ownership first and proceed from that. This does not appear to be the case, for the explanation runs independently: self-ownership does not need to be mentioned, or presupposed, or implied. In fact, a living human body can be thought of as simply one type of resource; just one that contingently happens to be tied to a particular person (intellectually conceived) with very strong and stable fundamental wants or preferences about controlling it. However, because bodies are more or less what we are, and external resources are not, the situation with external resources is somewhat different.

Once we have begun to use⁴² a natural resource for some purpose, then it typically proactively⁴³ imposes a significant cost on us if someone takes that resource from us or uses it in a way that flouts our purposes. By possessing and controlling it we might proactively impose a cost on other people too; but this is mainly to the, usually small and reciprocal, extent of the unmodified resource's want-satisfaction value to them. For to be denied a benefit that someone else has somehow produced—such as a wooden cabin—is not in itself to be proactively imposed on.^{44,45} Therefore, it appears that the

⁴² There need be no labor-mingling. It is possible to find a use for something by its remaining as it was found: a beautiful tree outside our abode, or the sunlight that falls daily on us. Neither need labor-mingling be using something: to walk across mud is to mix one's labor of walking with that mud, but not thereby to use the mud (which is, we may suppose, a mere nuisance). Hence, it is use that is fundamental.

⁴³ A review asserts that "no account of what 'proactively' means or describes is adequately given". Why is this needed? 'Proactive' is in most dictionaries; it is the antonym of 'reactive'. Perhaps the review means 'proactively imposed'. However, a little above in the text that expression is explained as "initiating interferences". And earlier still the text explains "a *purely* reactive or defensive constraint would preserve interpersonal liberty; a proactive or offensive constraint would reduce interpersonal liberty". Can this be made plainer? The basic idea is more generally expressed simply as an 'interference'. But rather than belabor this point further, it is probably easier to deal with specific examples as they arise.

⁴⁴ However, to simplify matters, this ignores discussions of costs relating to envy, frustrated desire, lost status, 'utility monsters', and other mainly 'self-inflicted', or moral hazard, or reciprocal examples: all of which it would, at least overall and in the long term, proactively impose more to allow to limit ultimate control by initial use and subsequent voluntarily agreed transfer. But see the index of Lester ([2000] 2012) for relevant discussions of such things.

⁴⁵ A review asserts that "the claim that ownership does not proactively frustrate the non-owners' preferences is ad hoc at this point." Several responses are relevant. 1) Accurate quotation is better than inaccurate attempted paraphrase. 2) There is no such assertion or implication. 3) This is "at this point" about ultimate control and

least proactive⁴⁶ imposition on people's preference-satisfactions is usually to allow ultimate control to the initial user,⁴⁷ and thereafter control by voluntarily agreed transfer⁴⁸ (as mentioned above, these interpersonal comparisons plausibly assume only that people are very broadly similar in their responses to certain fundamental choices). Assuming the theory of liberty, this entails that it usually maximally observes, or instantiates, liberty to have personal ultimate control of external resources where one has initiated a use (or subsequently received them by voluntarily agreed transfer). This factual and contingent consequence is also before needing to assume the legal institution of property (or needing to assume morals). However, in order better to protect liberty, it is efficient to institute property rights in such resources.⁴⁹

not about "ownership". 4) It is stated in the main text that "we might proactively impose a cost on other people too; but this is mainly to the, usually small and reciprocal, extent of the unmodified resource's want-satisfaction value to them." 5) It is stated in the footnote that "to simplify matters, this ignores discussions of costs relating to envy, frustrated desire, lost status, 'utility monsters', and other mainly 'self-inflicted', or moral hazard, or reciprocal examples ..." (and a reference to discussions of such issues is given). 6) There is a severe limit on how much detail is possible in this relatively short explanation.

⁴⁶ A review asserts that "it is not clear how degrees of proactivity are even relevant at this point." It is not about "degrees of proactivity" but 'degrees of proactively imposed cost'. It has already been explained how these can be on both sides with both a person's body and external resources. In all such, ubiquitous, cases liberty can only be maximized.

⁴⁷ But exceptions can be imagined, such as where this monopolizes a vital natural resource that other people would themselves have discovered.

⁴⁸ A review asserts that the "conclusion on this point is insufficiently supported". This is, again, to overlook, or reject without explanation, the assumed epistemology that is cited and outlined earlier. It would only be relevant to produce a criticism that is inconsistent with the text.

⁴⁹ A review asserts that "the notion that property and trade maximize liberty (and not merely want satisfaction) [...] requires both [1] data to show that property and trade do satisfy wants more than the alternatives and [2] an explanation of how those satisfied wants are indeed of the type that are included in the theory of liberty." Replies to both points follow. 1) This is philosophy and not social science, so empirical "data" cannot usually be more than background assumptions. Assuming critical rationalism (as this essay does), which includes falsificationism, no amount of "data" can "show" (i.e., support or justify) anything. What has here been called the "classical-liberal/libertarian compatibility conjecture" cannot be defended here apart from a few passing philosophical aspects. 2) A philosophical explanation has been provided of the fundamental relationship between want-satisfaction and the property and trade that is implied by applying the abstract theory.

In short, we can derive both self-ownership and external private property (usually arising from initial use and thereafter voluntarily agreed transfer) because, contingently (for we can imagine worlds where this is not so), they maximally observe such interpersonal liberty. They are not what interpersonal liberty is in abstract theory, but what maximum interpersonal liberty entails in practice (hence they are not, philosophically, the ‘foundational’ assumptions of libertarianism—as is often supposed). And once self-ownership and such property are thus derived from maximally observing abstract liberty, we can use them as strong, *prima facie*, positive rules as to what is ‘libertarian’: that is, factually maximally liberty-instantiating in practice. Therefore, we have arrived at the two main rules that libertarians intuit to fit liberty, but now with an explicit, non-propertyarian, non-normative, abstract theory of liberty to explain that intuition.

Such ‘rule libertarianism’ (but non-moral at this stage) is analogous with rule utilitarianism. This may sound odd mainly because orthodox libertarianism jumps straight to normative rules without any explicit non-normative, act-libertarian, abstract theory. It might even seem that this abstract theory necessarily implies act-libertarianism. But that seems to be as mistaken as the view that utilitarianism necessarily implies act-utilitarianism instead of rule-utilitarianism.⁵⁰ Now that these practical property rules are derived, it is only necessary to go back to the abstract theory of interpersonal liberty in problem cases or to answer further philosophical questions.

However, there is an immediate and obvious problem that has already been touched on with respect to deriving self-ownership and external-resource ownership. Very often a near-absence of proactive impositions is impossible because there is a significant reciprocal clash. For instance, either you suffer the smoke-pollution from my fire or I suffer going without warmth and cooking: both the allowance and the disallowance of the fire will proactively impose, but on different people (confused criticisms of deontological or rule libertarianism often see *only* the allowance of pollution as imposing⁵¹).⁵² In such cases it is impossible to achieve

⁵⁰ If the compatibility conjecture is true, then libertarian rules are also utilitarian rules.

⁵¹ For instance, Zwolinski (2015). And see the reply that is Lester ([2011] 2016, ch. 31).

⁵² Either of us could move our dwelling places, of course. But that would be, we may assume, an even greater proactive imposition on whichever side did this.

anywhere near perfect liberty or to apply any plausible interpretation of the so-called 'non-aggression principle', for liberty can only be maximized as best as is practical; and this might involve compromise or compensation. It is important not to misunderstand this point. Dealing with inevitable clashes by *maximising* liberty might appear to be collectively consequentialist (in some non-moral sense at this stage, at least). But that can't be right; for no one's liberty is curtailed in order to promote the maximum liberty of other people in general. It is simply that maximisation is all that is possible when specific liberties conflict. These specific liberties might include indefinitely large groups of indeterminate people ('the public'), and be best dealt with by a class, or representative, law suit. But even such 'collective' minimising of proactively imposed costs on indeterminate people is not 'collectivist' in any way that overrides libertarian individualism in principle. As a consequence, applying this theory of liberty inherently internalizes externalities (but in a pre-property sense) as far as is practical and thereby tends to be economically efficient. And this is one significant philosophical link between liberty or libertarianism and want-satisfaction or preference-utilitarianism.

Once all this is understood, it is possible to apply the abstract theory of liberty to derive relatively precise and clear implications for an indefinite variety of other issues within libertarianism. For instance, intellectual property, restitution and retribution, emergency situations, etc.⁵³ But none of this can be attempted here.

APPLYING NO-IMPOSITION LIBERTY

As we have seen, a straightforward no-constraint-on-actions approach to interpersonal liberty is in itself more or less zero-sum: if you have more interpersonal liberty, then someone else has just that much less. By this conception, a slave-owner *qua* slave-owner has more liberty where, and to the exact extent that, his slaves have less: whatever he can enforce that the slaves cannot prevent. Such zero-sum interpersonal liberty cannot in itself be maximized or protected; it can only be competed over or redistributed for some non-liberty reason—such as utility or equality. Therefore, it cannot be the liberty required by most versions of libertarianism (and one common-sense conception). Yet some libertarian texts do

⁵³ As found throughout Lester ([2000] 2012, [2011] 2016, 2014).

seem to accept it. They usually opt for something along the lines of ‘maximum like (i.e., similar or equal) [valuable] liberty for all’ — the word ‘valuable’ often being implicit.⁵⁴ Hence, in these theories, liberty-in-itself cannot be the criterion or the goal that is to be maximized or protected. They have the rather different criterion or goal of *valuable* liberties that *all can share equally*.

However, if the subjective intensities of interpersonal impositions are taken into account, then this does allow for a liberty-maximising interpretation. Adam might prefer to have ultimate control of Eve’s body. And Eve prefers that Adam doesn’t. In the event of such clashes of no-imposition liberty, the most ‘libertarian’ (i.e., liberty-instantiating) approach is to have whichever option is the lesser constraint.⁵⁵ Almost universally, it is a greater constraint on one’s preference-satisfactions to have any aspects of one’s body under someone else’s ultimate control than it is to be denied any similar control of another person’s body (or to have any other system of bodily control). Therefore, no-imposition liberty is maximally observed if people have ultimate control of their own bodies. This factual consequence is before the legal institution of property (and also before morals) needs to be assumed. However, an efficient way to protect this ultimate control of one’s body is then to institutionalize this as the property right of self-ownership.

A similar type of argument also applies to the control of all other resources. It is typically a greater constraint on our preference-satisfactions for other people to deny us ultimate control of the resources we already use (and thereafter receive by voluntarily agreed transfer), than it is to be denied access to resources that others are already using. Etc., etc.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ For instance, “every man may claim the fullest liberty to exercise his faculties compatible with the possession of like liberty to every other man” and “each has freedom to do all that he wills provided that he infringes not the equal freedom of any other”; Spencer (1851, ch. 4, sec. 3). More recently, “everyone has an equal right to the most extensive liberty compatible with the like liberty for all”; Rawls (1971, sec. 11).

⁵⁵ With the possibility of compensation in certain cases. Perhaps where there is no similar reciprocity, for instance.

⁵⁶ A review asserts that “[1] The argument of [this section] seems to apply equally well to the author’s argument, [2] for the author never shows that want satisfaction is a non-zero-sum game, [3] nor does the author make a convincing case that interpersonal liberty, as defined by rights or some other criteria, is actually zero sum.” There appears to be confusion here. 1) This section shows how it is

DO THESE TWO THEORIES HAVE ANY DIFFERENT PRACTICAL OUTCOMES?

In light of these two explanations of interpersonal liberty, one important question immediately arises: are they fully equivalent in terms of what they entail in practice? Both conceptions of interpersonal liberty appear—at least initially—to have the same practical implications. Thus one could explain interpersonal liberty using either. With the no-imposition approach, we still have to say that a slave-owner is having his liberty lessened if his slaves are freed without his consent; just not as much liberty as his slaves gain by being freed. Similarly, a would-be murderer has less liberty if his target-victim escapes; just not as much as his target-victim preserves his liberty by escaping that intended murder. This seems to be a coherent account. However, it is not how people mainly think about interpersonal liberty—either as self-described libertarians or otherwise. People typically think that when someone escapes proactively-imposed slavery he gains liberty; but his previous master has lost only his power over him. And the would-be murderer does not have his liberty lessened if his target-victim escapes him; his target-victim's liberty is simply preserved. Thus the no-imposition view fails to capture the intuitions that people usually have (as a matter of fact: this is not to advocate anything here) that there is a real causal and also moral difference between withholding a benefit and proactively imposing a cost even when the outcomes are the same. Consider a well-known example in the philosophical literature: coming across a drowning child in a shallow pond. Not saving the child will usually be viewed as morally reprehensible and despicable, but it is not usually viewed as causally or morally equivalent to pushing a child into the pond so that he drowns: to the equivalent of murder.⁵⁷ Hence it is closer to the main libertarian, and also more popular, approach to view abstract interpersonal liberty as the absence of people's *proactively*-imposed

possible to *avoid* the zero-sum-game interpretation of 'Hobbesian' liberty "if the subjective intensities of interpersonal impositions are taken into account". 2) This essay's main theory is not about mere want-satisfaction but the absence of proactive constraints on want-satisfaction. 3) Interpersonal liberty as somehow "defined by rights" may very well not be zero-sum. But, for the reasons explained, that cannot be an abstract theory of liberty (which does indeed use "some other criteria").

⁵⁷ Matters would be different if one were contractually employed as a lifeguard: then not saving the child would be proactively imposing by breaking one's contractual duties (on deriving contracts see Lester ([2000] 2012, 80–85).

constraints on our preference-satisfactions. And that fact possibly means that it is more stable and less costly to preserve. If so, other things being equal, more liberty should result. Thus that may be one important practical difference, after all.

Nevertheless, there are—as mentioned—some self-described “Hobbesian” libertarians (although they would probably not give the same account as here). And there are also anti-libertarians that take a Hobbesian approach to liberty. Therefore, it is useful to be able to explain both of these two approaches. It is also possible that one of these approaches is in some way logically incoherent or in some other way unfixably faulty. In which case, it is good to have the other to fall back on. But if they are *both* logically incoherent or unfixably faulty, then that would mean starting again. For it seems that there must be a *tacit*, non-propertyarian, non-normative, abstract conception of interpersonal liberty that distinguishes between those rights, property rules, and activities that instantiate (or fit) liberty and those that do not. And so an *explicit* account of that conception should be possible.

LIBERTARIAN MORALS

An abstract theory of interpersonal liberty and of what it entails in practice has now been broadly explained. Orthodox libertarianism brings morals into the picture before this has been done. But it seems that only after this has been done can it be fully coherent to ask ‘how does liberty and what it entails relate to morals?’ Given—as seems to be the case—that there cannot be any supporting justifications, it can only be a bold conjecture that such abstract and practical libertarianism is morally preferable to any alternative. This conjecture needs to be defended in the light of any criticisms that arise. It can be explained and defended how there does not appear to be any significant clash between libertarianism and the most defensible versions of various morally desirable things: rights and duties, justice, social justice, a social contract, human flourishing, human welfare, etc. But this does not mean that libertarianism is thereby morally *supported* by any of these things (or any combination of them). It remains a separate conjecture that libertarianism is morally desirable, and all moral criticisms are potential refutations that require adequate responses.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ A review suggests, without any explanation (or ‘justification’), that this short section should be omitted. Perhaps the implied reason is that it is better to say nothing about

CONCLUDING CONJECTURES

This philosophical essay is, ineluctably, more than averagely broad and speculative. Consequently, even if it were not assuming critical rationalism, it is not being presented as completely clear and convincing. However, it would be remiss not to conclude with some bold⁵⁹ conjectures that ought to be eminently criticisable. As regards interpersonal liberty, the abstract theory captures and explains it. As regards libertarianism, a “paradigm shift”⁶⁰ is required. The fundamental philosophy involved with mainstream libertarianism is a refuted and “degenerating research programme”.⁶¹ The philosophy involved with this new paradigm is an unrefuted and highly fruitful one. It offers a clearer understanding, better and more comprehensive solutions to problems, and more convincing replies to criticisms. However, despite its radical and important differences, the new paradigm is not fundamentally ideologically at odds with libertarianism itself—although that is sometimes the mainstream perception. For it reaches more or less the same conclusions⁶² but with greater philosophical clarity and cogency.

So far, this heterodox paradigm has been largely unnoticed or ignored. Where it has occasionally been subjected to criticism⁶³ it

libertarian morals rather than to fail to produce a scholarly length ‘justification’ of what is being explained here. But to say nothing may leave it mysterious to many readers how morals are supposed to relate to libertarianism with this theory. Or it may be thought that morals are still what will give it a ‘supporting justification’. Or it may be supposed that morals are implied to be not needed.

⁵⁹ A *JLS* review notes the Popperian approach to bold conjectures but suggests that “it does not follow from accepting this methodology that one must make bold and extravagant comments about the value of one’s conjectures”. However, no specific examples are quoted or explained to be “extravagant”. And none of the comments ought to be read as intentionally “extravagant”, although a sound criticism may reveal them to be so.

⁶⁰ To put it in the terms used and popularized by Thomas Kuhn.

⁶¹ To put it in the terms used by Imre Lakatos. Referring to Popper, Kuhn, and Lakatos might seem to be epistemologically promiscuous and inconsistent. However, the different expressions seem to capture important phenomena. Also, Kuhn’s approach can be interpreted as more sociological than epistemological. And Lakatos did not see his own work as contradicting Popper’s basic epistemology.

⁶² It deals precisely with any exceptions in a principled way where mainstream libertarianism is either unable to answer or is forced to make ad hoc assumptions.

⁶³ For instance, Gordon and Modugno (2003), Frederick (2013, 2105).

appears to have been misunderstood.⁶⁴ This is only to be expected. It is sufficiently radically different from the current orthodoxy to confuse most mainstream libertarians, even philosophers.⁶⁵ It is still ‘axiomatic’ to them that self-ownership, ‘just’ property, and some version of morality are somehow ‘foundational’ to explaining and ‘justifying’ libertarianism philosophically (and all without an explicit, abstract theory of liberty), despite the increasingly obvious problems with such assumptions. It will only slowly become clear that it is necessary to make the philosophical distinctions of abstract liberty, applied liberty, and moral defenses, while using critical-rationalist epistemology.⁶⁶

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⁶⁴ Replies to the critical texts listed in the previous footnote can be found here: Lester (2014, ch. 9, 10; 2017). Links to other replies to reviews: <http://www.la-articles.org.uk/lwa.htm>.

⁶⁵ As illustrated by the review quoted throughout.

⁶⁶ A review objects that this essay “has provided nowhere near the argument necessary” for its concluding conjectures. Of course, conjectures cannot be supported by arguments: only explained and defended. However, there have been short explanations of 1) the fundamental philosophical problems with mainstream libertarianism, and 2) how an alternative approach can solve those problems. The review has offered no sound criticism of any part of these explanations. Hence it “has provided nowhere near the argument necessary” as a criticism to refute the concluding conjectures.

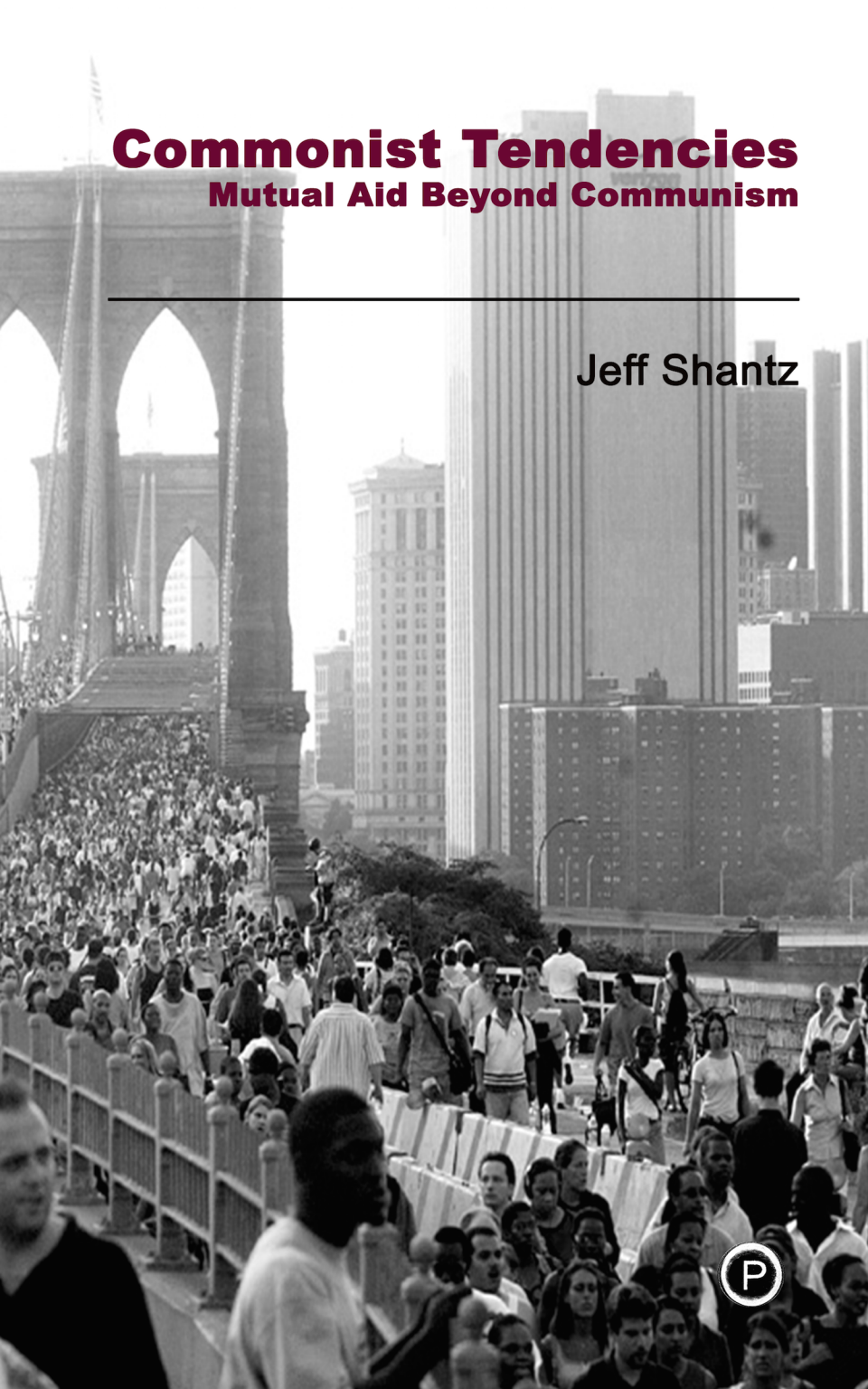
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Commonist Tendencies

Mutual Aid Beyond Communism

Jeff Shantz



COMMONIST TENDENCIES

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Commonist Tendencies: Mutual Aid Beyond
Communism
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Northeast Blackout

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Fig. 1. Hieronymus Bosch, Ship of Fools (1490-1500)

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01: BEYOND MOVEMENTS

TOWARD COMMONISM

As capitalist societies in the twenty-first century move from crisis to crisis, oppositional movements in the global North (which have been somewhat stymied (despite ephemeral manifestations like Occupy) are confronted with the pressing need to develop organizational infrastructures that might prepare the ground for a real, and durable, alternative. More and more, the need to develop shared infrastructural resources—what I have termed infrastructures of resistance (Shantz 2009)—becomes apparent. Ecological disasters (through crises of capital), economic crises, political austerity, and mass-produced fear and phobia all require organizational preparation—the common building of real world alternatives.

Confronted with these challenges, in the period of crisis and opportunity, movements of the global North have been largely perplexed by questions of how to advance, to build strength on a sustainable basis in a way that might pose real challenges to states and capital. Caught in cycles of repeatedly chasing after the next big momentary thing (Occupy, Idle No More protests in Canada, anti-pipelines demonstrations), they spin out largely symbolic manifestations or mobilizations that gain some attention but make few advances against states or capital. There are no guarantees that

crisis will lead to success for movements seeking positive social change. At the same time, fascists, fundamentalists, and corporatists of various sorts find openings and opportunities, often supported by promotional capital (such as the Koch brothers) or governments seeking a social barrier against constructive resistance.

Movements of the Left, of various tendencies, have been searching for the momentum that was lost after September 11, 2001 shifted the terrain of opposition and contestation in much of the world. Energies have been turned toward media critique, civil liberties defense, anti-war opposition, and confronting the racist abuses of the war on terror. These are, of course, all important pursuits, but they are defensive rather than constructive.

The social movements of the global North have had particular difficulties intervening within relations of production. Indeed, this marks the critical challenge or barrier in their broader possibilities of development (Mezzadra and Roggero 2010). They have been largely separate from, and contributed little to, the workplace movements; this has been detrimental to both alternative globalization and workplace movements.

There is a need (as necessary now as ever) to think through what we—non-elite, exploited, oppressed—want, and how we might get it. There is an urgency to pursue constructive approaches to meet common needs. For many, the constructive vision and practice of meeting social needs (individual and collective) is expressed as commonism—an aspiration of mutual aid, sharing, and common good, or common wealth collectively determined and arrived at. According to autonomist theorist Nick Dyer-Witford, the term commonsim is a useful way to discuss the goals and aspirations of oppositional movements, the movement of movements, because it returns to social struggle the emphasis on commonality—a common wealth—that has been lost in the histories of previous movements that subsumed the commons within mechanisms of state control,

regulation, and accounting—namely communism. According to Dyer-Witheford:

It is a popular term perhaps because it provides a way of talking about collective ownership without invoking a bad history—that is, without immediately conjuring up, and then explaining (away) ‘communism’, conventionally understood as a centralized command economy plus a repressive state. Though some will disagree, I think this distinction is valid; it is important to differentiate our goals and methods from those of past catastrophes, while resuming discussions of a society beyond capitalism. (2010, 106)

The reference to the commons means the collective lands and resources to which all have had access in meeting human social needs for almost all of human history on the planet. It speaks to the rootedness of humans as part of nature—an ecological as well as social consciousness. For commonists, the reference means even more specifically the common lands and resources that sustained peasant life in England in Western Europe historically, but which were stolen through violent (and legalized) practices of enclosure—in processes which Marx calls primitive accumulation—running from the late middle ages up through the present (Dyer-Witheford 2010, 106). Today, Dyer-Witheford speaks of “an ecological commons (of water, atmosphere, fisheries and forests); a social commons (of public provisions for welfare, health, education and so on); a networked commons (of access to the means of communication)” (2010, 106). These are the bases for sustaining human social life and development. They are in many cases, too, the outcomes of collective human labor, or collective human care (of land, water, education, and health).

Struggles over common lands and other common resources remain at the heart of vicious struggles waged in the twenty-first century. Contemporary neoliberalism oper-

ates according to a logic of new enclosures. The model of privatization of public services and institutions and the dismantling of social services pursues the enclosure of public resources—a portion of the surplus value produced by proletarians. It is an offensive against the para-commons, those collective resources wrestled from capital as part of previous rounds of social struggles and institutionalized (and controlled) within the auspices of the planner state. Neoliberalism seeks an extension of commodification into all spheres of social and ecological life.

The destruction of nature wipes out the common ground of human (and other) life. Indeed, the gross discrepancy between the privately held profit from resource extraction and industrial production (of and from nature)—a theft of and from the commons through enclosure/privatization—and the common eco/social sharing of the damage wrought by capitalist property and production—in the form of so-called externalities—shows starkly the conflict between commodity and commons.

In the current context, commonism, and the desire for commons, speaks to collective expressions against enclosure, now instituted as privatization, in various realms. While the central feature of capitalism is the commodity—a collectively produced good controlled for sale by private entities claiming ownership—the central feature of post-capitalist societies is the commons. For Dyer-Witheford:

A commodity is a good produced for sale, a common is a good produced, or conserved, to be shared. The notion of a commodity, a good produced for sale, presupposes private owners between whom this exchange occurs. The notion of the common presupposes collectivities—associations and assemblies—within which sharing is organised. If capitalism presents itself as an immense heap of commodities, ‘commonism’ is a multiplication of commons. (2010, 106)

These counter-forces have always been in conflict throughout the history of capitalism's imposition. And this conflict has been engaged in the various spheres of human life, as mentioned above. Commonism, and commonist struggles, are expressed in intersections of sites of human activity and sustenance: ecological, social, and ideational. Examples of ecological commonism include conservation efforts, indigenous land reclamations and re-occupations (and blockades of development), and community gardens, to name only a few. Social commons include childcare networks, food and housing shares, factory occupations, and solidarity economics (including, but not limited to, community cooperatives). Ideational commons include creative commons, opens source software, and data liberation (such as Anonymous and Wikileaks).

Projects for common wealth (in labor and nature) confront class divisions within capitalism. The spread or circulation of commons provides a practical alternative to relations of capitalism and market logics. It hints at a new social order—commonist order. For Dyer-Witherford:

We need to think in terms of the circulation of commons, of the interconnection and reinforcements between them. The ecological commons maintains the finite conditions necessary for both social and networked commons. A social commons, with a tendency towards a equitable distribution of wealth, preserves the ecological commons, both by eliminating the extremes of environmental destructiveness linked to extremes of wealth (SUVs, incessant air travel) and poverty (charcoal burning, deforestation for land) and by reducing dependence on 'trickle down' from unconstrained economic growth. Social commons also create the conditions for the network commons, by providing the context of basic health, security and education within which people can access new and old media. A network commons in turn circulates infor-

mation about the condition of both ecological and social commons (monitoring global environmental conditions, tracking epidemics, enabling exchanges between health workers, labour activists or disaster relief teams). Networks also provide the channels for planning ecological and social commons—organizing them, resolving problems, considering alternative proposals. They act as the fabric of the association that is the *sine qua non* of any of the other commons. (2010, 109–110)

This becomes proactive, or constructive. It provides a spreading base for eco-social development beyond state capitalist control. It also moves movements from momentary spectacles or defensive stances or reactive “fightbacks.” Commonism affirms and asserts different ways of doing things, of living, of interacting.

There is, in the current commonist movements, “an insurrection of subjectivities at the level of the common” that breaks from both liberal individualism and socialist collectivism (Mezzadra and Roggero 2010, 35). Conventional relations of political belonging (individual/state, citizen/nation) are broken. According to Mezzadra and Roggero:

Instead there materialises a process of singularisation in the common; or rather, in the conflict there is created that ‘common place’ that does not demand the sacrifice of the exploited singularities of which living labour is composed today. (2010, 35)

This is a commons marked by the ecological values of unity in diversity. In practice it expressed tendencies of autonomy and solidarity.

There are strivings to develop new infrastructures for shared social life, seeking a commons together. A mutual aid—or solidarity—economy (which is after all commo-

nism itself) is at its base a way of producing, exchanging, and consuming values (produced directly by the people involved). It is the material base of social change. The mutual aid economy is a means of satisfying personal needs as well as collective welfare.

Acts of commonism are practiced by millions around the globe in solidarity economies based on cooperative labor and gift exchanges. These acts are what might be termed self-valorizing. Rather than producing and exchanging values for the benefit of capital (as surplus value or profit), these acts produce and circulate values for the benefit of those who produce them and their communities.

1.1: OF BLACKOUTS AND COMMONIST TENDENCIES

Living examples of the memory of the commons rising up “spontaneously” out of social conditions within capitalism are perhaps most readily or regularly observed under conditions of immediate need or emergency, as in times of natural disaster and/or economic crisis, during periods of revolutionary upheaval, or during mass events (such as festivals).

Many, perhaps most, of us who are caught up in the assembly line of daily life under industrial capitalism wonder, sometimes out loud, what would happen if the rat race suddenly, unexpectedly came to a grinding halt, all of the gears immobilized. What if someone just up and pulled the plug?

On Thursday, August 14, 2003 I found out, quite literally, as the streetcar I was riding home from work came to an immediate stop and all the lights went out. Not just the streetcar lights. Traffic lights, storefronts, and indeed every light for as far as I could see in every direction I looked.

While we didn’t realize it at that moment, my fellow commuters and I were stranded right in the middle of the

largest blackout in North American history. The power outage affected almost 50 million people across the north-eastern United States from New York to Detroit and into the Canadian province of Ontario.

For many of the three million or so inhabitants of Canada's most populace city, the first response to the situation was confusion mixed with a dose of panic. In the post-9/11 world, people have come to expect the worst. A few rumours began to circulate. Another terrorist attack? Surely not on Canadian soil. We're peacekeepers aren't we? Who hates Canadians?

This could have gone very badly. Fear, frustration and a catalytic paranoia might have stoked the worst of those sentiments that often bubble over during even the regular daily urban grind. Road rage times three million.

Almost immediately, however, something incredible, beautiful even, began to happen. People, complete strangers, started talking with each other. Residents came down from their high-rise apartments, leaving concrete bunkers behind. Workers downed their tools and left their workplaces. The streets filled. And as people told stories and made jokes to pass the time, shared their concerns and offered possible answers, a certain joyfulness and good humour came over a city notorious among Canadians for its button-down lack of humour.

Even as word began to filter through that this was a blackout, a historic blackout, people let worries subside as they turned their thoughts towards making the best of the situation. And even more than that, planning ways to actually enjoy it. People brought down boxes and bags of thawing foods. Barbeques were rolled out of garages or carried down from fourteenth floor balconies. Tempting aromas filled the air. Food was shared freely. Given by people who really couldn't afford to give. "You're hungry after a long walk home. Come and eat." Musical instruments of all sorts appeared (Who would have guessed that so many musicians live here on our block. On every block).

An amazing jam session bringing together the myriad musical styles in this most multicultural of cities: country infused with reggae infused with folk infused with soukous. Singing, dancing, eating went on throughout the night. Never had the city, Toronto-the-sedate, seemed so alive.

“I had never even spoken with my neighbours until the blackout.” This sentiment was repeated over and over again on each street I came to. And oh how people talked. Much has been made, quite rightly I think, over the decline of civic discourse recently. Bureaucratic, distant and alienating government and corporate structures leave masses of people with no sense of access, engagement, or effectiveness regarding social and political institutions and decision-making processes. The decline of public spaces for discussion, the agora of old, impelled by the rampant ethos of privatization, is a profoundly troubling characteristic of contemporary urban life. It is reflected at its most surface level in the low (and consistently decreasing) turnout for elections at all levels from municipal to federal. Yet, the blackout changed this, if only momentarily, as people took over the streets, their streets, and turned them into open “town hall” meetings. The return of the agora. And despite the dismissive portraits of “the public” offered by commentators of the left and right alike, as an apathetic, uniformed mass, people spoke confidently, insightfully and indeed incisively about their concerns for the future of the city, the province and the country.

This being a blackout, after all, much attention was given to the energy appetites of modern industrialism. The blackout made clear, both during street debates and in letters to the editor which followed, that many people were aware of the massive wastage of resources related specifically to corporate profit-making. And they were angry about it. Many pointed out the fact that the first day after the power came back on empty Bay Street (Canada’s Wall Street) office towers were fully lit up. Numerous letters to the editor and calls to television and radio stations ex-

pressed disapproval over the use of energy to light up advertising signs and storefront displays. Energy directed to such useless ends is strictly a product of competition. And for the first time in a long time a very critical public discussion was taking place regarding such wasteful practices.

People noted that the historic blackout was only the most recent in a series of energy fiascos that have stricken parts of North America as neo-liberal governments deregulate the industry and privatize power-generating facilities. Some reminded us that blackouts and brownouts have become a regular feature of profit-seeking energy provision in California since the industry was deregulated there.

Some long overdue recognition was given to environmentalists' calls for alternative energy sources and small-scale neighbourhood generators to replace energy mega-projects. Suggestions about how to take control of power away from governments and corporations and develop community control began to creep into public discussions, if only as a whisper.

Estimates of the economic cost of the blackout reach upwards of \$5 billion. This says nothing about the lost incomes of workers whose workplaces were closed or operating in reduced capacities. The provincial government declared a state of emergency and told only essential workers to report for work. Yet for many, this was not felt as an emergency. It was felt as a break. Some time away from the daily grind that leaves us too tired, miserable, or harried to even enjoy a chat, a song, or a beer with our neighbours. Many expressed a certain disappointment when the lights came on again. "Aww, back to work I guess."

The word "blackout" is used to conjure visions of disorder, chaos, and disruption. We've all seen enough images or heard nasty stories from New York in 1977 or elsewhere to expect the worst. Partly, authorities want to maintain this sense of impending anarchy. "That's why we need the cops. People can't be trusted to look after themselves."

But of course we can, and in 2003 we did. Despite the cynics, the old and partly forgotten notion of mutual aid is alive and well, even in the cutthroat world of neo-liberal globalization (a world, remember, where Maggie Thatcher told us there is no society, only self-interested individuals). Many significant public engagements took place as a direct result of the blackout. Most importantly was the (re)emergence of community and solidarity in neighbourhoods across the city. Neighbours who had never so much as spoken to each other joined together to hold apartment and street parties. People improvised large-scale meals out of food that might otherwise have spoiled and fed entire streets. This was a glimpse of citizenship from below and even mainstream commentators remarked on how well people got by without businesses and the state.

A year later many were suggesting that we do it all over again. A commemoration of the blackout. Street festivals instead of work. Somebody pull the plug.

As Hartung explained, such moments are characterized by their brevity: “Traditional structure (form) is absent or in disarray and social order takes on a different content. The order experienced and created by the participants is situated in a fleeting social anti-structure” (1983, 90). Commonists work to extend mutual aid relations until they make up the bulk of social life.

Commonism is about developing ways in which people enable themselves to take control of their lives and participate meaningfully in the decision-making processes that affect us, whether around education, housing, work, or food. Commonists note that changes in the structure of work (notably in so-called lean production, flexibilization, and the institutionalization of precarious labor) have stolen people’s time away from the family along with the time that might otherwise be devoted to activities in the community (Ward and Goodway 2003, 107). In response, people feel a pressing need to find ways to escape the capitalist law of value, to pursue their own values rather than to produce

value for capital. This is the real significance of commonist do-it-ourselves activity and the reason that I would suggest such activities have radical, if overlooked implications for anti-capitalist struggles.

1.2: MOVEMENT NOMADS

There is a built-in defeatism to social movements in the global North. This built-in defeatism of movements (as distinct separates outside of everyday social relations) as “movements” is expressed in the glorification of movement (flow, action) itself (and specific forms of movement such as street manifestations). This reflects lowered aspirations within detached activist circles that are not connected with the needs of communities or even a sense of what basic successes or victories might look like. As activist collective The Free Association puts it, in rather depressing terms: “Or more prosaically *all* the movements can *ever* get from ‘winning’ is more movement” (2010, 104, emphasis added). Even the notion of victory or winning is denigrated. Unfortunately, they couch even this limited vision in terms of protest movements such as street demonstrations. In their view, “that’s why we keep getting drawn back to counter-summit mobilizations like Heiligendamm: they are one of the places where the movement of movements can break the limits of its formation and ask its own questions” (2010, 104). Yet, in reality the counter-summits in no way break the limits of movement formation; rather, they are those limits. They express the very ground of its formation and reveal the limited horizons of its vision. Even more, these are largely spaces established, directed, and certainly policed by states and capital. They are not spaces of self-determination or broken limits. (They are, in fact, largely composed of limits.) Movements are always asking questions. Less often do they offer meaningful answers to communities in struggle.

Influential post-communist theorists like John Hollo-

way embrace the rapture of movement expressionism. Holloway emphasizes the movement as a scream, as an exhilarating act of hurling ourselves against the world of capital. This is an exciting metaphor, one that plays upon the desire to expunge our frustrations with capitalist existence in a moment of emotional release—anti-capitalism as primal scream therapy.

But our movements are more, and hopefully more meaningful. They are made up of quiet moments of re-connecting, of building, of restoring, of constructing. More than a hurling against the walls, they are a shoulder to the wheel. They are a building of commons. In these moments they are more quiet than a scream. They are more about digging and planting than throwing or ramming. More prosaic than poetic. But, at the same time, they are all the more inspiring for it, because this gives them a chance to survive, to actually win.

Too many activists and their theorists romanticize movement, flight, flow. They disregard, despise, or denigrate building, constructing, producing (sneering about productivism). They resent the stability of structures. The rootless class, they resent rootedness. They shun the unromantic work of sustaining infrastructures. For Holloway: “Institutions, however, anti-institutional, seek to freeze the flow of time” (2010, 9). But do they? Or do they provide the refueling stations, the care centers? The homes and shelters. The spaces of security and sustenance. Fundamentally, these are precisely the places of connection. The very resources of sustenance and renewal (if not flow or nomadism).

This is not daring enough for the eternally restless. For Holloway, “taking the world into our own hands, assuming our own power-to, means that we try to swim (or skate or fly) without holding on to the edge for security. Perhaps we cannot live with such intensity, perhaps we need to rest from our moments of excess” (2010, 9). Further, he writes, “Hope moves faster than either perception or thought”

(2010, 9). But these are exactly what contemporary movements require, and perhaps lack, in relation to hope.

The movements in the global North put a lot of time and energy into imaginings of their becoming. Yet what they are becoming, what they are most proficient at becoming, is a subculture. Indeed, this is what they have become. The focus on creating a new “us” is emblematic of the subcultural splinter. It tends to be viewed as entry into the club, as markers of belonging.

Counter-summit actions and street protests, expressions of “activism,” are privileged over everyday life (which is too boring or stifling or oppressive). The familiar forms of activism are said to “have proved essential” in helping the movements (subcultures) postpone capture. In any event, for The Free Association, “We can never entirely evade capture” (2010, 103).

Everyday life, and organizing within everyday struggles of life, makes seeing dynamics of change more difficult. Things “move” more slowly and work requires greater patience in workplace and community struggles. The nomad activists desire more for their desires: “Summit protests can shatter this everyday equilibrium and make the intensive realm spring to life. We can see commodities for what they are—dead. We get a sense that this is *real*, this is *life*” (The Free Association 2010, 103). “Spectacular eruptions” are supposedly required (The Free Association 2010, 103). This is the inversion—the movement uptake of the spectacle. The real is only observable, or recognizable, in (or as) spectacle.

Again, the everyday living of life, caring for families, supporting neighbors, changing daily structures daily, for the vast majority of the world’s people is not quite real. It is certainly not as real as the exciting, exhilarating, lives of the protesters in the streets demonstrating their more exalted *real life*.

Yet the thrilling immediacy of the street eruptions quickly subsides, leaving little of real gain in its wake. As

Esteva suggests, “Rebellions are like volcanoes, mowing down everything before them. But they’re also ephemeral; they may leave lasting marks, like lava beds, but they die down as quickly as they catch fire. They go out” (2010, 28). Real opposition to states and capital requires more than momentary joy. It requires foundations and infrastructures that contribute to significant advances while maintaining a basis for ongoing struggles.

As Mezzadra and Roggero suggest, “Even if the dissolution of the movement into thousands of tiny trickles, for example in Italy, has generated a certain identitarian reterritorialisation of different militant groups, we must not make the opposite mistake of being blinded by an aestheticised imaginary of deterritorialisation or a chimera-like nomadism that is incapable of becoming constituent power” (2010, 32). The contemporary movements require “common forms of organization and praxis” in order to “become trigger, engine and catalyst of the struggles of living labour today, the principle of a new conflictuality and a political practice beyond the simultaneously manifest and unsolved crisis of representation” (Mezzadra and Roggero 2010, 32). Precarity marks conditions of commonality in the current crisis state context. The counter-summit approach is not sufficient for further developing and empowering the conflicts over crisis and precarity.

Social relations are not fundamentally challenged at counter-summit demonstrations. Rather, they are reinforced and perhaps re-extended (in acts of repression and criminalization and the moralizing against “direct action” or militancy that comes, often most aggressively, from the Left itself). New worlds are not created despite the romantic fantasies of counter-summit protesters and their commentators (or cheerleaders). The work needed to re-store commons, as basis for survival and further struggle, is work of a different order.

There is a famous phrase attributed to the Zapatistas. It is expressed as follows: “Walking, we ask questions.” It

speaks to the desire for movement, but the continuation of critical inquiry along the way. The contemporary movements must proceed from a space of politicization to a space of organization in order to find radical answers rather than merely posing radical questions (Mezzadra and Roggero 2010).

1.3: COMMON PRACTICES?

New movements and new directions in organizing have common concerns but not common solutions, as Holloway points out (2010, 8). There are, too, common needs and common desires. These are desires and needs that have arisen along with capitalism; indeed, they are produced by it. These include needs for sustenance, for food, for shelter, for community. This is a desire for communion with nature and our fellows—for the commons.

Re-appropriating the commons is a struggle to stop the externalization of power, as Holloway puts it, to overcome alienation. For Holloway: “Power is indeed outside us, but our struggle is to dissolve the externality of power, to re-appropriate the world as ours. Or better: our struggle is to stop externalizing our power to stop alienating the world from ourselves” (2010, 8). Constructive approaches to (re)-build the commons halt the externalization of power while asserting collective capacities for the positive revision of social relations.

The experiences of the movements create common places through practice. And these hint beyond traditional institutions. Movements must pose a non-state public sphere, a commons. This becomes a key challenge for movements beyond capitalism. As Mezzadra and Roggero ask: “How can the changes form a sediment, how can power relations be affected, how can the opening and development of a constitutive space, a common, be secured? In other words, how can one employ the relations of power without ‘taking power’ (2010, 36)? This is the concern that

has been at the forefront of anarchist theorizing and organizing.

Classical anarchist theorist Peter Kropotkin notes that the state, the formalized rule of dominant minorities over subordinate majorities, is “but one of the forms of social life” (1970, 131). For anarchists, people are quite capable of developing forms of order to meet specific needs and desires. As anarchist sociologist Colin Ward suggests, “given a common need, a collection of people will . . . by improvisation and experiment, evolve order out of the situation—this order being more durable and more closely related to their needs than any kind of order external authority could provide” (1973, 28). Order, thus arrived at, is also preferable for anarchists since it is not ossified and extended, often by force, to situations and contexts different than those from which it emerged, and for which it may not be suited. On the contrary, this order is flexible and evolving, giving way to other agreements and forms of order where necessary, depending on peoples’ needs and the circumstances confronting them.

Even more, as many recent anarchist writings suggest, the potential for resistance can be found anywhere in the relations (and struggles) of everyday life. If power is exercised everywhere, it might give rise to resistance everywhere, though not, of course, to the same degree in all places. Contemporary anarchists point out that a survey of the social landscape of capitalist society reveals many collectivities and shared practices that are anarchist in practice if not in ideology:

Examples include the leaderless small groups developed by radical feminists, coops, clinics, learning networks, media collectives, direct action organizations; the spontaneous groupings that occur in response to disasters, strikes, revolutions and emergencies; community-controlled daycare centers; neighborhood groups; tenant and workplace organizing; and so on. (Ehrlich et al. 1996, 18)

While these are obviously not strictly anarchist (or anti-statist or anti-capitalist) groupings, they operate to provide examples of mutual aid and non-hierarchical and non-authoritarian modes of living that carry the memory of the commons within them. Often the practices are, in fact, essential for people's day-to-day survival under the crisis states of capitalism. Colin Ward notes that, "the only thing that makes life possible for millions in the United States are its non-capitalist elements Huge areas of life in the United States, and everywhere else, are built around voluntary and mutual aid organizations" (Ward, qtd. in Ward and Goodway 2003, 105). Indeed, mutualist practices in everyday life have always provided fundamental supports for people within capitalist relations. The challenge remains to extend these practices so that they usurp the commodity formations of capital.

Ward suggests that, in this sense, anarchism, "far from being a speculative vision of a future society . . . is a description of a mode of human organization, rooted in the experience of everyday life, which operates side by side with, and in spite of, the dominant authoritarian trends of our society" (Ward 1973, 11). As David Graeber argues, the examples of viable anarchism are almost endless. These include a wide variety of organizational forms, from a volunteer fire brigade to the postal service, as long as they are not hierarchically imposed by some external authority (Graeber 2004).

What becomes key in the present period is "the capacity of the movements themselves to create their own institutions that—rather than stifle their growth—secure their reproduction, their development. Their capacity, to say it once more, to assert themselves within a common space" (Mezzadra and Roggero 2010, 33). This is a real move past the politics of demand. Rather than pursue demands (requesting something from someone outside of us, someone who is opposed to us) we create the world we desire. We build the future in the present (Shantz 2008). In this we

assert our own productive power—which is always our greatest power—the very power that capital derives its vast wealth from. This, after all, is all we have ever had. We must use it for our own ends, for our own value. It is self-valorizing rather than valorizing for capital. In commonism, we re-appropriate our own productive power, taking it back as our own. We refuse to project our power onto an externality only to have it presented as a power over us.

As Mance concludes: “Our everyday practices must be guided by principles of solidarity, and our choices must be in agreement with the world we want to build. For that, we must strengthen the circuits of solidarity economy” (2010, 73). This is counter to a politics of demand. It is, again, a productive power—a self-valorizing power. It is expansive. It also propels and is propelled by further developments of infrastructures of resistance. As Dyer-Witheford suggests:

This is a concept of the common that is not defensive, not limited to fending off the depredations of capital on ever-diminishing collective space. Rather it is aggressive and expansive: proliferating, self-strengthening and diversifying. It is also a concept of heterogeneous collectivity, built from multiple forms of a shared logic, a commons of singularities. We can talk of common earth, a common wealth and common networks; or of commons of land (in its broadest sense, comprising the biosphere), labour (in its broadest sense, comprising reproductive and productive work) and language (in its broadest sense, comprising all means of information, communication and knowledge exchange. It is through the linkages and bootstrapped expansions of these commons that commonism emerges. (2010, 110–111)

Commonists suggest: “As the Zapatistas put it, to change the world is very difficult, if not impossible. A more pragmatic attitude demands the construction of a new world.

That's what we are now trying to do, as if we had already won" (Esteva 2010, 28). Commonists might argue along with the anarchist Paul Goodman who wrote during the social struggles of the 1960s:

Suppose you had the revolution you are talking and dreaming about. Suppose your side had won, and you had the kind of society you wanted. How would you live, you personally, in that society? Start living that way now! Whatever you would do then, do it now. When you run up against obstacles, people, or things that won't let you live that way, then begin to think about how to get over or around or under that obstacle, or how to push it out of the way, and your politics will be concrete and practical. (quoted in Esteva 2010, 28)

For Goodman, whose writings greatly influenced the 1960s New Left and counterculture, what might be called commonist practices serve as necessary bases for "drawing the line" against the authoritarian and oppressive forces in society. Anarchism, in Goodman's view, was never oriented primarily toward some glorious future; it involved also the preservation of past freedoms and previous libertarian traditions of social interaction—experiences of the commons. As anarchist historian Peter Marshall argues: "A free society cannot be the substitution of a 'new order' for the old order; it is the extension of spheres of free action until they make up most of the social life" (1992, 598). Radical thinking will always be important, Goodman argued, in order to open the imagination to new social possibilities, but the contemporary anarchist would also need to be a conservator of society's benevolent and mutualist tendencies.

The key question is, once again, organization—infrastructure. Whether posed in terms of solidarity economics, positive welfare, cooperative labor, or *especificismo*, there are initiatives and engagements around the world involving millions of people striving to break the logics of capitalist

production and exchange (especially of labor) in a durable and lasting way. These millions are striving to (re)create a commons.

These are not the usual suspects of alternative globalization movements or anti-summit protests. These are not the self-styled “activists” of street demonstrations and “campaigns.” Indeed, most probably view such activists as a separate social category or strata, and look upon their campaigns with some skepticism (where they pay them any attention at all).

The mutual economies express the desires to collectively meet needs at individual and communal levels. These are desires for sustenance as well as liberation—for freedom from the imposition of forced labor under conditions of capitalist production. As Mance suggests, within solidarity economics:

They work and consume in order to produce for their own and other people’s welfare, rather than for profit. In solidarity economy what matters is creating satisfactory economic conditions for all people. This means assuring individual and collective freedoms, generating work and income, abolishing all forms of exploitation, domination and exclusion, and protecting ecosystems as well as promoting sustainable development. (2010, 67)

Worker-managed production efforts are exchanged in solidarity trade practices: shops, international fair trade systems, local trade fairs, and online exchange systems. As the commons products spread, new opportunities emerge. For Mance,

This in turn enabled consumers to replace the products and services they bought from capitalist enterprises with products and services produced within the solidarity economy, feeding back into a

system of promotion of welfare for workers and consumers, environmental protection and sustainable development. Technologies such as free software and organic agriculture began being employed, developed and shared across these networks. (2010, 67–68)

What is at stake is a reorganization of productive chains. It is a battle over the very heart of capitalist social relations. Commonism does not wait for a revolutionary moment. Nor does it primarily make demands upon instituted authorities. For Esteva,

We cannot wait for world revolution to dissolve the new forms of corporate capital. But we can attempt to make them marginal to our lives and to create new kinds of social relations. After refusing to be reduced to commodities and forced into alienated labor, after losing all the jobs many of us had, we are celebrating the freedom to work and we are renovating our old traditions of direct, non-exploitative exchange. We are thus enclosing the enclosers. (2010, 29)

Commonists are not satisfied with simply protesting against capitalist society and centralized, hierarchical structures of power. Nor are they content to wait for a post-revolutionary utopian future. The “new world” must come now, from within the shell of the “old world.” Commonists are not seeking simply to live in the shadows of the government or states; they seek their complete dissolution. To develop the skills and resources that might contribute to this, commonists create counter-organizations and develop relations of production and exchange that foreshadow the structures of the future society in the here and now of everyday life.

1.4: CONCLUSION

Along the way it is important for commonists to fend off manifestations of statism in their ranks. Even rather clear-sighted commentators like Nick Dyer-Witheford suggest that commonist projects are better off with “protection, support and even initiation at a state level” (2010, 111). He even suggests commons as part of a circuit involving autonomous assemblies and government agencies. This is a retreat into social democracy or statist communism. It is a recipe for re-enclosure. It is a recipe for defeat. The histories of previous social democratic and communist politics show this forcefully.

In many ways the politics of the Zapatistas, Seattle (alternative globalization street demonstrations), and Occupy excite people because they express (in embodied form) responses, not only to capital but to the imaginal and material failures of approaches previously taken by the political Left—namely by various forms of communism. Movements of communism failed to defeat capitalism or to restore a commons. Their failures were along negative and positive lines.

There is now a need to get beyond the nostalgia of the past. To leave the Left behind. To squarely face what has been wrong. To stare down the ghosts that haunt us. We must consign communism to the crypt of the Left. This means abandoning its organizational forms, namely the party and the vanguard cadre.

We must also resist the claims, quite often made, that the new form of cooperation for the movements of resistance is the network. As Mezzadra and Roggero suggest: “The problem is that the network model itself is being practised today in a rather ‘weak’ form, rather than treating it as a powerful—and reproducible—organizational principle, capable of giving a political answer to the dissolution of the vanguard faction in the living body of struggles” (2010, 32).

Cultural manifestations and transformations can be important, but they are not enough to effect lasting change or to build a base for future struggles. In order to build a commons, and a new world beyond capital, infrastructures of sustenance are needed. As Mance puts it: “The ‘good fight’ must be fought on the economic plane (not just in culture or politics). There is a revolution underway, but ‘to be winning’ means expanding and strengthening the collaborative processes that may form the base from which a possible post-capitalist society can emerge” (2010, 67). This emphasis on the collaborative base for sustainable movements to confront or move beyond capitalism has been missing from much of the social activity characterizing movements in the global North, movements which have almost exclusively prioritized symbolic or ephemeral street manifestations.

New struggles and new openings emerge. Recent struggles, especially those of migrant workers, show the strategic significance of conflicts over mobility and the control of mobility at all levels from local to global. This signifies “a historic phase in which mobility has become a decisive factor in the development of work, civil society, and forms of life” (Mezzadra and Roggero 2010, 31). This is a re-defining and redeployment of class struggle at a transnational level.

A (re)turn to commonism expresses sustainable relationships between movements and everyday life. Movements of the Left over the last few decades in the global North have largely been separated from the social, operating rather as subcultural manifestations of social ephemera and marginality. The integral link that marked past movements, which has been lost in the present day Left of the global North, must be restored. Movements must give dedicated attention and effort to develop effective and durable approaches by which the gap between would-be revolutionary movements and everyday movements can be overcome, the connection made, in the real world of

everyday life and struggle.

Building alternatives to capital in a meaningful way that can support and sustain human social life and struggles requires, rather than special or unique “activist” cultural expressions, infrastructures of resistance. These infrastructures must be rooted in real social relations as part of struggles of everyday life (overwork, social care, community and family sustenance, and so on, in work-places, neighborhoods, and homes). These are practical initiatives. As Mance suggests, hinting at the need for infrastructures of resistance,

More than simply spreading information about proposals, and this acting on the level of ideological debate, it is necessary to operate on political and economic planes, putting some of the proposals into practice. In other words, our *daily economic practices* must be part of the work of transforming global economic structures. (2010, 67, emphasis added)

Building these daily economic practices, spreading them throughout the spheres of social life, is a tendency of commonism (built of many interlinked initiatives).

02: SOCIALIST TENDENCIES

Socialism, generally defined, refers to some type of collective ownership and control of a society's means of production, subsistence and exchange. Over time and in diverse contexts, the specific mechanisms of control and practices of collective decision-making have ranged from state control of the economy, as in numerous Soviet systems, to libertarian control through popular assemblies. Socialism, in its various manifestations, has served as one of the great mobilizing doctrines of modernity. Its political vision of radical democracy and egalitarianism served simultaneously as the specter haunting capitalist ruling classes and the tantalizing promise of a better world for poor and working classes.

While the term socialism emerged in the 1820s in France and England, proto-socialist tendencies and/or emphasis on common goods and equality can be found in some forms of Taoism, Plato's *Republic*, the Bible's "Sermon on the Mount," St. Thomas More's *Utopia* and millenarian movements of the Middle Ages. Groups such as the Levellers and Diggers during the English Civil War of the 1640s and the *sans culottes* of the French Revolution gave expression to ideas that are now identified as socialist. It should also be noted, however, that in Asia, Africa and the Americas, many of the indigenous or non-colonial societies were actually organized as socialist societies in

which the necessities of life were shared within relatively egalitarian communities. Indeed, for most of human history, social life has been organized in a manner that could be termed socialistic or communistic.

The diverse strands of socialism have been divided over key issues of social organization and social change. Crucial differences have involved centralized versus decentralized governance, private versus collective or communal property, degrees of hierarchy and equality, revolutionary or evolutionary and reformist approaches to social change, and the place of the state in social change and the redistribution of social wealth.

2.1: UTOPIAN SOCIALISM

The earliest socialists presented their ideas as visions of future societies based on material equality, in which humans cooperated to meet human needs through relations of care and mutual aid. Typically, these social schemes envisioned a society in which states and private property were replaced by collective or mutual ownership and self-government (or anarchism). Early socialist theorists included Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, Louis Blanc, Alexander Herzen and Henri de Saint-Simon.

Because these perspectives were based on the creative desires of those who constructed them, rather than an assessment of social viability or a real consideration of the obstacles to be overcome in achieving the imagined social scheme, these early theories were sometimes identified as “utopian” socialisms.

Fourier foresaw a future society based on small, local, face-to-face communes or *phalansteries*, organized around the human desires of participants. These communes exhibited a desiring economy with basic, rather than complex, levels of social organization. The progressive factory owner Robert Owen envisioned a collectively run cooperative society based on workers’ co-ops in which workers owned

and controlled productive apparatuses and machinery, and made all decisions over production and exchange. He tried to bring these ideas to life through the experimental industrial community “Harmony.”

Louis Blanc abhorred violent calls for revolutionary seizures of power. Instead, he suggested that a revolutionary regime might deploy democratic means while acting as a banker to the people, assisting associations of working people. Private property would eventually be excised from agriculture, trade and industry. Significantly, he argued that people be paid not according to the work they completed but according to the needs they expressed. This would provide the basic maxim, “from each according to their ability, to each according to their need,” which formed the central tenet of communism (rather than mutualism or collectivism), both anarchist and Marxist.

Without doubt, the most influential early socialist was the French theorist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. Proudhon, the first self-identified anarchist, advocated the free association of producers, including individual producers, as a replacement for the coercive state. People would organize their own affairs on the basis of personal contracts, which would be arranged on the basis of mutual gain and interest. These contracts were not permanent and participants could end them at any time that their concerns failed to be met. Such arrangements, for Proudhon, must be freely entered into and freely left. Unlike collectivists, Proudhon argued that individuals should own and control their means of production and the products of their own labours.

Early socialists foresaw socialism as the gradual outgrowth of human social development as people became more enlightened and saw the “rightness” of the new social arrangements. Small, utopian communities or collectives would gradually spread as their ideas and ways of living became more appealing than the exploitation and inequalities which most people suffered under capitalism.

Despite the beauty and even brilliance of their ideas and

social visions, utopian socialists were largely ineffectual in realizing broad or lasting social change. Eventually, new forms of socialism emerged, critical of the gradual, evolutionary, utopian views of social change.

Forms of revolutionary socialism, and communism (both anarchist and Marxist), emerged, eventually gaining predominance within working class and radical movements. Early versions of revolutionary socialism tended to advocate armed insurrection by small, active bands of revolutionaries who would foment social change through acts of violence culminating in *coups d'etat*. The most popular of early revolutionary socialists was Louis-Auguste Blanqui. Blanqui upheld the Jacobin tradition of rule by terror and dictatorship. He advocated insurrectionary action and violent revolution to overthrow the ruling classes. Socialism would be established through a dictatorship that would suppress the former ruling classes and support working class social, economic, and political interests. Under communism, which he viewed as the highest level of human development, the aristocracy and capitalists would lose their civil rights. The state would be dissolved and replaced by a revolutionary apparatus committed to ongoing revolution. The standing army would be abolished and replaced by militias of the people. No mere theorist, Blanqui actively led numerous uprisings, generally without success.

2.2: MARXISM OR “SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM”

Following the brutal suppression and repressive aftermath of the 1848 revolutions in Europe, social reformers developed a stark analysis of the prospects for socialism. During the revolutions in Germany, a new variant of organized socialism came to prominence, articulated most notably and forcefully in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. This so-called “scientific socialism,” based on revolutionary communist principles, broke from utopian socialism and argued for socialists to

concretely analyze relations of power in society, particularly authority and property—social relations—in developing a socialist outlook and strategies for social change. Most significantly, socialism could not be wished into being. Capital and the state would always violently oppose socialist projects. The basis of socialism was not good intentions or beautiful schemes, but the balance of social forces in society.

Marxism offered a theory of history—historical materialism based on social relations rather than the history of ideas—and a theory of society based on an analysis of shifting class relations. For Marxism, human social history has been marked by class struggle rather than consensus or peaceful evolution. Under capitalism the primary conflict is between the ruling bourgeoisie (the capitalist class of property owners), and the majority of society (the proletariat or working classes of people who owned nothing except their capacity to work). Scientific socialism argued that capitalism could only be overthrown through a violent revolution against the forces of the state and capital. A dictatorship of the proletariat or working class would be necessary to suppress forces of the former ruling classes, as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie had violently suppressed the oppressed the working class under capitalism

Socialism was not the task of middle class social reformers or benevolent members of the ruling classes. Only the working class or proletariat, the majority of society, could undertake the needed revolutionary transformation that would usher in socialism or communism. Change would come on the basis of working class needs, as workers confronted the contradiction of collective production by the working class within a context of private ownership by the bourgeoisie. Revolution would see the working class institute collective ownership to match the reality of collective production. Because the proletariat constituted almost all of capitalist society, they represent, for Marxism, a “universal” class whose liberation will mean

the liberation of all humanity and the end of oppression.

Most revolutionary socialists and Marxists have long maintained that one cannot properly understand, nor can one adequately address, inequality and injustice without linking it to deeper issues of class and exploitation underlying capitalist social relations. Class analysis recognizes that within capitalist societies the vast majority of people are separated from the means of producing their basic subsistence, including food, clothing, housing, and other necessities. This majority, the working class, must survive by selling their capacity to work to those capitalists who own and control productive resources and is therefore in a precarious socio-economic position. Thus, the material conditions enjoyed by a minority in capitalist societies are directly related to the material exclusion of the majority. Poverty is socially produced rather than resulting from characteristics of the individual.

As long as productive property, or what is sometimes referred to as the means of production, is privately controlled in hands of the few who make decisions about what will be produced, when, and by whom, leaving working people in a condition of having to sell their laboring capacity to these owners of capital, there will be inequality, injustice, and poverty. The negative features of private ownership and control are exacerbated by capitalist competition which, in the search of individual capitalists for competitive advantage against their challengers, leads to technological innovations, or labor-saving devices, that contribute to unemployment as well as the movement of production in search of cheaper labor. Because private ownership, competition, and production for profit are primary elements of capitalism, poverty is also produced as a regular feature of capitalism.

A class analysis of inequality leads to the conclusion that social reforms cannot end injustice within the context of a capitalist economy. As a result, proponents of class analysis advocate and work towards more radical and

thorough, even revolutionary transformations of capitalist society, generally in the direction of a society organized on the basis of some form of socialist or communist social relations. In the most radical versions of class analyses of society, the only possible way to really reduce or eliminate poverty is to abolish capitalist social relations altogether.

2.3: ANARCHY IS ORDER

The strand of revolutionary socialism that gained prominence and a mass base within working class movements in the 19th century, and which challenged Marxism directly, was anarchism. The word “anarchy” comes from the ancient Greek word “anarchos” and means “without a ruler.” While rulers, quite expectedly, claim that the end of rule will inevitably lead to a descent into chaos and turmoil, anarchists maintain that rule is unnecessary for the preservation of order. Rather than a descent into Hobbes’s war of all against all, a society without government suggests to anarchists the very possibility for creative and peaceful human relations. Proudhon neatly summed up the anarchist position in his famous slogan: “Anarchy is Order.”

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, the first to call his social philosophy “anarchist,” argued that vice and crime, rather than being the cause of social antagonisms and poverty as popularly believed, are caused by social antagonisms and poverty. He considered State order to be “artificial, contradictory and ineffective,” thereby engendering “oppression, poverty and crime” (1969, 53). In his view, the constitution of societies under States was strictly anomalous. Furthermore, “public and international law, together with all the varieties of representative government, must likewise be false, since they are based upon the principle of individual ownership of property” (1969, 54). For Proudhon, jurisprudence, far from representing “codified reason,” is nothing more than “simply a compilation of legal and official titles for robbery, that is for property” (1969, 54). Authority is incapable of serving as a

proper basis for constituting social relations. The citizen must be governed by reason alone, and only those “unworthy and lacking in self-respect” would accept any rule beyond their own free will (1969, 94). In place of political institutions, Proudhon advocated economic organizations based upon principles of mutualism in labour and exchange, through co-operatives and “People’s Banks,” as a means towards that end. The consequences of this re-organization of social life include the limiting of constraint, the reduction of repressive methods, and the convergence of individual and collective interests. This Proudhon calls “the state of total liberty” or anarchy, and suggests that it is the only context in which “laws” operate spontaneously without invoking command and control.

Michael Bakunin, who popularized the term “anarchy” and whose work was instrumental in the early development of the anarchist movement, argues in his scattered writings that external legislation and authority “both tend toward the enslavement of society” (1974, 240). In his view, all civic and political organizations are founded upon violence exercised from the top downward as systematized exploitation. Any political law emerging from those organizations is an expression of privilege. Bakunin rejects all legislation, convinced that it must turn to the advantage of powerful minorities against the interests of subjected majorities. Laws, inasmuch as they impose an external will, must be despotic in character. For Bakunin, political rights and “democratic States” are flagrant contradictions in terms. States and laws only denote power and domination, presupposing inequality: “Where all govern, no one is governed, and the State as such does not exist. Where all equally enjoy human rights, all political rights automatically are dissolved” (Bakunin 1974, 240). Bakunin distinguishes between the authority of example and knowledge, “the influence of fact,” and the authority of right. While he is willing to accept the former situationally and voluntarily, he rejects the latter unconditionally:

When it is a question of houses, canals, or railroads, I consult the authority of the architect or engineer . . . though always reserving my indisputable right of criticism and control Accordingly there is no fixed and constant authority, but a continual exchange of mutual, temporary, and, above all, voluntary authority and subordination. (Bakunin 1974, 253–254)

The influence of right, an official imposition, he terms a “falsehood and an oppression” which inevitably leads to absurdity (1974, 241). Like Proudhon, Bakunin envisions future social organizations as economic rather than political. He sees society as organized around free federations of producers, both rural and urban. Any co-ordination of efforts must be voluntary and reasoned.

Peter Kropotkin divided all laws into three main categories: protection of property, protection of persons and protection of government. Kropotkin saw that all laws and governments are the possession of privileged elites and serve only to maintain and enhance privilege, and he argued that most laws serve either to defend the appropriation of labour or to maintain the authority of the State. Speaking on the protection of property, Kropotkin noted that property laws are not made to guarantee producers the products of their labour but rather to justify the taking of a portion of the producer’s product and placing it into the hands of a non-producer. For Kropotkin, it is precisely because this appropriation of labour (and its products) is a glaring injustice that “a whole arsenal of laws and a whole army of soldiers, policemen and judges are needed to maintain it” (1970, 213). In addition, many laws serve only to keep workers in positions subordinate to their employers. Other laws (those regarding taxes, duties, the organization of ministerial departments, the army and police) serve no other end than to “maintain, patch up, and develop the administrative machine,” which is organized “almost entirely to protect the privileges of the possessing classes” (Kropotkin 1970, 214).

With regard to “crimes against persons,” he viewed this as the most important category because it is the reason the law enjoys any amount of consideration and because it has the most prejudices associated with it. Kropotkin’s response is twofold. First, because most crimes are crimes against property, their removal is predicated upon the disappearance of property itself. Second, punishment does not reduce crime. His reflections led him to conclude that not only is law useless, it is actually hurtful—engendering a “depravity of mind” through obedience, and stoking “evil passions” through the performance of atrocity. Because punishment does not reduce the amount of crime, Kropotkin also called for the abolition of prisons. The best available response, he argued, is sympathy.

Twentieth-century anarchists have developed these readings of State/society relations in more nuanced ways. Of much significance for contemporary anarchist analysis is the work of Gustav Landauer who, more than a half century before Foucault, offered a vision of power as de-centred and situationally enacted. Landauer conceptualized the State not as a fixed entity outside of extraneous to society but as specific relations between people dispersed throughout society.

2.4: ORGANIZATION

The task of socialists was to organize workers into groups or collectives to wage class struggle towards revolution. Socialists were understood as an active minority within the working class who worked to agitate amongst workers and spread socialist ideas more broadly.

Socialist political groups emerged in the 1830s and, from the start, a split emerged between those who emphasized organizing within political parties and those who advocated organizing within economic organizations centered around trades unions. Following the 1848 events, socialist movements began to develop mass support and participation from broad sections of the working class. Over

the last decades of the 1800s, alliances between the political parties and union organizations developed.

The first major international alliance emerged in the form of the International Working Men's Association, or First International. Founded in London in 1864, with a conference addressed by Marx, the International would bring together socialist activists from most countries of Europe, anarchists, syndicalists, communists, revolutionists, and reformists alike. Most of the groups at the first conference were tiny—although spurred by revolutionary events in France and Germany and the presence of the International itself. The socialist organizations enjoyed rapid growth in numerous countries. From the start, internal conflicts and disagreements over strategies, tactics, and future directions racked the organization.

Foremost among these divergences was Michael Bakunin's famous disagreements with Marx over the role of the state in the transition to socialism. Bakunin's central conflict with Marx was related precisely to the former's conviction that an authoritarian revolutionary movement, as Marx espoused, would inevitably initiate an authoritarian society after the revolution. For Bakunin, if the new society was to be non-authoritarian then it could only be founded upon the experience of non-authoritarian social relations. The statement produced by Bakunin's supporters in the IWMA during his battle with Marx in 1871 asked: "How can you expect an egalitarian and free society to emerge from an authoritarian organization?" (Joll 1964, 216). This conviction was repeated a century later by participants in the Paris insurrection of 1968: "The revolutionary organization has to learn that it cannot combat alienation through alienated forms" (Marshall 1992, 658). For anarchists, because one cannot achieve freedom through authoritarian means, attempts to expose, subvert and, indeed, to abolish structures of domination should be pursued in ways, and using forms, that demonstrate in practical terms that those structures are not needed (see Graeber 2004, 7). Anarchists attempt to develop autono-

mous and egalitarian forms of self-government—a perspective that, for Marxists, returns them to the realm of the utopian.

The libertarian section of the International arrayed around Bakunin was expelled from the International at the 1872 Hague Congress. Behind Bakunin, they went on to form the Anarchist International, the Jura Federation. Anarcho-syndicalism would become the predominant form of socialism in France, Spain, Italy, and Latin America through the first half of the twentieth century, before succumbing to forces of fascism and dictatorship.

2.5: SYNDICALISM

Syndicalism refers to diverse movements and perspectives which take the collective self-organization and direct action of the working class, both at the point of production and within working class communities, as the basis not only for overcoming capitalism but for organizing a new, egalitarian society. While tracing its origins to the trade union movements of the nineteenth century, the term syndicalism comes from the French word for unionism: *syndicalisme*. It has come to signify a radical or revolutionary approach to labor organizing, which seeks to overthrow the wage relationship, capitalists, and class society rather than collectively bargain workers' place within the wage relationship.

Historic anarcho-syndicalist campaigns have provided significant evidence that class struggles entail more than battles over corporatist concerns carried out at the level of the factory. Syndicalist movements have displayed attitudes of hostility towards the bureaucratic control of work, concerns over local specificity, and techniques of spontaneous militancy and direct action. Syndicalist struggles have, in different instances and over varied terrain, been articulated to engage the broader manifestations of domination and control. French revolutionary syndicalism placed an emphasis on radical democracy. Within syndicalism, one can discern such

themes as consensus formation, participation of equals, decentralization, and autonomy.

Syndicalist theories of capitalist power place emphasis upon an alternative revolutionary worldview that emerges out of working-class experiences and offers a challenge to bourgeois morality. Fernand Pelloutier, an important syndicalist theorist whose works influenced Georges Sorel, argues that ideas, rather than economic processes, are the motive force in bringing about revolutionary transformation. Pelloutier vigorously attempted to come to terms with the problem of cultural domination as a basis for capitalist power. Reconstituting social relations, in Pelloutier's view, becomes possible when workers begin developing revolutionary identities through self-preparation and self-education, as the means for combatting capitalist culture. Thus, syndicalists have characteristically looked to labor unrest as an agency of social regeneration whereby workers challenge the cultural hegemony of class domination, e.g. deference to authority, acceptance of capitalist superiority, and dependence upon elites. Unlike versions of authoritarian communism, such as Marxism and Leninism, syndicalism understood the transformation of power not in terms of the replacement of one intellectual elite by another but as a process of diffusion spreading power out into the workers' own organizations. This displacement of power would originate in industry, as an egalitarian problematic, when workers came to question the status of their bosses. Towards that end, syndicalist movements have emphasized "life" and "action" against the severity of capitalist labor processes and corresponding cultural manifestations.

It might be argued that, far from being economic, syndicalist movements are best understood as counter-cultural in character, more similar to contemporary new social movements than to movements of the traditional Left. Syndicalist themes such as autonomy, anti-hierarchy, and diffusion of power have echoes in sentiments of the new movements. This similarity is reflected not only in the

syndicalist emphasis upon novel tactics such as direct action, consumer boycotts, or slowdowns. It also finds expression in the extreme contempt shown by syndicalists for the dominant radical traditions of its day, exemplified by Marxism and state socialism, and in syndicalist efforts to divorce activists from those traditions.

Syndicalist unions, as opposed to bureaucratic unions, sought the organization of workers from the bottom up. Their strategies rejected large strike funds, negotiations, written contracts, and the supposed autonomy of trades. Actions took the form of “guerilla tactics” including sabotage, slowdown, planned inefficiency, and passive resistance.

Perhaps the strongest and certainly the most enduring variant of syndicalism developed within anarchist movements in Spain and much of Latin America. Anarcho-syndicalism viewed the revolutionary self-organization of workers in radical opposition to capital, outside of not only union bureaucracies but outside of mainstream union frameworks themselves (limited as they were by collective bargaining over workers’ contracts), as the means by which an anarchist society might be realized. Anarcho-syndicalism reached its highest level of popular involvement in Spain in the early decades of the twentieth century. The Confederation Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) played a major part in the Spanish Revolution and the resistance to the fascist regime of General Francisco Franco during the 1930s. The CNT was especially active in Barcelona during the revolution, running industries and providing social services in the region while organizing the armed resistance to fascist forces on the front lines.

Syndicalism also developed powerful movements in North America, most notably the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW or Wobblies), which was active in the US, Canada, and Mexico (especially in the early 1900s), and the One Big Union that organized the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919. Destroyed almost completely by the Red Scare of 1919, the IWW has enjoyed something of a resurgence in the twenty-first century, especially among precarious workers in service

industries often unorganized by the declining mainstream industrial unions. IWW perspectives, with regard to capital, emphasize workers' abilities and encourage the self-determination of workers and the importance of self-directed initiatives against capital. The IWW asserts that workers must organize themselves to fight employers directly. The symbolic unity of the working class and its break from capital is stressed in the single qualification for Wobbly membership; the only restriction to membership in the IWW is that no employer can be a member.

A primarily intellectual version of syndicalism was developed by the social theorist Georges Sorel in the 1910-1920s in France. Revolutionary syndicalism, as this variant was known, saw working class direct action as the basis for a new society based on values of heroism and sacrifice, which stood counter to the apathy and social degeneracy of bourgeois society. Syndicalism, and worker direct action, stood also as a refutation of the rule of society by bureaucratic and technocratic professionals. For Sorel, the general strike was most important not as a practical approach to labor organizing but rather as a "revolutionary myth" that served to rouse the fighting spirits of the working class and provided them with an image of the power of their unity in struggle. The vitality of the general strike was not so much material as ideological.

Syndicalism has enjoyed a resurgence recently in many parts of the world as workers seek an alternative to mainstream unions that seem unwilling to fight against multinational corporations. Many workers, including younger workers and workers in small workplaces which are often overlooked by mainstream unions, have turned to syndicalist organizing.

2.6: SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The Marxists eventually left the IWMA to the anarchists, and in 1893 met in Paris to found the Second International, or Socialist International. In reality, this was the social

democratic international as it was dominated by formal socialist parties that sought, and increasingly gained, electoral success in those countries in which working people were allowed to vote. The theories of the Second International offered a revision of Marxist tenets, especially by arguing that socialism could be compatible with liberal democracy and social transformation, at least in advanced industrial capitalist countries, which might be effected through evolutionary, even electoral means. Social democratic versions of socialism, as represented by some labor parties, maintain that the negative characteristics of capitalism could be moderated through policies that, without infringing upon private ownership, could still make significant gains in reducing poverty or lessening the impact of poverty on people's lives. Important reformist social democratic parties included the SFIO, *Section de l'Internationale Ouvriere* in France, founded by noted theorists Jean Jaures and Leon Blum. In North America, Western Europe, Australia, and New Zealand, the main currents of socialism were organized around the mass parties of social democracy.

Social democracy, unlike revolutionary forms of socialism which it generally opposes, takes a gradualist approach to the development of socialism. For advocates of social democracy, socialism, especially within wealthier liberal democracies, can be achieved peacefully through electoral politics. Socialist parties, rather than being underground cadre groups, are structured as mass public parties organized towards the achievement of electoral success and participation within parliament. In practice, social democratic parties were often opponents of revolutionary communism, siding with the ruling classes in their own countries against communist political activists and organizers within working class institutions such as trade unions. Like the communists they opposed, social democrats also preferred hierarchically structured organizations and representational, rather than participatory, politics according

to centralized party leadership and discipline.

During the 1890s, the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in Germany became the largest and most influential socialist party in Europe. Its leaders, including Eduard Bernstein and August Bebel, were identified as “revisionists” for their alteration, even abandonment, of Marxist revolutionary principles and advocacy of a parliamentary path to socialism. In their view, socialism could be entirely pursued through electoral and parliamentary means in countries with full franchise and liberal democratic governance. “Revisionist” and “revisionism” would become terms of disparagement for socialists over generations, expressing a sell-out of real socialist principles and a fatal compromise with capitalism. Over time, the SPD became more revisionist and conservative. During the 1910s and 1920s it played an active role in suppressing revolutionary working class uprisings in Germany and Austria. The SPD played a crucial role in crushing the uprisings of 1919, including the Munich Council Republic, allying itself with the proto-fascist *freikorps* militias. The SPD government arrested leading revolutionary socialists and communists, including Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The crushing of the leftist movements during 1919 and 1920 is viewed as having set the stage for the rise of the Nazis in Germany.

2.7: BOLSHEVISM AND SOVIETISM

The strongest opposition to revisionism came from anarchists outside the Second International and from communists in countries in which liberal democracies were not established. Most significant among these were the Russian social democrats under Valdimir Ilyich Lenin. In particular, a formal split in 1903 saw the party divide between revolutionary (Bolshevik or majority) and reformist (Menshevik or minority) factions. Lenin’s Bolsheviks echoed Blanqui in advocating a violent revolutionary path to communism. Key in this is the active involvement of a close cadre of

committed and dedicated revolutionaries who would agitate and foment revolutionary organizations and practices within working class communities. These cadres would form the vanguard of the revolution, a necessary element in bringing the masses to revolutionary consciousness for Leninists. Lenin also advocated for a communist organizational model that was highly centralized within the Communist Party.

With the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the failings of social democracy were painfully put on display as the parties in Germany, France, and Britain succumbed to national chauvinism supporting the entry of “their” national states into war and thus sanctioning the slaughter of millions of working class people. Even some anarchists such as Kropotkin succumbed to chauvinism, arguing for the victory of French culture over the barbarism of Germany.

Among the clear-sighted was Lenin who called, from exile in Switzerland, for working class revolution in all combatant countries as a means to end the bourgeois war of imperialism and set in motion the shift to socialism. The 1917 Russian Revolution, which took Imperial Russia out of the war, confirmed Lenin’s thesis. It also thrust the Bolshevik approach to revolution to the centre of world socialism, marginalizing anarchism and social democracy in many parts of the world for decades. Factions of almost every socialist party split to form Communist Parties on Lenin’s vanguardist Bolshevik model. In 1919, Lenin initiated a new Third International, or Communist International, to bring together these Communist Parties.

Even early on the Bolshevik regime showed signs of the authoritarian dictatorship that Bakunin had warned socialists against during the First International. Alternative socialist parties, such as the peasant-dominated Socialist Revolutionaries and anarchist groups were criminalized, their members subjected to persecution, imprisonment and execution. Many fled the country as exiles, fleeing the very

revolution they had played central roles in bringing about.

Early on, important anarchists like Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman initially worked with the Bolsheviks, even translating Lenin's writings, before becoming profoundly disillusioned by the persecution of anarchists and the sacrifice of revolutionary aims to the self-interests of the party bureaucracy. The violent suppression of the Kronstadt rebellion and the state murder of the sailors and workers led Berkman and Goldman to conclude that the revolution was finished, killed by the dictatorship.

In 1929, Joseph Stalin came to power, shifting Bolshevik internationalism and solidarity towards a policy of national development or "socialism in one country." This shift was effected through a withdrawal of support from parties in other countries and the executions of leading Bolsheviks.

For many in poorer or "developing" countries, socialism, and especially the example of the Russian Revolution, offered a model for the coincidence of industrial/economic and governmental/political revolutions. This revolutionary model, in which a seizure of national power provided a lever for rapid industrialization, held great appeal throughout the twentieth century within numerous countries of the global south. As post-colonial governments looked for means by which to "catch up" with the industrial might of the former colonial powers, the approach of socialism, especially statist socialism, seemed to provide both a potentially effective political program and an ideological justification for statist reorganization of the economy and work.

In the context of the Soviet Union and communist China under Mao, socialism meant Stalinism and the centralized control of the economy and politics under the bureaucracy of the Communist Party. Thus, the meaning of socialism was taken very much away from its origins in visions of communal ownership, material equality, self-determination, and co-operative production.

Indeed, the extent to which Sovietism contradicted or

violated the aims and principles of historical socialism is perhaps best reflected in the violently authoritarian response to popular movements for workers' control and self-management, whether in the broad context of society or the much more limited context of the workplace. For many, this justification for the government suppression of popular assemblies, workers councils, and other forms of working class self-management was a violation of the most fundamental principles on which socialism stood. That such an inversion of socialism, from defense of the working-class against ruling elites to the legitimization of elite rule over the working class, could come from a government calling itself socialist led many to rethink the character of the Soviet-styled regimes and to seek out alternative, even non-Marxist, visions of socialism. Many gave up on socialism altogether.

The Soviet economies were still beholden to the law of value, only rather than being controlled by private capitalists, value under Soviet economies was held by the bureaucracy, which served as a form of monopoly capital. Competition for markets and exchange was still supreme, however, it was not the competition between individual firms, as in liberal capitalism, but rather the competition between the monopoly capital of various states, as between the Soviet Union and the U.S., for example.

2.8: FORGOTTEN TENDENCIES: MUTUALISM

The dominance of statist forms of communism have left many commonist tendencies overshadowed, marginalized, or obscured. Some have been nearly erased from histories of progressive radicalism. Mutualism is a social and economic theory, most often associated with anarchism, which traces its roots to the writings of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. Mutualists follow Proudhon in envisioning future social organizations as economic rather than political. They see society as organized around free federations of producers, both rural and urban.

Any co-ordination of efforts must be voluntary and reasoned.

Mutualists differ from other anarchists, as well as from most communists and socialists, in allowing for the existence of private property and even money in a post-capitalist society. Mutualists are less concerned with private property than with the monopoly control of property by corporate interests backed by the state. They argue that a large proportion of the wealth created through social and technological development in a market economy becomes concentrated in the hands of monopolists by way of economic rents. This concentrated, unearned, and unproductive wealth is the primary cause of poverty in capitalist economies. Collecting private profit by restricting access to natural resources, upon which all depend for survival, amounts to a system of theft and slavery. This is made even worse given that productive activity, such as industrial works, were burdened by taxes while land values were not. Natural resources are the product of nature rather than human labor or initiative and, as such, should not provide the basis by which individuals acquire revenues. Nature, as the common heritage of all humanity, must be made a common property of society as a whole.

For mutualists, everyone is entitled to the products of their directly applied labor, through individually or collectively controlled means of production, and payment should reflect socially produced value. Mutualists advocate for a “free market” unsupported by the state force or laws that allow and protect concentrated wealth. This includes a labor market in which people choose, without coercion, to work for others, for themselves, or co-operatively. A mutual credit bank provided money to facilitate this scheme. Unlike communism, which advocates exchange on the basis of the maxim “from each according to ability, to each according to need,” mutualism advocates trade on the basis of equivalent amounts of labor.

A distinction is sometimes drawn between individualist or philosophical anarchism, with its emphasis on individual liberty and personal transformation, and communist anarchism, with its emphasis on equality and collective mobi-

lization for broad social change. Mutualism is often viewed as a mid-level perspective between these two approaches. Philosophical anarchism places greater emphasis on individual freedom to act unfettered by the constraints of social mores and norms. While placing less emphasis on the individual, and emphasizing co-operative labor, mutualism also differs from social anarchism in its distrust of large-scale social organization, especially the mass organizing for radical or revolutionary social change preferred by socialists and social anarchists.

Mutualists understand anarchism not as a revolutionary establishment of something new, a leap into the unknown, or as a break with the present. Rather, they regard anarchism as the realization of anti-authoritarian practices of mutual aid and solidarity that are already present in society, but which have been overshadowed by state authority. As Paul Goodman suggested, anarchism is the extension of spheres of freedom until they make up the majority of social life. Starting from this perspective, mutualists seek to develop non-authoritarian and non-hierarchical relations in the here-and-now of everyday life.

Mutualist anarchism, unlike that of anarchist communism, is based on gradual, non-violent rather than revolutionary social and cultural change. In place of force, Benjamin Tucker advocated the liberation of the individual's creative capacities. Tucker looked to gradual enlightenment through alternative institutions, schools, cooperative banks, and workers' associations as practical means to enact change. Social change, for Tucker, required personal transformation first and foremost, but at the same time, while rejecting force (which he termed domination), Tucker did assert the right of individuals and groups to defend themselves.

Proudhon's notions of People's Banks and local currencies have returned in the form of LETS (Local Exchange and Trade Systems). In North America, 19th Century mutualist communes, such as those of Benjamin Tucker, find echoes in

the autonomous zones and squat communities of the present day.

Recent and contemporary theorists who present versions of mutualism include Paul Goodman, Colin Ward, Hakim Bey and Kevin Carson.

2.9: AND COMMUNALISM

Communalism refers to a range of diverse perspectives, theories, and movements in which social change is founded in the re-development of community, as a site of close, personal face-to-face relationships, in opposition to the anonymity and impersonal character of industrial capitalist society. One of the most influential early notions of communalism can be found in the works of the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies who presented the community as an alternative to the cold calculation of market-based society (*Gesellschaft*) that was replacing the close ties of rural life (*Gemeinschaft*).

The term became increasingly popular in the late-twentieth century, especially among progressive activists and leftists seeking an alternative discourse on communal societies beyond the discredited forms of authoritarian Communism, Marxism, Sovietism, and Leninism. It has become particularly popular among contemporary anarchists, notably those influenced by Murray Bookchin's writings on social ecology and libertarian municipalism. Bookchin saw communalism not only as the development of a new public sphere that might oppose the state and capital, but as an alternative to the anti-collectivist emphasis on individualism and personal autonomy in libertarianism and much of contemporary anarchism. For Bookchin, communalism offers the directly democratic and practicable aspect of anarchist politics, a means, in the here-and-now of existing social relations, by which alternatives to the impersonal capitalist market and the bureaucratic state management of society might be implemented. An

initial step might be the development of federated neighbourhood assemblies as community decision-making bodies. This confederal structure of directly democratic assemblies, Bookchin calls libertarian municipalism.

For communalism, social life is organized primarily in small communes, in which community decisions are based on consensus and participatory democracy in face-to-face meetings involving all members. In place of a national state, a central decision-making body consisting of professional governors who decide for communities they do not belong to; under communalism, local communes come together in a confederal association of re-callable delegates to address issues of mutual interest and concern such as trade.

Communist movements have included communal living arrangements in urban centers, “back-to-the land” movements such as the hippies of the 1960s, utopian communities such as New Lanark, and present-day land trusts in which property is owned collectively.

Anarchists view communist arrangements as a precursor to the large-scale transformation of society as the confederation of communes, the “commune of communes,” comes to pose an alternative to the state for growing numbers of people. Eventually, having been rendered obsolete, the state will wither away.

03: COMMONIST TENDENCIES

MUTUAL AID, ANARCHY, AND COMMUNISM

Contemporary commonism finds perhaps its clearest precedents in the works of classical anarchist writers. For example, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, the first to explicitly identify his theory as anarchist, sought the basis for social transformation through co-operative experiments such as workers' associations and the so-called People's Bank. Proudhon urged workers to emancipate themselves by constructing their own alternative economic institutions. Revolutionary anarchist Mikhail Bakunin, for his part, viewed trade unions not simply as economic institutions but as the "embryo of the administration of the future" and argued that workers should pursue co-operatives rather than strikes, constructive rather than reactive projects (Marshall 1992, 627). At the same time, recognizing the impossibility of competing with capitalist enterprises, he called for the pooling of all private property as the collective property of freely federated workers' associations. Ideas such as these would serve as the intellectual impetus for anarcho-syndicalism and its vision of the industrial syndicate as the seed of the future society.

Perhaps the most suggestive historical influences on commonism today are Peter Kropotkin's anarcho-communism and the libertarian socialism of Gustav Landauer. In *Mutual Aid*, Kropotkin documents the centrality of co-operation within animal and human groups and links

anarchist theory with everyday experience (1902). Kropotkin's definition suggests that anarchist society, fundamentally, "would represent an interwoven network, composed of an infinite variety of groups and federations of all sizes and degrees . . . temporary or more or less permanent . . . for all possible purposes" (quoted in Ward and Goodway 2003, 94). Communist styles of sociation and organization express the persistence of supposedly archaic forms within the (post-)modern context. They reveal the return of the repressed in sociological types exemplary of "mechanical solidarity" and *Gemeinschaft*.

Perhaps the most interesting touchstone in the current re-envisioning of anarchy has been the largely forgotten work of Gustav Landauer, the most influential anarchist thinker in Germany after the proto-anarchist Max Stirner. Inspired by the works of the early sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies, Landauer identified himself as an "anarchist socialist" to distinguish himself from popular currents of Stirnerist egoism or individualist anarchism. Drawing upon Tönnies' distinction between *Gemeinschaft* (organic community) and *Gesellschaft* (atomized society) and the ongoing conflict between these within industrial capitalist societies, Landauer theorized the rebirth of community from within the shell of statist and capitalist society. Recognizing the persistence of *Gemeinschaft* relations within modernist societies Landauer suggested that the forms within which the new society would gestate were to be the *bunde*: local, face-to-face associations. Like Proudhon and Bakunin before him, Landauer advocated the formation of producers' and consumers' cooperatives as a means for restoring a commons as a basis for a post-capitalist community.

The anarchist-socialist community, for Landauer, is not something that awaits a future revolution for its realization. Rather it is the growing discovery of something already present in current social relations: "This likeness, this equality in inequality, this peculiar quality that binds people together, this common spirit is an actual fact" (Marshall 1992, 411). In

as much as anarchism would involve revolution, this “revolution,” for Landauer, would consist of elements of refusal in which individuals withdraw co-operation with existing state institutions and create their own positive alternatives:

The state is a condition, a certain relationship among human beings, a mode of behaviour between them; we destroy it by contracting other relationships, by behaving differently toward one another . . . We are the state, and we shall continue to be the state until we have created the institutions that form a real community and society of men. (Marshall 1992, 411)

Landauer thus advocated the development of self-directed communities that would permit a break from institutions of state and capitalist authority. Revolution, reconceptualized by Landauer, was a gradual rejection of coercive social relations through the development of alternatives. This view of revolution as a process of constructing alternative forms of sociation—used as the model for a new society—is largely shared by contemporary anarchists.

Revolution is a process, and even the eradication of coercive institutions will not automatically create a liberatory society. We create that society by building new institutions, by changing the character of our social relationships, by changing ourselves — and throughout that process by changing the distribution of power in society If we cannot begin this revolutionary project here and now, then we cannot make a revolution. (Ehrlich et al. 1996, 5)

In many of his writings, the anarcho-syndicalist Sam Dolgoff stresses the importance of this constructive approach to anarchism, rich in positive and practical ideas rather than reactive, momentary acts or negative impulses. Again, the

means for a constructive anarchism are already available in currently existing social relations, even if these relations are overshadowed and limited by the authoritarian society that dominates them.

The anarchist theoreticians limited themselves to suggest the utilization of all the useful organisms in the old society in order to reconstruct the new. They envisioned the generalization of practices and tendencies which are already in effect. The very fact that autonomy, decentralization and federalism are more practical alternatives to centralism and statism already presupposes that these vast organizational networks now performing the functions of society are prepared to replace the old bankrupt hyper-centralized administrations. That the “elements of the new society are already developing in the collapsing bourgeois society” (Marx) is a fundamental principle shared by all tendencies in the socialist movement. (Dolgoff 1979, 5)

If society really is “a vast interlocking network of cooperative labour” (Dolgoff 1979, 5), then those networks of cooperation will provide a good starting point, if only a starting point, in throwing off the restraints of coercion, authoritarianism, and exploitation. It is in the relations of cooperative labor, which encompasses millions of daily acts, that one can find the real basis for common social life. Without these networks, usually unrecognized and unpaid, society would collapse and survival for millions would be threatened.

What is needed is emancipation from authoritarian institutions OVER society and authoritarianism WITHIN the organizations themselves. Above all, they must be infused revolutionary spirit and confidence in the creative capacities of the people. Kropotkin in working out the sociology of anarchism, has opened an

avenue of fruitful research which has been largely neglected by social scientists busily engaged in mapping out new areas for state control. (Dolgoff 1979, 5)

A beginning step in these processes of emancipation is the abolition of the wage system and the distribution of goods and services according to the old communist principle, “from each according to ability, to each according to need”:

Libertarian Communism is the organization of society without the State and without capitalist property relations. To establish Libertarian Communism it will not be necessary to invent artificial forms of organization. The new society will emerge from the “shell of the old.” The elements of the future society are already planted in the existing order. They are the syndicate (union) and the Free Commune (sometimes called the ‘free municipality’) which are old, deeply rooted, non-Statist popular institutions spontaneously organized and embracing all towns and villages in urban and in rural areas. The Free Commune is ideally suited to cope successfully with the problems of social and economic life in libertarian communities. Within the Free Commune there is also room for cooperative groups and other associations, as well as individuals to meet their own needs (providing, of course, that they do not employ hired labor for wages). The terms ‘Libertarian’ and ‘Communism’ denote the fusion of two inseparable concepts, the individual pre-requisites for the Free Society: COLLECTIVE AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY. (Dolgoff 1979, 6)

Of course, experiences of both the syndicate and the free commune have been greatly diminished and eroded, if not entirely eliminated, over centuries of state capitalist imposition. The social consequences of this historical reality have been addressed by the anarchist Paul Goodman in

rather poignant terms: “The pathos of oppressed people, however, is that, if they break free, they don’t know what to do. Not having been autonomous, they don’t know what it’s like, and before they learn, they have new managers who are not in a hurry to abdicate” (quoted in Ward 2004, 69). That means that people have to construct approximations in which the social relations of a commons (present and future) can be learned, nurtured, and practiced.

This is part of the impetus behind the creation of cooperatives, “free schools,” industrial unions and community gardens. These places in which the life of the free commune, buried beneath the detritus of authoritarian systems, can be glimpsed again, if only in a tentative or partial form. For Dolgoff,

Anarchism envisions a flexible, pluralist society where all the needs of mankind would be supplied by an infinite variety of voluntary associations. The world is honeycombed with affinity groups from chess clubs to anarchist propaganda groups. They are formed, dissolved and reconstituted according to the fluctuating whims and fancies of the individual adherents. It is precisely because they “reflect individual preferences” that such groups are the lifeblood of the free society. (1979, 8)

In his discussion of the US labor movement, “The American Labor Movement: A New Beginning,” Dolgoff reminds readers that the labor movement once put a great deal of energy into building more permanent forms of common institutions. An expanding variety of mutual aid functions were provided through unions in the early days of labor.

They created a network of cooperative institutions of all kinds: schools, summer camps for children and adults, homes for the aged, health and cultural centers, insurance plans, technical education, housing, credit assoc-

iations, et cetera. All these, and many other essential services were provided by the people themselves, long before the government monopolized social services wasting untold billions on a top-heavy bureaucratic parasitical apparatus; long before the labor movement was corrupted by “business unionism.” (1980, 31)

That Dolgoff learned these often forgotten or overlooked lessons from a critical engagement with the labor movement is significant. As a militant anarchist, Dolgoff had little time for those who, seeking comfort or moral privilege in anarchist “purity,” refuse to engage in the real struggles in which people find themselves. Anarchy cannot be abstracted from day-to-day life situations and the difficult choices with which people are confronted:

There is no “pure” anarchism. There is only the application of anarchist principles to the realities of social living. The aim of anarchism is to stimulate forces that propel society in a libertarian direction. It is only from this standpoint that the relevance of anarchism to modern life can be properly assessed. (1980, 8)

As Dolgoff concludes, anarchism is simply a “guide to action based on a realistic conception of social reconstruction” (1980, 10–11). Anarchists argue that for most of human history people have organized themselves collectively to satisfy their own needs. Social organization is conceived as a network of local voluntary groupings. Anarchists propose a decentralized society, without a central political body, in which people manage their own affairs free from any coercion or external authority. These self-governed communes could federate freely at regional (or larger) levels to ensure coordination or mutual defense. Their autonomy and specificity must be maintained, however. Each locality will decide freely which social, cultural and economic arrangements to pursue. Rather than a pyramid, anarchist associations would form a

web. As Ward suggests: “Coordination requires neither uniformity nor bureaucracy” (2004, 89). Anarchists sometimes point to post offices and railway networks as examples of the way in which local groups and associations can combine to provide complex networks of functions without any central authority (Ward 2004). Postal services work as a result of voluntary agreements between different post offices, in different countries, without any central world postal authority (Ward 2004).

Anarchist organizing is built on what Ward calls “social and collective ventures rapidly growing into deeply rooted organizations for welfare and conviviality” (2004, 63). Unfortunately many of the relationships, practices, and resources that have allowed for the sustenance of human communities (and non-elites within class societies)—namely commons in land and labor—have been extinguished, marginalized, enclosed, or privatized within capitalist social systems. This has been an outcome of the ongoing conflict between commodification and the extension of commodity relations, and defense of the commons. It reflects the incursions of commodity forms throughout human and ecological communities and the displacement of common forms. Historically, this process is initiated through acts of violence and force (backed by legislation), regimes of what Marx terms primitive accumulation. Primitive accumulation expresses the assault of capital against the common social forms emphasized by Kropotkin, Landauer, and Dolgoff.

3.1: PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION CAPITAL AGAINST MUTUAL AID

Capitalist society consists largely of “the accumulation of life as work,” to use Cleaver’s apt description (1992a, 116). Valorization speaks to the processes by which capital can manage to put people to work, and to do so in such a way that the process is repeated on an ever-increasing scale. The structure of the wage, the division of labor and surplus

value are all mechanisms through which exploitation is organized. Notably, the circuit of valorization involves circulation (exchange) as well as production.

Valorization expresses the fact that, from the perspective of capital, the specific character of each productive activity is unimportant, so long as that activity produces something that can, through its sale, realize enough surplus to allow the process to start all over again (Cleaver 1992a). The enormously diverse range of human activities, mental or physical, that people are capable of are rendered the same in the eyes of capital. What is important is that they can be put in the service of (exchange) value creation (for capital). More recently, autonomist theorists, including Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt, have discussed the ways in which contemporary capital makes use of “immaterial labor,” especially emotional or psychological capacities that allow people to care for each other—a point that echoes historic anarchist concerns.

If valorization represents the subordination of people’s productive activities to capitalist command, Cleaver (1992a, 120) suggests that disvalorization expresses people’s loss of those abilities taken up by capital. This effects a broader impoverishment of social life as the specific qualities of a diversity of skills and abilities are replaced by a narrower range of commercialized, mechanized skills (Cleaver, 1992a).

A central and ongoing process in the history of capitalism is “the replacement of the self-production of use-values by the consumption of commodities” (Cleaver 1992a, 119). This is, in large part, what a whole series of practices—from the enclosures through colonialism more broadly—have been geared towards. This separation of people from the capacities for self-production of use-values has entailed the various forms of violence that Marx has called primitive accumulation. An ongoing process, primitive accumulation involves the actual, often bloody, practices by which capitalism takes over and commer-

cializes growing areas of human life. This has included the clearing of peasants from common lands, the destruction of artisanal workshops, the canceling of local rights to the land, and the destruction of entire homes and villages. As Cleaver notes, a central aspect of primitive accumulation has been “the displacement of domestic food and handicraft production by capitalist commodities” (1992a, 119). Nowhere has the creation of the “home market” been established without such displacements:

But of this we gain little insight from Marx. In his city-boy ignorance of rural life and perhaps in a desire to avoid any backward-looking sentimentalism, Marx seems to have spent little time or energy during his studies of primitive accumulation in England and in the colonies trying to understand what positive values might have been lost. Unlike many of his generation who did worry about the nature of those social ties and communal values which were rapidly disappearing, Marx kept his attention fixed firmly toward the future. (Cleaver 1992a, 122)

Interestingly, the response to primitive accumulation and its effects has historically been one of the key points distinguishing Marxists from anarchists. Anarchists have taken a vastly different, and less sanguine, approach to primitive accumulation from that taken by many Marxists, and certainly from the approach taken by Marx. Speaking about Marx, Cleaver notes:

When we examine his writings on primitive accumulation and colonialism—from the *Communist Manifesto* to *Capital*—we often find little or no empathy for the cultures being destroyed/subsumed by capital. He certainly recognised such destruction/subsumption but frequently saw its effects on feudalism and other pre-capitalist forms of society as historically progressive.

For Marx, workers were being liberated from pre-capitalist forms of exploitation (they ‘escaped from the regime of the guilds’) and peasants from ‘serfdom’ and ‘the idiocy of rural life.’ (1992a, 121)

Such an uncaring approach found its most widespread and influential expression within Marxism under the Second International view—that societies could not be revolutionary until they had entered the capitalist stage. This perspective was used among other things to argue against the possibility of revolution in Russia since it was a feudal rather than capitalist society.

Anarchists have been deeply concerned about exactly the values that have been lost. For anarchists, these lost abilities and skills extend beyond tasks of labor to include important elements of social life, such as decision-making or social interaction. Cleaver discusses this loss, and related issues of centralization and professionalization, in terms that are reminiscent of the historic anarchist analysis as discussed below:

The rise of professional medicine, for example, not only produced a widespread loss of abilities to heal, but it also involved the substitution of one particular paradigm of healing for a much larger number of approaches to ‘health’, and thus an absolute social loss—the virtual disappearance of a multiplicity of alternative ‘values.’ (1992a, 120)

It is the attempt to identify, to understand, and to recover the values that have been lost, overlooked, or subsumed under capitalism that has inspired major anarchist projects whether Kropotkin’s *Mutual Aid*, the works of Elisee Reclus or, more recently, David Graeber’s *False Coin*.

More than the destruction of villages, workshops, farms or houses, primitive accumulation entails the destruction of entire ways of life, communities, and cultures. Primitive

accumulation fundamentally involves the theft of people's independent means of production and living. Cleaver suggests that the very history of capitalism has been, fundamentally, "a history of a war on autonomous subsistence activities (what we might at this point call the history of disvalorisation)" (1992a, 124). He suggests that there has been such a war "because such subsistence activities have both survived and been repeatedly created anew—more so in some places than in others" (Cleaver 1992a, 124). It is in no way simply coincidental that primitive accumulation has been directed specifically at indigenous practices of gift economies, for example.

Related to these processes is the degrading of skills experienced by many workers and the monopolization of skilled labor by higher paid "mental workers" such as engineers. Opposing, and to some extent reversing, this replacement is a crucial, perhaps key, aspect of anarchist activity today. It is this opposition that underlies anarchist criticisms of the monopolization of learning skills by professional instructors or the monopolization of care-giving skills by professional social workers.

At the same time, anarchists are careful not to overestimate the success of capital's destructive power or to fail to appreciate the tenacity and perseverance of non-capitalist social relations. Indeed, a vast array of struggles against capitalism, both historically and contemporarily, has been based in precisely these supposedly "archaic" relations. As stated above, communist forms of sociation and organization express the tenacity of archaic forms within capitalist societies. They express the persistence of the repressed sociological types exemplary of "mechanical solidarity" and *Gemeinschaft* within *Gesellschaft* social structures.

Commonists work to organize against dependency on commodities and professional "experts," the manifestations of the commodification of needs and market-supplied services. Commonists emphasize the significance of autonomous creativity in the struggles against states and capital.

They view these activities in terms of the possibilities for a post-capitalist future.

3.2: LINEAGES OF COMMONISM KROPOTKIN AND MUTUAL AID

Among the primary historical influences on commonism, perhaps the most significant is Kropotkin's version of anarcho-communism and, especially, his ideas about mutual aid. In *Mutual Aid* Kropotkin documents the centrality of co-operation within animal and human groups and links anarchist theory with everyday experience. Kropotkin's definition suggests that anarchism, in part, "would represent an interwoven network, composed of an infinite variety of groups and federations of all sizes and degrees . . . temporary or more or less permanent . . . for all possible purposes" (quoted in Ward and Goodway 2003, 94). As Ward reminds us: "A century ago Kropotkin noted the endless variety of 'friendly societies, the unities of odd-fellows, the village and town clubs organised for meeting the doctors' bills' built up by working-class self-help" (2004, 29). Both Kropotkin and, to a much lesser extent, Marx, commented on and were inspired by peasant collaboration in various aspects of daily life, from the care of communal lands and forests, harvesting, the building of roads, house construction, and dairy production.

Kropotkin's political archeology, and especially his studies of the French Revolution and the Paris Commune, informed his analyses of the Russian revolutions of 1905 to 1917 and colored his warnings to comrades about the possibilities and perils that waited along the different paths of political change (Cleverly 1992b). This remains an important social and political undertaking in the context of crisis and structural adjustment impelled by the forces of capitalist globalization.

In 1917 Kropotkin saw the dangers in the crisis: both

those of reaction and those disguised in the garb of revolution, whether parliamentary or Bolshevik In 1917 Kropotkin also knew where to look for the power to oppose those dangers and to create the space for the Russian people to craft their own solutions: in the self-activity of workers and peasants In 1917, as we know, the power of workers to resist both reaction and centralization proved inadequate—partly because the spokespersons of the later cloaked their intentions behind a bright rhetoric of revolution. Today . . . such rhetoric is no longer possible and in its place there is only the drab, alienating language of national and supranational state officials. (Clever 1992b, 10)

Kropotkin's vast research into mutual aid was motivated by a desire to develop a general understanding of the character of human societies and their processes of evolution. It was partly concerned with providing a sociological critique of the popular views of social Darwinists like Huxley and Spencer. More than that, as Cleaver (1992b) notes, his work was aimed at laying the foundation for his anarcho-communist politics by showing a recurring tendency in human societies, as well as in many other animal societies, for individuals to help each other and to cooperate with other members of the species rather than to compete in a Hobbesian war of all against all.

In several book-length research works, including *Mutual Aid*, *The Conquest of Bread* and *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, Kropotkin tried to sketch the manifestation and development of mutual aid historically. What his research suggested to him was that mutual aid was always present in human societies, even if its development was never uniform or the same over different periods or within different societies. At various points, mutual aid was the primary factor of social life, while at other times it was submerged beneath forces of competition, conflict, and violence. The key, however, was that regardless of its form or the adversity of cir-

cumstances in which it operated, it was always present, “providing the foundation for recurrent efforts at cooperative self-emancipation from various forms of domination (the state, institutional religion, capitalism)” (Cleaver 1992b, 3). Kropotkin was not, in a utopian manner, trying to suggest how a new society might or should develop. In his view, it was already happening. The instances were already appearing in the present.

This highlights a crucial feature of commonist approaches. Commonism is not about the drawing up of social blueprints for the future. Similarly anarchists, to this day, have been quite reluctant to describe the “anarchist society.” Instead, anarchists have tried mainly to identify and understand social trends or tendencies, even countervailing ones, by which social relations can be sustained over time outside of states and capital. The focus is resolutely on manifestations of the future, post-statist, post-capitalist community, in the present.

In major works such as *The Conquest of Bread*, Kropotkin sought to detail how the post-capitalist future was already emerging in the here and now of everyday life. His research in this case was concerned with, and indeed managed to offer examples of, practical cases in the present; this suggested aspects of a post-capitalist community. In this way, Kropotkin’s work (as with the work of other anarcho-communists) offers something more than simply a proposition. Thus, his politics were grounded in ongoing, if under-appreciated, aspects of human societies (Cleaver 1992b).

Kropotkin argued that human societies developed through processes involved in the ongoing interplay of what he called the “law of mutual struggle” and the “law of mutual aid.” These forces manifested themselves in various ways depending on historical period or social context, but significantly for Kropotkin, they were typically observed in conflict or interaction rather than in stasis or equilibrium. Neither was this strictly an evolutionary schema, since

Kropotkin includes periods of revolutionary upheaval within his view of the interplay between these forces.

On the one side were the institutions and behaviors of mutual struggle such as narrow-minded individualism, competition, the concentration of landed and industrial property, capitalist exploitation, the state and war. On the other side were those of mutual aid such as cooperation in production, village folknotes, communal celebrations, trade unionism and syndicalism, strikes, political and social associations. (Cleaver 1992b, 4)

According to Kropotkin, one or the other force tended to be predominant depending on the era or circumstances, but it was his considered opinion that forces of mutual aid were on the rise, even as capitalism appeared triumphant. In fact, in his view, the sort of industrial development for which capitalism was famous could not be possible without an incredible degree of co-operative labor. Kropotkin argued against capitalist myth-making that presented the rapid growth of industrial development as the result of competition and instead suggested that the scope and efficiency of cooperation were more important factors (see Cleaver 1992b). In this, his analysis was remarkably close to that of Marx, who indeed saw the mass co-operation of industrial production as a prerequisite for communism.

Where economists emphasized static comparative advantage, Kropotkin demonstrated the dynamic countertendency toward increasing complexity and interdependence (cooperation) among industries—a development closely associated with the unstoppable international circulation of knowledge and experience. Where the economists (and later the sociologists of work) celebrated the efficacy and productivity of specialization in production, Kropotkin showed how

that very productivity was based not on competition but on the interlinked efforts of only formally divided workers. (Clever 1992b, 5)

Commonists might do well to remember Kropotkin's advice concerning the methods to be followed by anarchist researchers. In his 1887 book, *Anarchist Communism*, Kropotkin suggests that the anarchist approach differs from that of the utopian: "[The anarchist] studies human society as it is now and was in the past . . . tries to discover its tendencies, past and present, its growing needs, intellectual and economic, and in his [sic] ideal he [sic] merely points out in which direction evolution goes" (quoted in Cleaver 1992b, 3).

This focus on tendencies, or developing patterns of concrete behavior, differentiated his approach from both early utopians and later Marxist-Leninists by abandoning the Kantian "ought" in favor of the scientific study of what is already coming to be. Neither Fourier nor Owen hesitated to spell out the way they felt society ought to be organized, from cooperatives to *phalansteries*. Nor were Lenin and his Bolshevik allies reluctant to specify, in considerable detail, the way work should be organized (Taylorism and competition) and how social decision-making ought to be arranged (top down through party administration and central planning. (Clever 1992b, 3)

Marx's writings offered much less detail than Kropotkin's works when it comes to the issue of working class subjectivity, in contrast to the rather extensive analysis Marx provided with regard to capitalist domination. It was only through the decades of work carried out by various autonomist Marxists that there was developed any Marxist analysis of working class autonomy that came close to a parallel of Kropotkin's work (Clever 1992b, 7).

3.3: THEORETICAL AFFINITIES CONSTRUCTIVE ANARCHY AND AUTONOMIST MARXISM

The collapse of the “actually existing” socialist states and the crisis-inducing development of capitalist globalization have in various ways impelled a re-thinking of issues of social transformation and the surpassing of capitalism by anarchists as well as Marxists. Various streams of anarcho-communism, most notably those that are part of the stream of everyday anarchy, from Kropotkin to Goodman to Ward, can be seen to have strong similarities, or even affinities, with certain traditions of libertarian or autonomist Marxism. This is especially so when one considers the anarcho-communist and libertarian Marxist approaches to the questions of constructing alternatives to capitalism in the here and now. There are striking similarities, for example, between autonomist Marxist writings on self-valorization and anarchist writings on mutual aid and affinity. The types of concrete actually existing mutual aid activities initiated or supported by anarchists certainly embody the notion of self-valorization and the self-constitution of alternative modes of living, as discussed by Cleaver (1992a). These are autonomous self-valorizing activities that, as discussed again by autonomists, are confronted by capitalist attempts at disvalorization.

As noted above, Harry Cleaver (1992b) finds a great resonance, especially, between the analyses of Peter Kropotkin (and his concern with the emergence of a new society from within capitalism) and the analyses of autonomist Marxists who suggest that the future might be glimpsed within current processes of working-class self-valorization, or those autonomous practices by which people attempt to create alternative social relations, either at work or in their communities. Cleaver notes that, as “a replacement for an exhausted and failed orthodoxy,” the autonomist Marxists offer a more vital and engaged Marxism, “one that has been regenerated within the struggles of

real people and as such, has been able to articulate at least some elements of their desires and projects of self-valorization” (1992b, 11). Given this close political affinity, Cleaver suggests that, against more sectarian positions, those inspired by Kropotkin might do well to pay attention to the libertarian Marxists just as the Marxists might find inspiration for their own work in Kropotkin’s efforts (1992b). I would agree and suggest that contemporary anarchists, who have tended to eschew analyses of class, can gain much especially through an engagement with autonomist Marxist ideas of self-valorization. Self-valorization helps to create some broader possibilities for people, individually and collectively, to take further actions to act in their own interests and to gain greater opportunities for the self-determination of larger parts of their lives.

Anarchists try to avoid a productivist vision of life, emphasizing the great diversity of ways in which human life might be realized. Anarchists again share common ground with autonomist Marxists in arguing that the only way that work can be an interesting mode of self-realization for people is “through its subordination to the rest of life, the exact opposite of capitalism” (Cleaver 1992a, 143, n. 59). Commonists of various stripes are attempting to organize their productive activities, and to extend this organization, in order to initially impede and to eventually break capitalist command over society.

What is common in the approach taken by Kropotkin to the issue of superceding capitalism and that taken by the autonomist Marxists is the emphasis on manifestations of the future in the present. The shared concern is with, as Cleaver suggests, “the identification of already existing activities which embody new, alternative forms of social cooperation and ways of being” (1992b, 10). Autonomist Marxists, like anarchists, emphasize the primary importance of the self-activity and creativity of people in struggle.

The attempt to reconceptualize the process of moving beyond capitalism, as developed in the works of autonomist

Marxists, bears quite striking similarities to the approach offered by Kropotkin regarding this question (Clever 1992b). Autonomist Marxists share with most anarchists a rejection of concepts of “the transitional period” or “the transitional program.” In place of “the transition,” autonomists and anarchists emphasize some version of what Hakim Bey calls “immediatism,” or activities that suggest the revolution is already underway.

The focus on workers’ autonomy has led to a rejection of orthodox Marxist arguments that the transcendence of capitalism and movement to a post-capitalist society requires some form of transitional order (i.e. socialism) characterized by party management of the state in the name of the people (Clever 1992b). Autonomist Marxists’ emphasis on the autonomy of working class self-activity stresses not only autonomy from capital but also autonomy from the “official” organizations of the working class, especially from trade unions and socialist (or more specifically, social democratic) parties. This approach shares with anarchism an analysis of the Russian revolution of 1917 that saw the Bolshevik takeover of the soviets as the beginning of the restoration of domination and exploitation (Clever 1992b). Thus the subversion of the revolution is viewed as occurring much earlier than with the emergence of Stalinism, to which most Leninists and Trotskyists point as the moment that marked the revolution’s betrayal.

Autonomists, like anarchists, argue that the process of building a new society must be the work of the people themselves, lest it be doomed from the outset. Class struggle has a dual character, and its categories can be understood from either the perspective of capital or the perspective of the working class. The shift in focus away from capital—the domain of orthodox Marxist approaches—towards workers has opened new realizations, including a recognition that the “working class” is itself a category of capital, and, crucially, one that people have struggled to avoid or escape (Clever 1992b, 7).

3.4: CONCLUSION

Unlike utopian thinkers, commonists tend to avoid discussing “blueprints” of future social relations, or at least exercise extreme caution when they do so. Commonists contend that it is always up to those seeking freedom to decide how they desire to live. Still, there are a few features characteristic of commonist visions of a free society. While not in agreement about the means to bring about the future libertarian society, commonists are clear that means and ends cannot be separated.

The moment we stop insisting on viewing all forms of action only by their function in reproducing larger, total, forms of inequality of power, we will also be able to see that anarchist social relations and non-alienated forms of action are all around us. And this is critical because it already shows that anarchism is, already, and has always been, one of the main bases for human interaction. We self-organize and engage in mutual aid all the time. We always have. (Graeber 2004, 76)

Commonist communities must, almost by definition, be based upon ongoing experiments in social arrangements, in confronting the ongoing dilemma of maintaining both individual freedoms and social equality (Ehrlich 1996). The revolution is always in the making. These projects make up what the anarchist sociologist Howard Ehrlich calls “anarchist transfer cultures.”

Despite the dominant authoritarian trend in existing society, most contemporary anarchists therefore try and extend spheres of free action in the hope that they will one day become the mainstream of social life. In difficult times, they are, like Paul Goodman, revolutionary conservatives, maintaining older traditions of mutual aid and free enquiry when under threat. In

more auspicious moments, they move out from free zones until by their example and wisdom they begin to convert the majority of people to their libertarian vision. (Marshall 1992, 659)

Constructive anarchists recognize that revolutions do not emerge fully formed from nothing. There is a pressing need, in pre-revolutionary times, for institutions, organizations, and relations that can sustain people as well as building capacities for self-defense and struggle. These I have termed infrastructures of resistance (Shantz 2008).

04: COMMONISM AND POST-POLITICAL POLITICS GIFTS, SELF-VALORIZATION, AND THE COMING COMMUNITIES

As an alternative to the market valorization and production for profit embodied in capitalist enterprises, commonists turn to self-valorizing production rooted in the needs, experiences, and desires of specific communities. In place of a consumerist ethos that encourages consumption of ready-made items, commonists adopt a productivist ethos that attempts a re-integration of production and consumption. At the same time, their practice articulates what might be termed a post-political politics. This politics is post-political in the sense that it rejects notions of politics based on representation, in general, particularly representation at the level of the state.

In attempting to re-think social activity in the current context I focus on overlooked or under-appreciated themes, priorities, and forms of creativity that pose important challenges to conventional thinking about politics. The key principles of contemporary practices that I identify and examine in the following sections of this work are self-valorization, or creative work outside and against capitalist valorization for the market, do-it-yourself (DIY) politics, and collaborative “ownership” and the gift economy. Taken together, these

aspects of movement practice express a striving for autonomy and self-determination rather than a politics of representation.

4.1: COMMONIST EXCHANGE THE GIFT

There have been numerous anarchist projects based on notions of the gift economy. Projects like TAO Communications, Food Not Bombs, and the Anarchist Free School are all based largely on economies of gift presentation (not necessarily based on exchange). Also, anarchists have played important parts in developing aspects of the gift economy in broader projects such as the Internet and open source software such as Linux.

Among the most influential writings on gift economies are those of Marcel Mauss, a “founder” of French anthropology. In addition to his anthropological research, Mauss was a revolutionary socialist who was active in the consumer cooperative movement in France. Mauss argued that socialism would never come “from above” through any type of state apparatus, regardless of the self-proclaimed character of that state. Mauss followed the anarchists of his day in suggesting that the beginnings of a new socialist society could be constructed in the shell of the old capitalist one through practices of mutual aid and self-organization. In practical terms, Mauss saw the development of an anti-capitalist economy coming from efforts to build and coordinate grassroots cooperative projects. According to Graeber, Mauss “felt that existing popular practices provided the basis both for a moral critique of capitalism and possible glimpses of what a future society would be like” (2004, 18). Mauss was deeply troubled by the direction socialism was being taken in the Soviet Union under Lenin, especially the reintroduction of the market under the New Economic Program (NEP) in the 1920s. Graeber sums up Mauss’s overriding concern for socialist development:

If it was impossible to simply legislate the money economy away, even in Russia, the least monetarized society in Europe, then perhaps revolutionaries needed to start looking at the ethnographic record to see what sort of creature the market really was, and what viable alternatives to capitalism might look like. (2004, 17)

In his “Essay on the Gift” (1925), Mauss argued that the basis of contracts and exchange was not, as economists have tended to claim, in barter. His studies suggested that there has never been an economy based on barter. Instead, the origins of contracts and exchange in non-monetary economies rests in communism or “an unconditional commitment to another’s needs” (Graeber 2004, 17). Rather than barter, the key economic practice of non-monetary societies has been the exchange of gifts. Within these gift economies “the distinctions we now make between interest and altruism, person and property, freedom and obligation, simply did not exist” (Graeber 2004, 17).

Mauss rejected popular views that stateless or marketless societies were simply underdeveloped “pre-state” or “pre-market” societies in a teleological schema that had yet to unfold properly. Prior to Mauss’s work, the assumption in much of the West had been that marketless economies were trying to participate in market behavior, but simply “hadn’t yet developed very sophisticated ways of going about it” (Graeber 2004, 21). Instead, Mauss (1925) suggested that stateless and marketless societies were structured the way they were because that was the manner in which their members wanted to live. Even more, rather than foreshadowing the market in their economic interactions, notably through barter activities, those societies actually operated according to a logic that is in many ways antithetical to the market. Rather than economies of barter, these were economies of the gift.

In his compelling and provocative essay, “The High-

Tech Gift Economy” (1998), Richard Barbrook argues that the gift economy provides a starting point for thinking about social relations beyond either the state or market. More than that, the gift economy provides the basis for an incipient anarcho-communism, visions of which have inspired a variety of recent community media and “do-it-yourself” (DIY) cultural activism. Despite the contributions Barbrook’s article makes to a rethinking of both emergent social movements and alternatives to statist capitalism, his emphasis on gift exchange leaves his analysis at the level of consumption and exchange, rather than addressing crucial issues of production. Yet it is predominantly questions of production, and especially the transformation of production relations, that has motivated anarcho-communists historically. I want to look more closely, if briefly, at the contestatory and transformative aspects hinted at by DIY production within the gift economy. Such production, more than issues of how exchange occurs, suggest possibilities for eluding or challenging relations of capitalist value production. Crucial for understanding the liberatory potential of the “new economy” beyond the practices of consumption or exchange, is the notion of self-valorization or production which emphasizes community (use) values rather than capitalist value.

4.2: COMMONIST PRODUCTION SELF-VALORIZATION

The notion of self-valorization, as used by contemporary anarchists and libertarian communists, builds upon Marx’s discussion of use value versus exchange value. People produce things because they have some kind of use for them; they meet some need or desire. This is where the qualitative aspect of production comes in. Generally, people prefer products that are well-made, function as planned, are not poisonous and so on. Under capitalism, exchange value, (in which a coat can get two pairs of shoes) predominates

over use value. This is the quantitative aspect of value that doesn't indicate whether the product is durable, shoddy or toxic as long as it secures its (potential) value in sale or other exchange with something else.

And capitalism's driving focus on the quantitative at the expense of the qualitative also comes to dominate human labor. The quality (skill, pleasure, creativity) of the particular work that people do isn't primarily relevant for the capitalist (except that skilled labour costs more to produce and carries more exchange value). That's partly because exchange is based on the quantity of 'average-socially-necessary-labour-time' embodied in the product human labor produces. That simply means that if some firm takes a longer time to produce something on outdated machinery they can't claim the extra labor time they take, due to inefficiencies, compared to a firm that produces more quickly using updated technology, and that's one reason why outmoded producers go under).

Capitalist production is geared towards exchange as the only way that surplus value is actually realized rather than being potential; the capitalist can't bank surplus as value until the product has been exchanged. Use value plays a part only to the extent that something has to have some use for people or else they would not buy it; well, if the thing seems totally useless the bosses still have advertising to convince people otherwise. Under other non-capitalist "modes of production," such as feudalism, most production is geared towards use value production rather than exchange value. For Marx, under communist social relations there is no exchange value, what is produced will still retain use value.

Surely if, under communism, people are producing to meet their needs, they will continue to produce use values (and even a surplus of them in case of emergency) without regard for exchange value (which would, certainly, be absent in a truly communist society anyway). Unless one is talking about a communism of uselessness perhaps. Cer-

tainly people would value their work (qualitatively) in ways that cannot be imagined now since they would be meeting their community's needs and would try to do so with some joy and pleasure in work, providing decent products without fouling up the environment.

As Barbrook (1998) suggests, for participants in a diversity of contemporary affinity groups, DIY activities offer a context for coming together, a shared opportunity for mutual expression and unalienated labor. Contemporary usage of the term DIY in underground movements comes from punk rock and its visceral attack on the professionalization of rock, as well as the related distance between fans and rock stars. This anti-hierarchical perspective and the practices that flow from it are inspired by a deep longing for self-determined activity that eschews reliance on the products of corporate culture.

It is perhaps highly telling that, in an age of multinational media conglomerates and gargantuan publishing monopolies, a number of younger people have turned towards artisanal forms of craft production in order to produce and distribute what are often very personal works. Even more than this, however, are the means of production, involving collective decision-making as well as collective labor in which participants are involved, to the degree that they wish to be, in all aspects of the process from conception through to distribution.

While cultural theorist Walter Benjamin spoke of disenchantment in the "age of mechanical reproduction" (1969), DIY projects offer expressions of re-enchantment or authenticity. This authenticity is grounded at least in the sense that such works help to overcome the division between head and hand that reflects the division of labor in a society of mass-produced representation. As attempts to overcome alienation and address concerns with overly mediated activities, DIY activities suggest a striving for what an earlier era might have called control over the means of production, and what has now come to include

control over the means of representation. Perhaps ironically, this has been aided by the availability of inexpensive desktop publishing and other means of “mechanical reproduction” since the 1980s (though not all anarchists choose to use it).

Impulses behind the turn to self-production include a desire for cultural autonomy along with a preference for decentralized, local, and participatory forms of communication, and concerns over questions of representation. Along with DIY production often comes the collective production of alternative subjectivities. More often than not, the commonist producers carry out their work in collectively run community centers, or infoshops—the modern version of the craft cottage right in the heart of the inner city. A visit to an infoshop, such as Wooden Shoe books in Philadelphia or Spartacus in Vancouver, will generally reveal a variety of original self-made works.

For many, the content as well as the process of commonist production expresses a confrontation with the cultural codes of everyday life. While such activities express a variety of styles and viewpoints, they tend to present a vision of a desired society that is participatory and democratic. In production, content, and often through distribution in gift economies, they advocate active production of culture rather than passive consumption of cultural (or even entertainment) commodities. Self-production provides an opportunity for producers to act against the proprietorship of information. Most commonist communications (whether literature, music, videos, or broadcasts) are produced as anti-copyrights, or as “copy-lefts,” where the sharing of material is encouraged. Indeed, as a key part of gift economies, DIY takes on an important place in experimenting with communities that are not organized around market principles of exchange value. They help to create a culture of self-valorization rather than giving creativity over to the logics of surplus value.

4.3: COLLABORATIVE PRODUCTION AND THE COMMONIST ECONOMY

Commonist DIY production raises the key contemporary question—one that is socially and politically charged—of whether collaborative production and ownership in diverse areas, and the growth of opportunities for collaboration enabled partly through new technologies, might pose a serious challenge to the hegemony of international property rights regimes. Collaborative ownership historically extends throughout human communities and finds vibrant contemporary expressions in a variety of places, including academic research, open source software, and community service networks. At the same time, collaborative ownership is more than ever before being confronted by powerful institutions and organizations, with the full weight of multinational corporations and national states behind them, seeking to extend the private control and management of both the processes and products of creative activities.

As Rishab Ghosh (2005a) suggests, intellectual property rights and policy decisions that treat knowledge and art as physical forms of property, far from enhancing creativity, actually limit public access to creativity and discourage collaborative creative efforts while threatening to decrease creativity overall. For Ghosh, a clear indicator of the extent of the conversion from knowledge and art to “intellectual property” is the widespread assumption that creative production is necessarily individual and private, with collaboration occurring only under commercial conditions. Collaboration, as in open source software development where thousands of people might organize informally without ever meeting to produce high quality works, is often viewed as being an exception. Even more, this exceptionality is often explained as having a predominantly ideological basis. As Ghosh suggests, there is a somewhat romanticized notion that collaborative production and ownership on a

large scale are driven by ideology and require the commitment of idealists in order to occur (2005b, 1).

Lost in hegemonic neoliberal discourses of proprietary rights and market competitiveness is the recognition of human sociality—that the greatest human achievements have been collaborative efforts. In the current context, as Ghosh notes, collaboratively creating knowledge has come to be viewed as a novelty (2005a, 3). As Ghosh suggests: “Newton should have had to pay a license fee before being allowed even to see how tall the ‘shoulders of giants’ were, let alone to stand upon them” (2005a, 3). At the same time, DIY movements have played important parts in renewing public interest in collaborative creation more broadly.

Yet a strong and compelling case can be made that collaborative approaches to creativity are desirable and viable alternatives to proprietary frameworks based on widespread and strongly enforced intellectual property regimes. A great strength of the recent anarchist approaches is the interest in exploring creativity from a diversity of perspectives, including not only economics, law, and software development, but also anthropology. Examples of recent and historic collaborative approaches range over collective ownership in indigenous societies, academic science, and free software to name only a few cases that bring a historical perspective to bear on real world experiences. This leads to the examining of creativity and the collaborative ownership of knowledge in different times and places to illustrate that collaboration is far from being a novel aspect of human societies.

Many analyses of collaborative and non-monetary production in new economies, such as free software or the Internet, use the descriptor of gift-giving that supposedly characterizes “tribal” societies. Exchange within such societies is posed as consisting of the altruistic offering of gifts without expectations of exchanges. This description is popular in discussions of a variety of contemporary practices, and is used to explain activities ranging from informal

economies to do-it-yourself subcultures.

Some anthropologists, however, suggest that production and exchange within tribal societies are more complexly arranged than is suggested by notions of altruistic gift-giving. Various anthropological accounts suggest that tribal societies engage in non-monetary or non-proprietary forms of production and exchange in a manner that builds complex webs of reciprocal obligation that bind members together (Ghosh 2005b, 7). The evidence presented in these anthropological works suggests that gift giving in tribal societies is carried out within a context of reciprocity and expected returns, either in terms of status, rights, or more gifts.

At the same time, the anthropological accounts suggest that there are relevant similarities between collaborative production, non-monetary exchange in tribal societies, and collaborative ownership in the digital economy (Ghosh 2005b, 7). In refining altruistic notions of the gift economy, however, these anthropologists argue that, in many cases, gift-giving is based on the self-interested participation of individuals and communities connected through complex webs of rights and obligations.

This is not to be taken, as property rights advocates might wish, as an argument against notions of the gift economy, but rather is offered to suggest the multiple and complex manifestations of collaborative production and non-monetary exchange with human communities. Strathern, for example, shows that in certain communities of Papua New Guinea, one sees, rather than true collective ownership, multiple ownership or multiple authorship, where each “owner” might claim a definable but inseparable part of a collectively owned whole (2005). Similarly, Leach explores multiple ownership through a comparison of local practices in the Madang area of Papua New Guinea and global contributions to Linux development (2005). In both cases, individual contributions, even where they can be clearly identified, have no value outside of the collabo-

ratively produced whole of which they are part. Leach makes the crucial point that the nature of ownership is based substantially on the mode of production and the processes of creation (2005). This point is reinforced in the works of several anarchist anthropologists, such as Pierre Clastres, David Graeber, or Harold Barclay, whose works explore, on the basis of extensive anthropological evidence, collaborative production and distribution that is not motivated by concerns with exchange. For such alternative perspectives the reader might wish to consult Barclay's *People Without Government* (1990) or, more recently, Graeber's *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value* (2001).

At the same time, Ghosh makes explicit his preference for analysis based on rational actors concerned with "balancing their *value-flows*" (2005c, 111). For Ghosh, the self-interested people engaged in collaborative production will do so as long as they take more from it than they put in. While most collaborative work occurs without clearly identified one-to-one transactions, as Ghosh recognizes, the author still insists on modeling collaborative participants as making rational self-interested contributions as long as benefits are greater than costs.

One should always be cautious about attempts to use rather conventional economic analysis to explain complex social relations and practices, and Ghosh's reliance on such limited theories is quite unsatisfactory. Given the rather extensive sociological literature contesting the claims of rational choice theories, the absence of a sociological analysis is a glaring omission here.

More nuanced and convincing arguments are offered by Yochai Benkler (2005). Moving beyond rational choice perspectives, Benkler provides an interesting discussion of systems of collaborative production that are sustained without direct reference to the benefits accruing to individual participants (2005). Benkler notes that the Internet has enabled structures of production that are sustained even

where the motives of contributors do not appear to be driven by a “rational choice” for individual rewards (2005).

Some anarchists and libertarian Marxists have pursued the notion that the growing application of property rights to knowledge and creativity is in fact a new enclosure movement, similar to the enclosures of common land during the period of capitalism’s emergence from feudalism. Indeed it might be suggested that an increasingly vigorous application of the language of property rights to knowledge and creativity represents an enclosure of the mind.

If the imposition of property regimes on knowledge and creativity constitutes a second enclosure movement, then what, one might ask, is emerging as the equivalent of the Diggers or Ranters? Against more pessimistic accounts of the new enclosures, John Clippinger and David Bollier suggest that the growing global acclaim for free software heralds the beginnings of a renaissance of the commons (2005). The anarchists and punks who undertake DIY productive activities provide one example of what the new Diggers might look like. At the same time, current (and proposed) international trade policies pose tangible threats to the future of the knowledge commons and collaboration.

4.4: COMMONIST COUNTER-POWER?

The arguments made concerning gift economies find an interesting parallel in the political realm within the more recent research of the French anthropologist Pierre Clastres, whose works, it might be noted, influenced the writings of Deleuze and Guattari. Clastres wrote against the teleological perspective within much political anthropology, which saw the state as a more efficient form of organization, an advancement that superseded the forms that had preceded it (see Graeber 2004).

Clastres’ primary research involved stateless Amazonian societies that were assumed within mainstream political anthropology not to have achieved the same level of devel-

opment as the Aztecs or the Inca. Clastres, however, did not accept this conceptualization, which he saw as reflecting the biases of Western political economy:

But what if, he proposed, Amazonians were not entirely unaware of what the elementary forms of state power might be like—what it would mean to allow some men to give everyone else orders which could not be questioned, since they were backed up by the threat of force—and were for that very reason determined to ensure such things never came about? (Graeber, 2004, 22)

One of the most important insights offered by Clastres is that non-statist societies seem well aware of the dangers posed by concentrations of power, and spend much of their community life engaged in efforts to ward off such concentrations. Such societies organize to ensure that no one gains control over economic resources that might be wielded in constraining the freedom of others, as well as to ensure that no one is subjected to the orders of another (Clastres, 1989, 1994; see also Bey 1991; 1996). Clastres (1989; 1994) suggests that this is one explanation for the periodic inner conflicts and symbolic violence that mark generally egalitarian societies. This goes beyond conventional political notions of counter-power in which dissident groups establish institutions, such as alternative communities or radical co-operatives, by which the state and capital might be opposed. Clastres's work has further implications for anarchists:

It suggests that counterpower, at least in the most elementary sense, actually exists where the states and markets are not even present; that in such cases, rather than being embodied in popular institutions which pose themselves against the power of lords, or kings, or plutocrats, they are embodied in institutions which

ensure such types of person never come about.
(Graeber 2004, 25)

This is a power that is counter not only to a present and operational power, but, beyond that, to a latent or potential power. Graeber (2004, 25) suggests that this is an opposition to the very “dialectical possibility” of concentrated power “within the society itself.” The symbolic violence that marks many relatively egalitarian societies seems to arise from the many tensions involved in maintaining egalitarian social relations (Clastres 1989; 1994).

Peter Lamborn Wilson (Hakim Bey) returns the notion of “war machine” to its roots in Clastre’s anthropology by using the term “Clastrian machine” to speak of the mechanisms that are deployed to ward off the emergence of concentrated power and domination (1996). Anarchists such as Bey suggest that, taken together, the work of Mauss and Clastres begins the groundwork for a theory of revolutionary counter-power. In this view, such an approach can provide an interesting perspective within which theories of value and theories of resistance might be synthesized:

Institutionally, counterpower takes the form of what we would call institutions of direct democracy, consensus and mediation; that is, ways of publicly negotiating and controlling that inevitable internal tumult and transforming it into those social states (or if you like, forms of value) that society sees as the most desirable: conviviality, unanimity, fertility, prosperity, beauty, however it may be framed. (Graeber 2004, 35)

For contemporary anarchists, counter-power is rooted in the imaginative work of identification with others that makes understanding possible. Institutionally, it provides an impetus both for the creation of new social forms and/or the transformation or revalorization of old ones.

4.5: THEORETICAL AFFINITIES COMMONISM AND THE COMING COMMUNITIES

In order to develop social theories that are attuned to recently developing social movement practices and perspectives, especially concerning issues of non-representationalism, a growing number of contemporary anarchists (most notably Hakim Bey, Todd May, Richard Day and Andrew Koch) have turned to the disparate works of Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. The most extensive attempt to begin a re-thinking of social movements through an engagement with these authors has come from Richard Day and his attempt to articulate rather abstract postmodern writings on state forms with the practical political writings of anarchists.

Foucault offers an analytics of power and an ethic of care for the self which allows him to differentiate between various modalities of power relations. In this perspective one can give oneself rules that allow for power to be exercised with a minimum of domination (which minimizes relations of domination). Power is always present, but how is it practiced? What kinds of power?

Foucault makes a distinction between “liberties” and “states of domination,” a distinction that is actually quite similar to distinctions made by anarchists Gustav Landauer and Rudolph Rocker. Liberties represent “live” relations of power in which most of the players, most of the time, have some ability to alter the situations in which they find themselves. Within states of domination, the flow (or process) of power has “congealed” or been blocked, preventing movement for some of the players most of the time. This represents a “dead” power brought about by specific “techniques of government.”

At this point, a third type of power relation emerges: struggle or resistance. Local and regional practices of resistance are one way in which groups can work against relations of domination. Another way is by exerting “con-

trol over oneself” so one does not “give in to an urge to exercise tyrannical control over others” (Day 2001, 31).

Day (2001) is unsatisfied by these negative responses. Instead he asks about positive possibilities for social action and transformation. To do so he turns to Deleuze and Guattari for boldly constructive social criticism and the creation of alternatives, including new concepts of society and new concepts of social relations. Deleuze and Guattari utilize a network of contingent dualisms to enable their critique of particular power relations, and Day finds this particularly useful for thinking about contemporary politics.

At the level of structure, Deleuze and Guattari identify arborescent and rhizomatic forms of organization. Arborescent forms consisting of “hierarchical systems with centres of significance and subjectification,” operating through unidirectional “chains of command,” are characteristic of contemporary Western societies. Conversely rhizomatic forms consist of “acentred systems, finite networks . . . in which communication runs from any neighbour to any other” (Day 2001, 33). Local operations are coordinated without a central agency. No one is in control, decisions are emergent, as are the identities and connections by which they are made.

Also important is the distinction made by Deleuze and Guattari between state forms and war-machines. State forms represent apparatuses of capture “that bring ‘outside’ elements ‘inside’ by connecting them up with an arborescent system” (Day 2001, 33). War machines are exterior to state apparatuses and work to undo the bonds of state capture. Notably, however, states operate in competition and co-operation with war-machines. States perpetuate arborescent forms while war-machines tend to destroy old forms and initiate new ones through rhizomatic connections.

States can, and indeed they must, incorporate war-machines, tame them, and put them to use in “an insti-

tutionalized army.” They must be made part of the “general police” function, which includes practices of the social citizenship state, which have been a part of drawing subordinate classes under the state’s police function as reflected in welfare policies and policies around homelessness among others.

In order to ward off development of the state form, social movements need to set up lateral affiliations and a system of networks and popular bases. This system would provide bases for social forces that neither ask for gifts from the state (as in the liberal-democratic new social movements) nor seek state power themselves (as in classical Marxism). In Day’s words, they resist the will to domination in favor of affinity (2001).

For Richard Day, today we require an analysis of the relation of projects of social transformation with “actually existing democracy.” Despite the contributions of the liberal-democratic state (redistribution of wealth, “rights” enforcement), liberal democracy “remains a frighteningly arborescent form which relies upon dead power to achieve its effects.” The analysis undertaken by contemporary anarchists is, for Day, compatible with a move away from subject positions associated with the system of liberal-capitalist nation-states, in favor of identifications produced by what Giorgio Agamben has called “coming communities” (Agamben 1993). Such a perspective provides a way to think about “community without universality” and “history without teleology.” For Agamben, the task of contemporary politics will no longer be “a struggle for conquest or control” of power as domination, but will involve the creation of “a community with neither presuppositions nor a State” (Agamben 1993, 82).

4.6: CONCLUSION

Recently, there have emerged a variety of experiments with alternative forms of social and economic organization, as

part of broader struggles against capitalist globalization. These experiments provide alternatives to capitalist economic rationality, if only in embryonic form. Shorthose suggests that these “micro-experiments,” such as those discussed above, present “the potential for a more convivial and sustainable future as well as empowering individuals to maintain a greater sense of economic security and an expanded sphere of autonomy away from the vagaries of the market” (2000, 191). These experiments go beyond the ephemeral manifestations of protest politics to begin the work of putting forward an alternative infrastructure, both for the day-to-day necessities of sustaining movements in struggle as well as to provide a space for developing social, economic, and political relationships that prefigure the sorts of relationships that people would like to see replace those that characterize those of contemporary capitalism.

The movements against capitalist production, the affinity-based relations they have developed, and their emphasis on self-valorizing activities suggest not only an opposition to global capital’s economic rationality and its statist supports, but also suggest a yearning for economic, social, and political alternatives to that rationality. In addition, they articulate theoretical alternatives to the representation and interpretation that accompany it.

DIY production, including the production of media (immediately and relatively inexpensively produced), contribute to the creation of alternative spaces and relations from which to counter hostile or inaccurate mass media representations of the subculture. The commonist producers are not asking for improved representation in the manner of some producers of “alternative media,” but are instead trying to tell their own stories. Commonist producers assert control over the means of re/presentation while challenging the very real material constraints on participation in the social and cultural environment.

Finally, it might be said that commonist production offers what an earlier generation of anarchists called “pro-

paganda of the deed.” In the physical work of collectively self-producing, working together, there is also a symbolic production—a production of alternative meanings about culture, work, and community.

For many contemporary activists and theorists, the concept of self-valorization offers an important starting point for thinking about “the circuits that constitute an alternative sociality, autonomous from the control of the State or capital” (Hardt 1996, 6). Originating in autonomist Marxist reflections on the social movements that emerged most notably in Italy during the intense struggles of the 1970s, recent notions of self-valorization has influenced a range of libertarian communist and anarchist writers. As Hardt suggests,

Self-valorization was a principal concept that circulated in the movements, referring to social forms and structures of value that were relatively autonomous from and posed an effective alternative to capitalist circuits of valorization. Self-valorization was thought of as the building block for constructing a new form of sociality, a new society. (1996, 3)

Twentieth-century notions of self-valorization echo the arguments made by classical anarchist communists such as Kropotkin and Reclus, regarding the construction of grass-roots forms of welfare developed through mutual aid societies. Self-valorization is one way by which a variety of recent theorists have sought to identify social forms of welfare that might constitute alternative networks outside of state control (Hardt 1996; see also Vercellone 1996 and Del Re 1996). As Del Re suggests, part of the new parameters for change includes “the proposal to go beyond welfare by taking as our goal the improvement of the quality of life, starting from the reorganization of the time of our lives” (1996, 110).

For radical political theorists, especially those engaged

with libertarian expressions of Italian Marxism, the experiences of the social movements

show the possibilities of alternative forms of welfare in which systems of aid and socialization are separated from State control and situated instead in autonomous social networks. These alternative experiments may show how systems of social welfare will survive the crisis of the Welfare State. (Vercellone 1996, 81)

These systems of social welfare, however, are based on social solidarity (outside of state control) through practices of autonomous self-management. Beyond providing necessary services, these practices are geared towards freeing people from the necessity of waged labor, of valorization for capital. In this, self-valorizing activities challenge the limits even of the gift economy and shift emphasis again towards that great concern of anarcho-communists historically—the abolition of the wage system.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR



Jeff Shantz is an anarchist activist, poet, and sociologist, currently teaching critical criminology at Kwantlen Polytechnic University in Surrey, British Columbia. His books *Active Anarchy: Political Practice in Contemporary Movements* (Lexington, 2011) and *Constructive Anarchy: Building Infrastructures of Resistance* (Ashgate, 2010) offer autoethnographic analyses of anarchist participation within contemporary social movements. He is also the editor of the insurgent journal *Radical Criminology*.



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Ronald W. Cox

Florida International University, coxr@fiu.edu

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Against Libertarianism

Abstract

This essay argues that libertarianism operates as a corporate ideology in the neoliberal age.

Keywords

Libertarianism, Corporate Power, Libertarian Critique

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The ideological orientation of libertarians is highly instructive: They overwhelmingly align with market forces against the “state” and that means a robust critique of the problems and limitations of the national government. To the extent that they accept a public sector at all, it is a very limited and constrained public sector (what some have called a “nightwatchman”) that regulates the outer boundaries of market competition in order to (theoretically at least) safeguard property rights and to promote capitalist competition.

The anti-statist ethos of the libertarian movement is sometimes embraced by young people looking for an ideology that can empower them to oppose US wars and occupations, as well as violations of civil liberties that are a product of a steady expansion of the US surveillance state. It is often the absence of a coherent left perspective on these issues that leads younger activists to admire libertarian politicians and activists who take an unequivocal position against US militarization and wars. Libertarians who have spoken out against US militarization, including Edward Snowden, can be favorably contrasted with the policies of the Obama administration, which has worked to expand US militarism by supporting a military surge in Afghanistan and a military intervention in Libya while giving itself an expanded authority to assassinate US enemies through drone strikes. The dramatic expansion of the Joint Special Operations command by the Obama Administration gives further credence to those in the libertarian movement who criticize the concentration of power within the US state. Under Obama, US special operations forces are at work in more countries than was the case under George W. Bush. The Obama Administration has also sought prosecution for more executive branch whistleblowers than all other administrations combined in US history, further concentrating executive power and privilege in an effort to discourage dissent.

Yet, despite these libertarian critiques of US militarism, the libertarian position operates in practice, regardless of the intentions of its proponents, as corporate ideology that promotes the concentration of corporate power and profit in the neoliberal age. While libertarians are quite clear in their critiques of US militarization, they are quick to embrace the “self-regulating” market as their cure-all for capitalism’s problems. In the libertarian worldview, the problems with capitalism can always be solved by more capitalism. For libertarians, it is state power that has to be curbed. Market power should be allowed to flourish, even if it means the concentration of power by corporate monopolies, which in the libertarian worldview are temporary aberrations in capitalism. For libertarians, capitalist monopolies or oligopolies are best contained by allowing the marketplace to create the conditions for greater competition and consumer choice. If this means that wealth gets concentrated in fewer hands, then libertarians are all in favor of such an outcome.

Libertarianism is fundamentally in favor of private market power against any efforts to make states more accountable to the broader public interest. For libertarians, there is no broader public interest, only private interests. As such, libertarianism operates as a corporate ideology that has helped promote and expand the policies of neoliberalism, or an expansion of private sector and corporate power and a weakening or subordination of public institutions to corporate profit. Fundamentally, then, libertarians are anti-democratic and anti-egalitarian. Efforts to regulate the market on behalf of the public are to be opposed, and concentrations of wealth in the

marketplace are a representation of the fact that some individuals are simply better than others, and should reap disproportionate rewards.

Libertarians claim to favor a truly free market society in which no one market player can exert their domination. Therefore libertarians should in fact be critical of the corporate domination of markets. But in actual practice, libertarianism is an ideology that supports and encourages maximum freedom for market players, including corporations, based on the underlying premise that the market is always more capable than government in sorting out winners and losers in society, even if the market is constructed by the powerful who set the rules for how the market will operate.

The belief in the market as a positive, driving force for change has often reached ludicrous heights when it comes to libertarian interpretations of civil rights history in the U.S. For example, libertarians typically argue that the market, not the federal government, was the best mechanism to end slavery in the U.S., despite the rather overwhelming scholarly consensus that market trading in slaves was incredibly lucrative and showed no signs of abating prior to the Civil War.¹ Libertarians view President Abraham Lincoln's prosecution of the Civil War as a proactive attempt by the President to expand the power of the national government, which libertarians equate with a violation of "states' rights," an interpretation that is hard to separate in practice from the racist defense of slavery and Jim Crow Laws. In the libertarian interpretations of the Civil War, there is no such thing as agency for African Americans, whose mobilization proved crucial both politically and militarily in ending slavery. Instead there is consistent denunciation of federal government action to end slavery as a violation of liberty and "state's rights." For libertarians, the market, if left to its own devices, was better equipped to eliminate racism than the government or "the public sector," a term which libertarians will never include in their vocabulary.

It is this animosity toward the very idea of a "public sector" that is a fundamental problem with the libertarian tradition. In the libertarian worldview, individuals look out for themselves, and that's as it should be. But now, in contemporary political and social battles, there is an urgent need to re-imagine and to re-make a public sector so that is accountable to the vast majority, instead of a narrow corporate plutocracy. This means taking a class-based position on how the system operates, and for whose benefit. An ideological tradition that is so wedded to individualism tends, at best, to minimize questions of class privilege and power, and in fact justifies radically unequal distributions of wealth in the marketplace as inherently necessary to preserve freedom, choice and opportunity. For libertarians, wealth inequality is typically only a problem when it can be traced to government overreach. As such, libertarianism has often been utilized by corporate interests to maintain the worst aspects of the status quo within the marketplace. Attempts to increase regulation and oversight of corporations, and to increase taxes on the rich are typically greeted with outright hostility by libertarians.

Libertarians ultimately shill for corporate power by idealizing "markets" as the product of individualism and freedom, rather than a political and economic manifestation of power relationships in which market players have fundamentally distinct interests. And most importantly, by disproportionately criticizing the government instead of corporate power, libertarianism operates as a corporate ideology that celebrates unfettered marketization and

commercialization of every sphere of life. The problem is not with the libertarian critique of the ways that states allow corporate power to be expanded and institutionalized through government policy. The problem is the libertarian contention that a “nightwatchman” state which simply allows the market to sort out winners and losers is the solution to perpetual corporate domination of markets. In the libertarian worldview, only consumers and more capitalism can check corporate power, not the public sector.

High-tech ideologues on both the left and right of the political spectrum have drawn, implicitly or explicitly, on libertarian notions when celebrating the individualism of the internet, where everyone can be a journalist or an aspiring entrepreneur and reinvent oneself free of corporate domination. Yet the modern-day internet is fast becoming an outlet for greater consolidation of corporate power, where individuals provide free advertising and personal information to corporations whose profits are kept disproportionately at the top of the information hierarchy. For those of us on the left, one of the best ways to help check corporate power over the internet is to vigorously defend net neutrality, the principle that internet service providers cannot create a fast-lane for content providers based on how much they are able and willing to pay. As we speak, corporations led by Comcast, ATT, Verizon, and Time Warner Cable, have used their insider leverage and their persistent lobbying to help push the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to vote against net neutrality. At the same time, corporate influence within the FCC has already worked to ensure that internet service providers are classified as an “information service” rather than a “telecommunications service,” which means those corporations are subject to less oversight and regulation as they concentrate more power within the marketplace.

On a recent Democracy Now show, the libertarian position on net neutrality was represented by Joshua Steimle, CEO of MWI, an online marketing firm, who debated Timothy Karr, the senior director of strategy at Free Press, an advocacy group that argues for FCC regulation in defense of net neutrality.² Steimle’s libertarian position rejected any government regulation to protect net neutrality, even though he claimed to be no friend of Comcast or the other big corporate internet service providers. Steimle explained that the market would be the best vehicle to protect net neutrality, not the government, whose efforts to regulate net neutrality were characterized as untrustworthy because there would be no checks on government behavior. The marketplace, on the other hand, would provide a check on the behavior of powerful corporations like Comcast, ATT and others.

This position ignores the power already amassed by the top internet service providers within the market, who are in the process of further concentrating their ownership of broadband and wireless networks so that the public will have fewer choices. Yet, for libertarians, market power is tempered by consumer preferences and technological innovations that will always result in greater market competition over time, ultimately overriding periods of market concentration and power. However, this ignores the powerful constraints that corporations impose on all other market players by a concentration of economic and political resources, with which they are able to lock in privileges and to consolidate their market power. To the extent that consumers are able to impact decision-making, it is often the wealthiest consumer demographic, whom advertisers cater to and whom content providers are most likely to privilege, leaving other market players who are working class and poor to fend for themselves.

But this outcome is not troubling to libertarians, who advance a corporate ideology that is openly hostile to egalitarianism and popular democracy. The marketplace is good, in part, because it limits democracy in favor of the wealthiest among us, who are rewarded, in the libertarian view, because they really are fundamentally better than the rest of us. That's why you have libertarians like Bryan Caplan, professor of economics at George Mason University, exclaiming his relief at the findings of a recent study by Martin Gilens and Benjamin Page that the US political system is overwhelmingly most responsive to the interest of the very rich.³ Caplan argued that the US is better off following the policy preferences of the upper 5%, because any democratic system that is more responsive to the majority runs the risk of promoting "statist ideology" and "welfarism" that is inimical to individual freedom.⁴

Caplan's views indicate the underlying assumptions of the libertarian worldview: The concentration of wealth and power in capitalism is a good thing, especially when the government stays out of the market and provides a check on any democratic impulse to regulate or subordinate the market for a broader public interest. For libertarians, there is no such thing as a public interest, only individual interests. If you want to help your fellow citizens, libertarians advise you to support a local charity or to join a church, but do not seek to help each other through public institutions, especially when it comes to efforts to redistribute wealth or income, or, heaven forbid, to actually impose regulations or restrictions on corporations within the marketplace.

That libertarianism has emerged as an attractive ideology for some young people in the neoliberal age is not surprising. Corporate ideology insists that everyone can market themselves as a commodity in the neoliberal period, when good jobs with adequate benefits are rapidly disappearing while corporations stash their profits in tax havens. You may not have a job, but rest assured that you can still do work for free by commodifying your identity on the internet. If you are successful, then perhaps you can turn this commodification into a profitable branding venture. At the same time, in the Facebook age, corporations profit from getting consumers to rank their preferences as consumers, which gives everyone the false impression that their individuality is helping to shape the market, when in fact they are serving to commodify their identity for corporate profit. In their push to marketize everything, libertarianism is the perfect ideological veneer for corporate plunder. Efforts to change the system have to confront the ideologies that support corporate power and that includes libertarianism.

¹ Rachel Weiner, "The Libertarian War Over the Civil War," *Washington Post*, July 10, 2013.

² Democracy Now, "Debate: As FCC Votes on Internet's Future, What's the Best Way to Protect Net Neutrality," May 15, 2014.

³ Martin Gilens and Benjamin Page, "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups and Average Citizens," forthcoming *Perspectives in Politics*, Fall 2014.

⁴ Michael Lind, "Libertarians' Scary New Star: Meet Bryan Caplan, the Right's Next 'Great' Philosopher," *Salon.com*, May 10, 2014.

LIBERTARIANISM AND THE POSSIBILITY OF THE LEGITIMATE STATE

NICOLÁS MALOBERTI*

WE MIGHT BELIEVE THAT there are no conceivable conditions under which the state is legitimate. Alternatively, we might believe that there are such conditions, but deny that they actually obtain. The difference between these two forms of anarchism is important. The classical formulation of libertarianism would seem to entail the first form. Section I of this article argues that this fact alone would constitute a serious objection against its plausibility. In Section II, it is argued that acknowledging a minimal form of positive right might overcome such an objection. Section III shows that, contrary to what we might think, the acknowledgment of this particular type of positive right would seem to provide an adequate normative ground for making sense of some central libertarian insights and concerns.

I

Traditionally, it has been claimed that the morally problematic nature of the state arises from the mere use of coercion. Yet if the negation of the morality of coercion were what the anarchist challenge must amount to, the challenge would be remarkably weak. For it is hard to believe that people have no right to use coercion to defend themselves against those who might want to do certain things to them, such as violating their rights. If that is hard to believe, it is equally hard to believe that the state could not use coercion to exercise such a right on behalf of its subjects.

* Nicolás Maloberti (nmaloberti@libertyfund.org) is a Fellow at Liberty Fund. This article is a revised version of a paper entitled, “Why Libertarians Should Believe in Positive Rights,” delivered at the Austrian Scholars Conference, Ludwig von Mises Institute, Auburn, Ala., March 18, 2006. The author is grateful to David Gordon for his detailed comments on a preliminary version of this paper.

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A challenge to the legitimacy of the state, however, need not arise from a challenge to the permissibility of the mere use of coercion. It might also arise from a challenge about the justice of what the state coercively requires. In other words, in justifying the state, what might call for an explanation is not the morality of the use of force as such, but rather the morality of some particular uses of it that are characteristic of the state. The state collects taxes, and thus forces its members to pay for the protection of their own rights. The state also monopolizes the provision of justice. The state may recognize a right to use force in self-defense, but it does not recognize a right to punish those who have violated one's rights. The state will punish those subjects who attempt to provide justice for themselves, and it will do so even if they follow the same procedures and impose the same rectification that the state would follow and impose. Furthermore, the state performs all those actions regardless of the existence of any explicit agreement to do so by its subjects. For the state to be legitimate, it must be morally permissible to act in such a way.

Thus, the very possibility of a legitimate state would seem to depend upon the validity of a moral principle establishing a set of conceivable conditions under which the performance of the state's characteristic actions are morally permissible. We may say that the problem of the existence of such a principle is the problem of the *possibility in principle* of the legitimate state. But clearly, the existence of some conceivable conditions under which the performance of the state's characteristic actions is morally permissible is not sufficient for establishing the legitimacy of the state. There is still the empirical question of whether those conceivable conditions do actually obtain in the real world. This would be the question of the *possibility in practice* of the legitimate state.

In its classical formulation, libertarianism establishes, in addition to full self-ownership, the illegitimacy of all compulsory transfers of justly acquired holdings and the permissibility of all voluntary transfers of such holdings. The state, however, requires its subjects both to pay for the protection of their own rights and to refrain from defending their rights by their own means, such as, for example, by contracting protection from other private parties. And the state does so regardless of the existence of any explicit agreement on the part of those who are coerced. This is why it has been claimed that libertarianism is incompatible with the idea of a legitimate state.¹ A legitimate state is a state that has a right (at least a Hohfeldian

¹ See, for example, Murray Rothbard, *For a New Liberty* (San Francisco, Fox and Wilkes, 1996 [4th printing]), pp. 45–69, and *The Ethics of Liberty* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), pp. 161–73.

liberty-right)² to perform those characteristic actions. But the classical formulation of libertarianism does not seem to leave any room for anyone having such a right.

It is important to understand, however, that the previous incompatibility between the classical formulation of libertarianism and the legitimate state amounts to a denial of the *possibility in principle* of the legitimate state. In other words, libertarianism would entail that there are no conceivable conditions under which the state would be justified. But if indeed libertarianism entails the impossibility in principle of the legitimate state, the state would be illegitimate regardless of the nature of the stateless society. The state could never be a morally acceptable remedy for any of the inconveniences of the stateless society; it would matter neither how serious such inconveniences are nor how easily the state could be able to solve them. Yet we tend to think that a plausible political philosophy would justify at least a minimally costly state if the inconveniences of the stateless society are considered particularly severe, and that if such a state would be able to overcome them. We must note that the problem is not avoided by merely denying the existence or the severity of the many alleged inconveniences that will ensue in the absence of the state. The point is, precisely, that the illegitimacy of the state is established by means that are completely independent of those types of considerations. In other words, if the legitimate state is in principle impossible the inquiry into the nature of the stateless society would not have any moral significance when it comes to the moral evaluation of the state. But it is hard to believe that the findings of such an inquiry, whatever those are, should be irrelevant in this matter.

Thus, it might be argued that if indeed libertarianism has these particular anarchist implications, these implications will be best understood as a case against that doctrine. In other words, if we must acknowledge that at least a minimally costly state would be justified if it were necessary to overcome some serious inconveniences of the stateless society, it would be true neither that all compulsory transfers of justly acquired holdings are morally impermissible nor that all voluntary transfers of such holdings are morally permissible. Under certain conditions, it would be morally permissible to impose taxes and prohibit the private provision of justice. Of course, the state might still be illegitimate if such conditions do not obtain. But, again, the implausibility of libertarianism would not arise from the mere fact that the state is regarded as illegitimate. It would arise, rather, from the particular manner in which this is done. Regardless of whether the state is

² In Hohfeldian terms, having a liberty-right to do P only implies the absence of a duty not to do P. Wesley Newcomb Hohfeld, *Fundamental Legal Conceptions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919).

indeed illegitimate or not, the reason why that would be the case cannot be the one that is rightly deduced from the classical formulation of libertarianism. This is why there might be a case for reconsidering such a formulation.

The most predominant type of liberal argument for the state is an argument that somehow links the moral permissibility of coercing any given subject, with the benefits that this particular action yields to that very same subject. It is not difficult to understand arguments from implicit consent, hypothetical contracts, and fairness as all instances of that type. Perhaps in an attempt to avoid the charge of paternalism, the voluntarist element that is taken to justify the nonpolitical interactions among individuals is claimed to be found somehow even in the coercive arrangement that constitutes a state. Yet the plausibility of this liberal project is quite dubious. The state is not a voluntary association, and nothing seems to be gained by looking for ways in which it might look as if it were one. For those who share a commitment to individual sovereignty, as libertarians do, the morally problematic feature of the state is not other than the phenomenon of genuine compulsory subjection upon which its existence rests. But how could then libertarianism allow for the possibility in principle of the legitimate state without ignoring some of its deepest commitments?

II

It is somehow surprising that in the search for the source of political legitimacy within the liberal tradition, little attention has been paid to the idea of samaritanism; a decidedly non-voluntarist notion but with a quite clear appeal. Only recently, a theory of political legitimacy based on such a principle has been explicitly formulated by Christopher Wellman.³

As Wellman has suggested, the samaritan approach to political legitimacy may be understood as establishing the existence of a certain type of positive right; what we may call “samaritan” rights. The holders of such rights would be the individuals who, through no fault of their own, face certain perils, and they would hold these rights against those who have the capacity to place them out of peril at a reasonable cost. As it is the case with most rights, samaritan rights are not rightly enforceable only by their holders. If the peril that A faces justifies A’s use of coercion against B, we might consider that if A were unable to coerce B, but someone else on his behalf

³ See Christopher H. Wellman, “Liberalism, Political Legitimacy, and Samaritanism,” *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 25 (1996): 211–37; “Toward a Liberal Theory of Political Obligation,” *Ethics* 111 (2001): 735–59; and “Samaritanism and the Duty to Obey the Law” in Christopher Heath Wellman and A. John Simmons (eds.) *Is There a Duty to Obey the Law* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 3–89.

were so able, this third party would be equally justified in coercing B in order to place A out of peril. The idea is that those people who are in peril have a samaritan right to be aided by those who are in a position to do so, and that anyone may act on behalf of the holders of such rights. Thus, according to a samaritan approach to political legitimacy, the legitimate state could be understood as a mere enforcer of the samaritan rights that others have. The perils in questions will be the ones that could only be avoided by the state coercing its subjects in its characteristic manners, that is, by establishing a tax-funded monopoly on the provision of justice and protection. The mythical story of the social contract needs to be modified only slightly. Rather than assuming that everyone consents to the existence of the state, we must assume, more realistically, that only some do. These consenters may infringe the rights of the dissenters if that is necessary to overcome the consenters' expected perils and the dissenters' losses are not significant.

Presumably, only few will deny that there are positive obligations when it comes to emergency situations. Could we plausibly deny, after all, that by not getting down on our knees to save a baby from drowning in a shallow pond of water we are doing something that, all things considered, we should not do? Perhaps more plausibly, it is sometimes claimed that while it is undeniable that we might have some positive obligations, such obligations could not be rightly enforced. In other words, the existence of samaritan duties could not possibly correlate with the existence of samaritan rights, that is, with valid claims to use coercion to secure the aid that individuals might be morally obligated to give. Surely, there is a set of positive obligations that could not plausibly be taken to correlate with valid claims to use coercion. It is unclear, however, that samaritan duties must belong to that set. Let us think about a familiar example. A gets lost in his hiking expedition. The weather is extremely cold and he rightly thinks that he might not be able to live through another night. Suddenly, he sees a cabin. B is the cabin's owner. But when A asks B if it would be possible for him to spend the night in his cabin, B refuses to let him do so. We would tend to claim that B is morally obligated to help A; that by not helping A, B is not doing something that he should do. Would it be plausible for us to claim that if A decides to coerce B in ways that are both strictly necessary for his survival and not unreasonably costly for B, A would be doing something that, all things considered, he should not do? It is difficult to see how we could plausibly claim such a thing. After all, would not *we* do the same thing? Would not we believe that we are justified in doing so?

We might want to argue that while A's behavior might be morally excusable, it would be inadequate to qualify it as a right.⁴ But the basic point is whether it is true that, all things considered, A should not coerce B in those particular ways. If that is not true, nothing substantial is denied by referring to A's behavior merely as morally excusable. If we would want to reject the point made by the claim regarding the existence of samaritan rights, we would need to argue that, all things considered, A should not coerce B in the previous type of scenario. Our moral intuitions would seem to resist such a claim. There would also seem to be a good reason to support those intuitions. Denying that A has a samaritan right in those previous cases would seem to entail that in certain circumstances the demands of morality are demands that, in J. O. Urmson's words, only heroes will be able to follow.⁵ Urmson thinks of a case in which a soldier throws himself on a grenade and thus sacrifices his life to protect his comrades. Urmson says that if the soldier had not thrown himself on the grenade, no one could have said to him "you ought to have thrown yourself on that grenade." This is so because his action was heroic, and morality cannot work under the assumption that people are heroes. Urmson was mainly concerned with drawing attention towards what they are usually referred to as "superogatory" actions. But the general lesson is that there are certain actions that, due to their demandingness, no plausible moral theory can be characterized as obligatory. If we deny the existence of samaritan rights, we fail in acknowledging this basic constraint. In order to see more clearly why this is the case, we should discuss what precisely the conditions are for people to acquire samaritan rights. There seem to be at least four major conditions.

First, there is the obvious condition relating to the nature of the peril that people might face. The notion of peril denotes a certain danger of significant proportions; a danger that compromises the minimal satisfaction of certain basic preferences that people might have relating to living. The perils in question are, therefore, serious unfortunate circumstances or dire

⁴ Both Rothbard and Ayn Rand seem to make this type of claim. See Rothbard, *The Ethics of Liberty*, p. 152; and Ayn Rand, "The Ethics of Emergencies" in Ayn Rand, *The Virtue of Selfishness* (New York: Signet Books, 1961): 49–56. It is also common for libertarians to focus their cases on the negative consequences of "legalizing" what we might consider, in extraordinary circumstances, morally excusable behavior. As it will be clear later, this type of consideration is totally consistent with the main line of argument presented in this article.

⁵ J.O. Urmson, "Saints and Heroes," in Steven M. Cahn and Joram G. Haber (eds.), *20th Century Moral Philosophy* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1995), pp. 322–33. Originally published in A. I. Melde (ed.) *Essays in Moral Philosophy* (Seattle, WA.: University of Washington Press, 1958).

straits that some might encounter. Samaritan rights would not arise when one deals with a mere inconvenience or obstacle in satisfying a personal project.⁶

Second, the perilous circumstances the samaritan right bearer faces must not be due to his own fault. One does not acquire a permission to infringe upon the rights of another individual if one intentionally, knowingly, or recklessly placed oneself in a situation in which it was probable that one would have to engage in the proscribed conduct as a means of overcoming the peril in question. One is not allowed to infringe the rights of others if there was a neglected, reasonable opportunity that the agent might have taken to avoid the perilous circumstance. It is not difficult to see the types of considerations that could be advanced as a rationale for this condition: from basic claims of desert to practical insights regarding the advantages of internalizing the costs of personal decisions.⁷

Third, for people to acquire samaritan rights, the aid that is morally demanded and may be coercively secured must be strictly necessary to overcome the peril. This condition implies, first of all, that the peril in question must be of a remediable nature. When nothing others can do will place some others out of peril, there is no coercion that the latter may impose onto the former. Evidently, it also implies that samaritan rights emerge only when voluntary solutions are unavailable. Thus, the aid that is morally demanded and that may be coercively secured must not only count as genuine or effective aid, but it must also count as the only available alternative.

Finally, there is the condition limiting the costs of the aid that is required from others. Certainly, one has no right to put someone else in a perilous circumstance even if that is necessary to avoid one's own perilous circumstances. But it is also the case that one has no right to such aid just if it is the case that the cost of the required aid for others is smaller than the costs the peril imposes on us. It is common to regard mere samaritan duties as limited by the proviso that the aid to others must not be unduly costly to oneself. Samaritan rights would seem to be limited by the same proviso. The

⁶ This is perhaps irremediably vague, and difficult questions might arise when dealing with borderline cases. But acknowledging this would not seem to entail that we should ignore the intuitive normative significance between different classes of preferences that people might have.

⁷ This condition is especially important in dealing with the so-called "Samaritan's Dilemma," that is, the alteration of incentives on the part of the aid recipients due to the very expectations of aid. Those who expect to receive aid when reaching a threshold of utility, might let themselves fall to that level as a means of qualifying as recipients of the aid in question. Yet, once we have included this condition, they would not actually succeed in doing so if they had a reasonable opportunity to avoid reaching such a level.

aid that may be coercively secured must not impose more than a reasonably low cost on others.

If we put the previous four conditions together, individuals would acquire a samaritan right when they face a significant dangerous situation for which they are not responsible, and when the only available means to overcome it involves the aid that others could provide at a reasonable cost to themselves. Thus, if we deny the existence of samaritan rights, we would believe that an individual who faces a scenario describable in those previous terms should just endure the danger in question if those others happen to ignore or reject his request for help. But if in Urmson's example we were not willing to tell the soldier that he should have thrown himself on the grenade, how could we be willing to tell that individual, should he decide to coerce those who could help him, that he should have not done that? Could we plausibly claim that he should suppose to do nothing regardless of the fact that he did not do anything to deserve such a misfortune? If we agree that there are things that only moral heroes can do, and that such things could not possibly be made obligatory, it seems to be the case that we must acknowledge the existence of samaritan rights.⁸

If the existence of samaritan rights must be acknowledged in those non-political circumstances that the cabin example illustrates, and if not coercing people in the way the state does will bring about the same type of circumstance, we should also acknowledge the existence of samaritan rights in that situation as well. Thus, a samaritan approach to political legitimacy will conceive the legitimate state as a mere enforcer of such rights.⁹

⁸ In our previous discussion of the conditions for samaritan rights, no mention was made regarding the existence of compensatory obligations. It might be argued that when certain extraordinary circumstances allow us to infringe other people's rights, compensation is usually due to the holders of such rights once the circumstances have turned back to normal. Yet the state might have no manner of paying such compensations. Given the type of structural problem that the state is supposed to solve, it might be hard to identify those from whom resources should be transferred; and it might be equally hard to identify those to whom those resources should be transferred. Contrary to what this objection suggests, it does not seem to be the case that an incapacity to pay what otherwise would be due compensation invalidates the permissibility of acting as the principle of samaritanism allows. This seems especially true when the principle of samaritanism already contains a clause prohibiting the imposition of unreasonable costs. Therefore, if the state is indeed unable to pay compensation to its subjects, the absence of compensatory transfers does not seem to invalidate the permissibility of the state's coercion.

⁹ As Wellman has argued, the principle of samaritanism might be understood both as a principle of political legitimacy, where such notion is understood as referring to the mere moral permissibility of the existence of the state, and as a principle of political

III

If we reflect both on the conditions that give rise to samaritan rights and on the types of issues that we regard as important in discussions about the morality of the state, we might see how the samaritanism approach to political legitimacy has some very clear virtues.

First of all, a samaritan approach allows us to give full moral significance to those empirical facts that, intuitively, we tend to think are quite important. For a samaritan approach, it matters greatly whether or not the state actually produces some important social benefits that were otherwise unavailable in a stateless condition. The state will be morally permissible only if whatever the benefits that the state provides cannot be secured by voluntary cooperation.¹⁰ Endorsing a samaritan approach would entail, therefore, that the inquiry into the properties of a private market for protection and security acquires full moral significance. If it is indeed the case that there is a decentralized solution to the problem of social order, the state would not be morally allowed to perform its characteristic actions.

Furthermore, acknowledging the existence of samaritan rights provides a moral ground upon which comparative judgments between the state and the stateless society can be significantly made. According to a samaritan approach, the coercion the state engages in must be a genuine remedy for any of the alleged perils of the stateless condition. Recently, some authors have defended the state on the grounds that a private market for protection would result in a predatory monopoly.¹¹ But clearly we should favor the state over anarchy on those grounds only if we have reasons to believe that the state will not act as we fear the private monopoly will. Anarchists rightly remind us that in assessing the stateless society's capacities we must not assess them against the benchmark that a perfect system provides. We must assess them against the only alternative we have: the

obligation, where such a notion is understood as referring to the obligations that the individuals have towards the state. See his "Toward a Liberal Theory of Political Obligation," and "Samaritanism and the Duty to Obey the Law." The precise scope and nature of those obligations is, however, a matter of controversy. On this point, see A. John Simmons, "The Duty to Obey and Our Natural Moral Duties," in Wellman and Simmons (eds.), *Is There a Duty to Obey the Law?*, pp. 179–88.

¹⁰ According to a samaritan approach, that the state might be somehow more efficient than the alternative arrangement in producing such benefits will be normatively irrelevant beyond a certain minimal level of production.

¹¹ See, for example, Tyler Cowen, "Law as a Public Good. The Economics of Anarchy," *Economics and Philosophy* 10 (1994): 249–67; and Randall G. Holcombe, "Government: Unnecessary but Inevitable," *The Independent Review* 8.3 (2004): 325–42.

feasible state. By acknowledging the existence of samaritan rights, we are able to capture the normative relevance of this insight.

An additional virtue of the samaritan approach is that it provides a moral framework capable of supporting a doctrine of “provisional” legitimacy. Traditional theories of the state have seen the state’s legitimacy arise from the consequences of some inevitable and universal features of human interaction. Anarchist libertarian theorists have challenged this traditional conception. For a theory of political legitimacy, it is important to capture the significance of this challenge. However, it is also important to acknowledge that society might have other types of diseases besides the alleged chronic ones upon which traditional theories of the state focus their attention. Thus, the basic idea behind a doctrine of provisional legitimacy would be that state is morally allowed to deal with certain problems, that is, to act in certain ways. Given the particular nature of such problems, however, the normative power the state would have will be granted on a mere provisional basis. A principle of samaritanism would seem to provide an adequate moral framework both to identify the relevant problems and to ground the state with a provisional power to resolve them. Among those problems, of special interest would seem to be those related to the present existence of states, such as, perhaps, the problem of national defense, and to the special conditions created by any sudden transition to a stateless condition. The doctrine of provisional legitimacy would seem to be an important element of any plausible political philosophy that advocates the elimination of the state. Yet it is not clear how the classical formulation of libertarianism could be compatible with the underlying sort of considerations. If indeed all and only voluntary transfers of justly acquired holdings are impermissible, how could the state rightly act in order to create the most adequate conditions for its very dissolution?¹²

It is important to note, however, that acknowledging the existence of samaritan rights would not only provide a more adequate moral ground for the libertarian case against the state. It would also help us to make sense of the debate about the plausibility of such a case that might take place among libertarians themselves. Certainly, reasonable disagreement might exist about the extent of the market’s capacities to solve the problem of social order. Reasonable disagreement might also exist about the effectiveness of institutional mechanisms for restraining government. This is why many libertarians favor the state over anarchy. Without acknowledging the

¹² Should we simply ignore, for example, the mere temporal demands of a spontaneous order in the provision of justice and protection? Should we give no moral significance to the outcomes resulting from the existence of present ill-defined property rights?

existence of samaritan rights, however, it is not easy to understand how such a position could be a consistent one. Randall Holcombe, for example, claims that the libertarian argument for minimal government is that it is necessary to prevent the creation of the even more predatory and less-libertarian government that would arise from anarchy.¹³ Holcombe's worry is legitimate, and it deserves serious attention. It is not clear, however, what the implicit moral principle is, and whether such a principle is compatible with the deontological or non-consequentialist character of libertarianism.

As it is sometimes put, a deontological morality is not a morality of goals but of constraints. Deontology does not direct the agent to undertake whatever means are necessary to reach a desirable goal. It rather claims that the agent may pursue whatever goals he has provided that certain constraints on his actions are respected. Those constraints may take either a negative or positive form. They may establish that we cannot kill innocent persons, or that we must assist people in need.¹⁴ Deontology does not claim, as consequentialism does, that there is a goal the pursuing of which those constraints help us achieve in such a way that it would be permissible to violate the constraints if it were necessary to better secure the goal in question. For deontology, moral constraints are genuine constraints. They cannot be violated for the sake of what is taken to be a better state of affairs. The endorsement of deontology is a central feature of libertarian moral theory. This is what distinguishes the libertarian case from other defenses of the free-market. Acknowledging the existence of samaritan rights is compatible with this type of moral stance.

According to consequentialist theories of rights, there is in principle nothing that we cannot do to an individual as long as there is no other action available that will increase whatever value such rights are taken to promote in a greater fashion. If the enslavement of an individual would somehow produce a more secure enjoyment of other individuals' rights, for example, the consequentialist theorist will need to endorse the morality of that act of enslavement. This is a radically different position than the one embodied in the acknowledgement of individuals' samaritan rights. Samaritan rights do not sanction the permissibility of any infringement on basic rights that yields a greater gain in impersonal value. Samaritan rights only sanction the permissibility of infringements on basic rights that are necessary to overcome perilous circumstances, and the extent of such an infringement is limited. Furthermore, acknowledging the existence of samaritan rights does not commit us to acknowledging the sort of aggregative moral perspective that

¹³ Holcombe, "Government: Unnecessary but Inevitable." p. 338.

¹⁴ On this point, see Richard J. Arneson, "The Shape of Lockean Rights: Fairness, Pareto, Moderation, and Consent," *Social Philosophy and Policy* 22 (2005): 255–85, p. 259.

underlies consequentialist theories, according to which the small grievances of the many could always outweigh the great misfortunes of the few.

We might believe that due to their limited and exceptional conditions of application, the interest on a minimal form of positive rights that might be said to arise in emergency situations is largely theoretical. This is probably true. The claim made here was that endorsing samaritan rights provides a more adequate normative ground for the type of institutional arrangements that libertarians already endorse. The mere theoretical nature of this issue does not make it unimportant. Many have objected the strict and absolute nature of libertarianism. Acknowledging the existence of samaritan rights would answer those worries. More importantly, as the considerations offered in this article have attempted to show, the only available deontological grounds upon which the possibility in principle of the legitimate state rests might not be other than the ones provided by individuals' samaritan rights. Libertarians could appeal to them to avoid what it otherwise would be a serious objection against either the plausibility or their internal consistency of their view.¹⁵

¹⁵ It could be argue that the reformulation of libertarianism suggested here would clash with the "nonaggression axiom," an alleged defining feature of libertarianism. But the nonaggression axiom would seem to be a mere formal principle, and thus of little value in differentiating libertarianism from other doctrines. We might believe, for example, that the validity of the "nonaggression axiom" implies the illegitimacy of any redistributive attempt. In other words, we might believe that this axiom is equivalent to the libertarian theory of distributive justice. This would be a mistaken belief. In order to establish whether redistribution implies the initiation of the use of force we must know who the owner is of that which is redistributed. This cannot be known, however, by appealing to the nonaggression axiom. For the nonaggression axiom to have any meaning at all, an independent theory of property rights must be supplied.

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"The Noblest Cause of All": The Moral Turn in American Libertarianism

Addison C. Dowell
Bard College, addisondowell@gmail.com

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“The Noblest Cause of All”:
The Moral Turn in American Libertarianism

Senior Project submitted to
The Division of Social Studies
of Bard College

by
Addison Dowell

Annandale-on-Hudson, New York
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Introduction

In 1963, American author Ayn Rand published *For The New Intellectual*. The book would serve as the mark of an end of an era in libertarianism, not as a final articulation, but a turn of libertarianism at a crossroads. From this crossroads, I argue that a new generation of American libertarians, tentatively named the moral libertarians, emerged. Ayn Rand, Murray Rothbard, and Robert Nozick will serve as representatives of three major interpretations within this moral libertarianism: objectivism, anarcho-capitalism, and minarchism. However, these moral libertarians, coming as a new generation in the tradition of libertarian thought, did not escape the ground of the greater libertarian project: liberalism. Libertarianism necessarily is constructed out of the ideological framework that liberalism passed down to it; the ideas and vocabulary of the social contract theory, of the sovereign individual, of rights and their protection.

Before the moral libertarians came their forefathers, the economic libertarian movement led primarily by Hayek, along with acolytes and fellow travelers like Mises and Friedman. The defining feature of these economic libertarians was arguing for free trade and a free society on the basis of consequential arguments aimed towards standards of efficiency, wealth, and democracy. Economic libertarianism operated on behalf of the liberal state, it was both a defense of liberalism, and an attempt to pair together freedom of the economy with individual freedom so that both could be protected. The division between the economic libertarians and the moral libertarians is not totally distinct, but certainly there are some notable phenomena of the break between the two ideological currents. Foremost is that the economic libertarians were reacting to

totalitarianism and authoritarianism, largely fascism and bolshevism, by pushing liberalism as a benevolent antagonist to these other systems of government. The moral libertarians wrote screeds against the liberal state and its criminality, anti-rationalism, or moral turpitude, under the shadow of the Vietnam War and rising into the social open-mindedness of the 1960's.

Non-coercion as a moral absolute forced a combat with liberal norms on all new battlegrounds: driver's licenses, taxation-funded welfare, the police, entrepreneurship. Questions of bureaucratic efficiency became questions of moral abominations, the priorities of the moral libertarians were directed at a fundamentally more diverse set of institutions, the scale of the state's problematic status had grown, and the targets of libertarian ire had both diversified and grown in mundanity. For the moral libertarians, essential features of liberal democracy became tyranny, injustice, and coercion, yet again and again, the language and ideas of liberalism were used in an attempt to pull out the rug from under liberal institutions. The libertarians began a battle over the history of liberalism, drawing Locke, the Founding Fathers, and the early days of the American project into a revisionist libertarian history. Libertarianism, in an almost-sarcastic move, sought to appropriate the history of the ideology whose ideas it was already appropriating, as if it was not already a corollary of liberalism.

The general ideology of moral libertarianism is postured as a critique which demands the reduction, even at times the abolition, of the liberal state. However, moral libertarianism is certainly not wanting for a diverse ideological terrain, each strain within it arrives at distinctly different notions of the human good, of the basis and functionality of rights, and at the status and scope of 'the State' versus 'the Free-Market.' Despite the diversity, the framework of argumentation and the concepts at the core of their individual projects are all tied back to the

great progenitor, liberalism. It is this space, between inheriting the liberal project and rejecting the fruits of liberal ideology, which the ideology of moral libertarianism is navigating. This generation of thinkers, to the point, are not the Hayekians, they are not classical liberals. On a televised intra-party debate, there was a moment which captured the quintessence of moral libertarian ideals at play. The then-potential candidate Gary Johnson, answering the question “Should someone have to have a government-issued license to driver a car?”, offered the seemingly common sense response, “A license to drive? You know, I’d like to see some competency exhibited by people before they drive.” Johnson was immediately met with booing. A question which could guide a study of this generation of libertarian thought might be: “How are the moral libertarians making use of, and relating to, liberals ideas and vocabulary?” That question is only born out of the exactly the tangible differences between moral libertarianism and liberal norms which Johnson’s encounter with the libertarian electorate demonstrate.

Authors such as Ciepley and MacLean have already ventured accounts of the historical emergence of libertarian thought, but the relationship of moral libertarianism to its parent ideology, liberalism, as a matter of history and ideology, has not yet been sufficiently explored. Ciepley argues that the history of the American encounter with totalitarianism gave both a language and an impetus to invite the soft anti-government ideology of libertarianism into the political mainstream.¹ MacLean argues that wealthy interests, by funding specific, influential actors, created a libertarian intellectual movement and covertly influenced the window of acceptable political (and economic) ideologies to make space for a shadowy libertarian effort to disempower the American government.² Both of these findings are to some degree attempting to

¹ Ciepley, David, *Liberalism in the Shadow of Totalitarianism*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.

² Nancy MacLean, *Democracy in Chains*, New York: Viking, 2017.

find an origin point for the entry of libertarianism into the mainstream by dredging the historical record. This project is also historical, but pushes back on two features of the former writers. The first is the idea of libertarianism as essentially a big tent movement with similar priorities, which Ciepley paints as a sort of an instrumentalized anti-totalitarian sentiment and MacLean paints as the design of a few billionaires and their singular agent. The second feature is that both authors are dealing with simplified models of what it means to be libertarian, without having given due accounts of the internal heterogeneity or authentic intellectual currents of the movement. This project intends to work against those latter premises to produce a conceptual account of a significant historical shift, the flourishing of ‘moral libertarians’ in the late 1960’s and early 1970’s. The project is not about critiquing the ideas of libertarianism, that ground has been thoroughly covered. Instead, it is a project about how ideologies interrelate, how ideology appropriates history and is appropriated by history, and how new ideologies are born, and inherit ideas from the ideologies which came before them.

The literature used for the study of this generation of libertarian thought will be drawn from three principal texts, and then a range of non-historical secondary literature. The primary three texts will be Rand’s *For the New Intellectual*, Rothbard’s *For a New Liberty*, and Nozick’s *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*. Each of these texts are intended to be examples of ‘mountains’ in the landscape of the libertarian thought; comprehensive, popular, and prominent works of libertarian thought according to the ‘strains’ of that era. The intent is to use the texts as snapshots of the historical movements of the ideologies of libertarianism which were arising, and to be able to reduce those movements down to critical texts for the purpose of analyzing towards a composite picture.

Ayn Rand, described as a 'cult' leader by Rothbard, represents the most bizarre and emotionally evocative of the moral libertarians, contributing to libertarian thought while refusing an association with libertarianism, calling herself an 'objectivist'. Ayn Rand easily is the most problematic author, as her most directly political work, *For The New Intellectual*, is an amalgam of unadorned, amateur political philosophy and excerpts of Rand's own literature. However, that intersection also allows for Rand to serve as an author who both was actively building the philosophical base of moral libertarianism, while also cultivating what might pass as libertarian romanticism. Rand has the most cultivated individual following, per the 'cultishness' that Rothbard ascribes to objectivism, there are many adherents who continue to honor her thought even today, although Rand receives sparse serious academic treatment from outside her camp. Rand's role in the history of the moral libertarians is as the first expressor of the basic platform, as well as functioning as a transitional figure for the purpose of understanding the origins of the ideology.

Rothbard's *For A New Liberty* offers a indictment of the concept of the liberal state during the height of the involvement of the American government's adventures in Vietnam, and is both the author who first refined and clarified the ideas of moral libertarianism, also the most ideologically extreme. Rothbard was Rothbard out of all the thinkers gets most directly at the question of the state, and offers the most powerful and clear critique of the state, but leaves important questions hung up with unsatisfying answers..

Robert Nozick's *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* is a political philosophy text which concludes that between the ideal state is a minimal one which upholds the Lockean rights of proprietorship. Nozick is arguably the most influential libertarian academic ever, and modern

libertarian intellectuals especially tend to refer to Nozick's account of a morally righteous, and thus minimal, state as perhaps the de facto account of an 'ideal' libertarian state. As the Anti-Rawls, Nozick is the most visible and academically integrated member of the moral libertarians. Nozick's philosophy is interesting in that it achieves a minimal state from the same basic assumptions as Rothbard (although both vary from their progenitor, Locke, in different ways). Nozick is, in effect, the gateway between the moral libertarian movement at large and the academy, and presents what is perhaps the most refined and developed form of the moral libertarian argument.

The ideological discontinuity between the economic and moral libertarians is defined by the two avenues of investigation. The first deals with conceptions of the state, and is an attempt to expound upon how the moral libertarians are seemingly thinking about the liberal state in a new way. Their critique is necessarily different from their forerunners in that it doesn't assume the liberal state, instead maintaining a critical stance towards liberal ideas and advancing libertarian frameworks where their criticism successfully undermines the state. Looking at how the core authors have been considering the state has been thus far revealing of a difference, but a difference that will only be verified as actually being conceptually different with further study. The second avenue is distinct but not disconnected from the first, and entails a consideration of how the moral libertarians are playing with the ideas of liberalism. This sort of play is described by how Rand weaves together capitalist rationality and the *ubermensch*, that Rothbard projects the market society out past the liberal state that birthed it, that Nozick finds utopia to be the reduction of the liberal state down into capitalist parklands. Understanding this sort of conceptual play would also necessarily involve the first avenue, as the liberal state is so integrated in the

schema of liberal *ideas* that eventually any concept-play would result in at least acknowledge the state. Moreover, the war of ideas that these thinkers were engaged in, battling the tendrils of Rooseveltian liberalism and as figures standing against the growing intellectual shadow of Rawls, necessarily would involve contending with the expansion of state power that their opponent ideologies advocated. These two avenues provide compelling frameworks for thinking about the moral libertarians going forward, both as heuristics for separating out liberal ideas being played with and ‘genuinely new’ libertarian ideas, and a methodology of understanding how the disparities of libertarian thought still hold a commons, which might be revealed in exploring them in relation to their ancestor ideology.

The exploration of these avenues requires two principal developments which the study of the moral libertarians necessitates: the creation of a composite picture of the common ideological material of the moral libertarians, and the analysis of that composite pictures on an integrated conceptual and historical level. The creation of the composite picture will attend honestly to the primary authors and their materials, and attempt to present them as a composite without denying their heterogeneity, while also drawing out their concerns and relationships to other ideologies, particularly liberalism. The composite picture will be explored in the first three sections of the project, going over the core texts and understanding their ideas through close reading and integration with the secondary literature. Each of the first three sections will be devoted to a specific author of the moral libertarians. The fourth section will be reserved for a presentation of how the three ideologies are being composited and then a general conceptual analysis. The conceptual analysis will then take the findings of the composite picture and attempt to interrogate them critically, and without cynicism, to try and expose how and why certain paradoxes or

problems of the moral libertarianism ideology might be arising and addressable. The purpose is not to either redeem or condemn the moral libertarians, but to perhaps more deeply understand how their conceptual problems might be either misconstrued, appropriate in the historical context, or actually revealing of an unspoken or under-acknowledged component of their thought.

There is an immediate importance to understanding these dimensions in regards to this specific generation of libertarian thinkers, as the modern Libertarian Party and its small-government ilk are party to the general ideology these thinkers developed. The moral libertarian ideology is taking further hold of an increasingly less furtive, and increasingly more influential, corner of the American political landscape. Anecdotally, the Libertarian Party of the United States' membership has almost doubled in the last decade, and Gary Johnson polled at a record 11% at one high point of his campaign as the Libertarian candidate. As libertarianism waxes, it is imperative to understand the ideas of its most recent iteration without mischaracterization and in regards to their context, so that it can be understood as libertarianism writ large moves towards real decision-making power. By re-visiting the great thinkers of moral libertarianism, there is a collective gain in comprehending precisely what sort of phenomena is being represented in the modern face of libertarianism. This is not only important within the sphere of political academics to comprehending an ascendent political tendency on a conceptual level, but also to engaging with the vulgar libertarianism which has processed the ideas of these great thinkers, and is attempting to carry them out in practical politics.

Rand

The ‘birth’ of moral libertarianism as a distinct strain of libertarian thought can be traced back to the lurching ideological shift that began with Ayn Rand. The ‘lurching’ motion of the birth of moral libertarianism refers to a marked break from the arguments of the libertarian forefathers, which characterizes Rand’s foray into serious political writing, her *For The New Intellectual*, calls attention to where precisely Rand finds herself in the flow of history. Rand’s heterodox approach to the same question, how to advocate liberalism, is new in that Rand’s emotive biases, her fundamental love for capitalism, shades the project with the moralist’s furor, and passion. It is precisely that literary affect, Rand’s moralizing energy, which is transformed by Rand into a system of political thought, meant to lionize the economic elite by giving them a morality, to ‘defend’ the elite by arming them with a moral system.

Crucial to understanding the phenomena of Ayn Rand is understanding how Rand breaks from the proto-libertarian thought exemplified in F. A. Hayek. Hayek must be understood in turn as advocating for the free market and personal liberties not on lines of a morality, but almost as a comparative study between top-down political structures, and bottom-up structures. The central antagonist of Hayek’s political thought is planning, and how planning, particularly in terms of an economic program but also in terms of the repercussions in legal and social systems. However, the nuance of Hayek lies precisely in that Hayek’s analysis does not proceed from first principles, allowing for intellectual space within Hayek’s arguments to make certain:

“It is important not to confuse opposition against [top-down] planning with a dogmatic laissez faire attitude. The liberal argument does not advocate leaving things just as they

are; it favours making the best possible use of the forces of competition as a means of coordinating human efforts. It is based on the conviction that, where effective competition can be created, it is a better way of guiding individual efforts than any other. It emphasizes that in order to make competition work beneficially a carefully thought-out legal framework is required, and that neither the past nor the existing legal rules are free from grave defects.”³

Hayek, perhaps precisely due to not grounding an argument for liberal capitalism in a moral framework finds that ‘common-sense’ regulations, including labor laws and environmental regulations, are not at odds with a liberal order.⁴ Of course there are claims to a certain morality within Hayek’s writing, per an interjection on the origins of individualism: “Individualism [...] is based on the respect of Christianity for the individual man and the belief that it is desirable that men should be free to develop their own individual gifts and bents.”⁵ What might have been a moral deferral to Christianity instead takes place as a referral to politics as originated in, and perhaps justified by, Christianity. Of course in that referral there is of a moral injunction, towards individualism. But the moral component comes into contact with Hayek’s general argument only as a descriptive account of how this morality came to be. Indeed, Hayek argues for liberalism and against authoritarianism along the lines of how the emergent orders of free-market economies make for better societies along the lines of efficiency, wealth, productivity, options, etc.

³ Friedrich Hayek, *Road to Serfdom*, London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 1949 pg. 45, emphasis mine

⁴ Ibid, *Road to Serfdom*, pg. 46

⁵ Ibid, *Road to Serfdom*, pg. 42

For The New Intellectual is Ayn Rand's rallying cry for a sort of 'revolution' within intellectualism. Ayn Rand's revolution ends in 'integration,' but this 'integration' is only comprehensible within the historical architecture which Rand is using as her personal heuristic for understanding history leading up to the establishment of the United States. The United States is the end term of Rand's history in that it was "the first society in history [...] led, created, and dominated by the *Producers*." The 'Producer' is a sort of synthetic (Rand uses the term 'integrative') historical archetype, representing a "type of man" who positively 'integrates' the materialism and abstraction of the two negative archetypes. Rand uses the terms 'Attila' and 'Witch Doctor' to describe respectively both ends of a "soul-body dichotomy," characterized socially as "mindless, power-seeking looters" and "passive, death-worshipping mystics" respectively. These archetypes are used by Rand to explain how America has entered into a stage of "cultural bankruptcy," that the 'new men' of America, the businessman and intellectual, have been forced to provisionally hold the positions of Attila and Witch Doctor, but that both might experience an integration of soul and body, into the intellect as it were. For Rand, the businessman as "producer of wealth" and the intellectual as "purveyor of knowledge," were meant to .⁶ Rand epitomizes the social archetype of the producer in the form of the Founding Fathers, "they were *thinkers* who were also men of action." Critically for Rand's attempt to tie together her own political claims with the general claims about human 'psycho-epistemology' (Rand also offers the simpler synonym, 'awareness' and so both terms might be understood as cognition) and philosophy, "[the Founding Fathers] proclaimed man's right to the pursuit of happiness and were determined to establish on earth the conditions required for man's proper

⁶ Ayn Rand, *For The New Intellectual*, New York: Random House, 1963, pg. 24

existence, by the ‘unaided’ power of the intellect.”⁷ Rand presents happiness as a ‘feeling,’ but notes that for capitalism to be saved by a new intellectualism, American culture in general must accept that “the emotions are not tools of cognition.” This pronouncement is only a splinter of Rand’s overall critique of the established methods of thought.

Generally, Rand is dismissive of the philosophical tradition of the West, taking special care to criticize the influence of Kant, “some monstrous spider hanging in midair” accepted by the “major line of philosophers.”⁸ The quintessence of Rand’s rejection of Kant is that Kant teaches that “reality, as perceived by man’s mind is a distortion.”⁹ The integration of reality with conceptual thinking is precisely what enables the achievement of happiness, and for Rand, capitalist society as originally prescribed by the United States. For Rand, the ultimate rule of the integrative mentality is a ‘certainty’ which is assured by the un-restricted application of rationality. The problem of philosophy, especially of Kant, but also of Hegel, Marx, and the philosophers and philosophies of modernity. Rand isolates, oddly, existentialism and Zen Buddhism as two examples of philosophies which are ‘against’ or have ‘betrayed’ capitalism as an innovation towards human happiness via the liberation of human rationality. Another way of interpreting the ‘failings’ of these philosophies is that they provide no means of justifying the capitalist to himself, they only question and undermine the businessmen so as to push him into the position of the historical Attila.

These terms, Attila and Witch Doctor, together form a mutually-constituted antipode of the capitalist enterprise (America, namely) primarily by the fact that they cooperatively stifle the circumstances necessary for the formation and maintenance of capitalist society. For Rand, the

⁷ Rand, *For The New Intellectual*, pg. 25

⁸ *Ibid*, pg. 34

⁹ *Ibid*, pg. 32

businessmen and “intellectuals” of America have become subject to the need for a reintegration into a synthetic ‘thinker.’ The confusion of terms is Rand’s own, many terms are given without clarifying where differentiations or overlaps are occurring. Essentially, Rand can be read in such a way that ‘thinkers’ is the name for the way of applying of one’s intellect both to one’s physicality (engagement with the material) and one’s intellectuality (engagement with the conceptual). That application of the intellect can be taken as definitional for Rand’s ‘rational man,’ and thus the Founding Father’s are America’s “first and only intellectuals” in that they apparently thought in this integrated sense. Implicitly in Rand’s account of America, the Founding Father’s were able to be intellectuals in this sense due to their social role as Producers, an account which to some extent is validated by the historical record, all of the Founding Fathers being capitalists. Rand must be understood not trying to construct a causal account, but rather trying to construct a framework by which a third party could understand Rand’s perception of capitalism’s socio-cultural battle with “collectivism.” Collectivism for Rand is almost a positive name for the negative phenomenon of the mortification of the individual. Even the apparent ‘greed’ of the Attila archetype is taken as an actual degeneration of the concept of capitalist individualism, in that the destruction of property makes the actualization of the individual impossible. Thus to be a ‘thinker’ is to apply rationality to empirical problems from the position of an integrated “soul-body,” and thus to become a Producer, and Rand’s assertion is that that process has been blocked by the established philosophy. The notion of the disagreement is that men have been taught they cannot trust their senses, but to do capitalist business, to be concerned with one’s own interests, there must be an empirical reality which is trusted enough to be labored on by the cognition. At the back of it all, the interest of the capitalist entrepreneurs must be

sustained so that human good (examples include New York City, decreasing infant mortality, and the reduction of labor hours after the Industrial Revolution) might be bettered by the creative elites. The entire argument is essentially about a ruling class at all points, that world history is a battle grounds between the alliance of the Attila and Witch Doctor *against* the Producers, at least in world history post-America.

Despite Rand's messianic disposition towards the American project, Rand proclaims that "[various] degrees of government interference and control still [remain], even in America, as deadly cracks in the system's foundations."¹⁰ However 'government interference and control' as 'deadly' is fraught within Rand's own argument. The precise nature of what constitutes interference must necessarily be cross-referenced against the outlines of "Attila-ism" and "Witch Doctery." What is clear from Rand's account is that these archetypes are not outside of the apparatus of state, despite what the characterizing name 'Attila' might connote. Instead, these archetypes, especially in Rand's account of the medieval era, are compositional of the medieval state, of kings and the priesthood. The problem of Rand is that to have a society which protects the capacity of the Producer to be a entity within society but for himself actually mandates precisely government interference. The government must interfere to protect property rights by providing courts, law enforcement, and a military for the national defense to establish the sovereignty of the Producer. For Rand then, interference *per se* is not the issue. The Producer, far from being an emergent figure in human history, is for Rand the end of human teleology at the level of a universal. Therefore, Rand's notion of interference can be found to only implicate forms of interference which undermine the movement of people towards this teleological end.

¹⁰ Rand, *For The New Intellectual*, pg. 24

Reading Rand in this way explains Rands insistence on a hygienic notion of social reformation which the ‘new intellectuals’ are being urged to bring about. In this reformation, the only *a priori* measure of what governmental actions might be ‘rational,’ that is, supportive of the Producer teleology. And rationality is the only metric of the ‘true,’ rationality arbitrates the ‘true’ but fails to actually do anything as an enforcement measure.

In the greater framework of the emergence of moral libertarianism, Rand is not creating a reliable framework of conceptual thought, but is instead generating narratives of social and intellectual history which presents capitalism and its bannermen, the businesspeople, as maximally rational, and thus maximally human, ways of social being. This hyper-individualism is actually, and bizarrely, integrative with society-wide vision, in which the unrestrained ‘entrepreneur’ figures who make up the Producers better society from thee top-down. The question for Rand is not actually of the individual against society, it is about the happiness and well-being of people writ large being overseen by an elite that is revealed by the rational competition of business. It is notable that Rand’s *The Fountainhead* is featured prominently, and whose protagonist actually forgoes financial gain and business success so that the O’Rourke’s architectural vision will not be ignored. It presumes an almost Nietzschean read of the entrepreneur figure, a tendency which has been noted repeatedly by commentators on Rand. The ‘Übermensch’ of the entrepreneur is of course, being appropriated for a work urging a political-intellectual rejuvenation at the beginning of the 1960s. From the historical vantage point of 1961, the Nazi regime and fascism generally had been defeated soundly by the forces of capitalist liberalism. Soviet and Chinese communism had expanded, but the open conflict between major liberal and totalitarian powers was over. This breathing room meant that the

hyper-individualistic ‘rationality’ of Rand might go from a critique of totalitarian statism into a manifesto of liberal capitalist heroism. The difficulty of addressing the United States as a subject of critical discussion was that distinguishing ‘the Producers’ from the economic elite is not an easy task along the lines of Rand’s critique. For Rand, some unknown percentage of the rich were not Producers despite their economic output, instead being cast by Rand as beneficiaries of government contracts, legal machinations, and other illegitimate benefits derived from their symbiotic relationship with the state.

The problem of the crony capitalist, although Rand may not have been equipped with that language, is the problem of Rand attempting to define morality from a sort of first principles, survival in the world. Ignoring the biological claims of Rand, that the human being possesses no instincts which animals benefit from, the overdetermination of rationality poses problems generally for Rand’s attempt to inherit from Aristotle. Virtue ethics, which are posited intermittently in Rand create problems in that Rand is attempting to define a ‘good’ while also grounding that good in rationality. Rationality must be submitted to a good for Rand’s virtue ethics to function, but that claim ignores certain problems of defining what rationality is and what constitutes a rational decision. If performing the rational determines the good, but the rational must be constrained by a ‘good,’ then good must be pre-rational. Even taking Rand at face, the rational as means of determining survival does not account for the moral status of wealth, nor does it account for how, circumstantially, it might not be rational to act ‘immorally.’ Rand’s thoughts on these conflicts do not necessarily offer up satisfying philosophical answers. To that extent, the virtue ethics of Rand must be considered as not being about rationality *per se*,

but rather separated out and examined differently. The open comparison between Rand and Nietzsche seemingly offers some insight into the problem of Randian rationality.

Rand reinscribes the Nietzschean will to power within capitalist rationality. Rand synonymizes rationality and morality after establishing rationality not only as volitional,¹¹ but also as the condition of survival, i.e. where an animal has survival instincts, the human being has survival rationality. The tripartite structure of rationality-morality-survival, from whichever 'edge' of the trinity it is approached by Rand or a would-be acolyte, results in the same ultimate consequence. The man who seeks to be moral must apply their rationality so that they might survive. To survive, man must apply their rationality, and thus acts morally. These definitions aren't strictly circular, but are obviously deeply inter-involved. Rand describes an emergent hierarchy out of rationality -which ties the moral element to it- along the lines of an implied limit of ability. Rand denies that this could be related to biology, circumstance, or other influences outside of one's control by predefining rationality as a choice. That could be axiomatically written as 'the moral option is to seek the highest position within one's ability.' Thus corporate ambition is actually transformed into a virtue of the moral actor, to not practice that virtue is be less moral. By creating a moral system which pursues virtues, Rand is able to avoid being in the position of telling someone else what to do. Rand's advice is to not take advice, to rely on one's own rationality as guidance. The problem is that Rand addresses rationality but presents rationality in such a way as to create a confusing space in which rationality, the ability to act, and intelligence are somewhat confused together. Seemingly, intelligence and rationality are not synonymous for Rand, but if they are not, it must be asked whether or not Rand correlates the

¹¹ Rand, *For the New Intellectual*, pg. 149

two. If intelligence *is* rationality, or there is an effective relationship between the two, then the implication is that there are natural and emergent hierarchies. Rand argues for these hierarchies bi-directionally: it is good for the able to occupy the best jobs, and it is bad for the less able to live above their rational capacity.¹² The softly-defined topography of Rand's hierarchicalism is somewhere between the intonations of 'caste' and 'niche,' but both evoke Rand's moral imperative to embody one's kinetic economic stature. It is precisely at this point that Rand's re-inscription of the will to power begins to explore new and fertile ground, namely in that the 'to power' might be taken in Rand as 'to capability.' The Producers are harassed from above and below by the state and the masses, two appendages of jealousy which are then justified in their condemnation of the wealth and status of the productive ones by 'the intellectuals.' For Rand, the appropriate modifications to this system would be involved with the process of giving the now beleaguered businessmen the moral system to retaliate to the claims of the state and masses to their wealth. But Rand drives moral dividers between the wealthy *as such*, and the Producers who *have* wealth as a consequence of *generating* wealth and *making* good products. The Nietzschean *Wille zur Macht* is situated in an anti-morality, in the exposure of the servile genealogy of Judeo-Christian morality. Yet Nietzsche's victorious archetype the 'blonde beast,' is distinguished from the Randian capitalist hero in that the naturalization of conquest is replaced with the moralization of emergently determined capitalist hierarchies.

Close reading Rand, it is easy to see how the professed free-market spirit of Rand maps fittingly with an aristocratic tendency:

¹² Rand, *For The New Intellectual*, pg. 159

“Capitalism demands the best of every man—his rationality—and rewards him accordingly.”

The element of ‘demanding the best’ and the ‘accordance’ of the rewards indicates already that the ends of capitalist life are tied explicitly to means, the two are almost inseparable. This not only assumes categories of people based on capitalist ‘rewards’, but also implicitly favors the born-wealthy and the prodigal genius. Thus the most successful category of person are already aligned in Rand with aristocratic archetypes through the implicit description of capitalism, although this is not yet fully fleshed out.

“[Capitalism] leaves every man free to choose the work he likes, to specialize in it, to trade his product for the products of others, and to go as far on the road of achievement as his ability and ambition will carry him. His success depends on the objective value of his work and on the rationality of those who recognize that value. When men are free to trade, with reason and reality as their only arbiter, when no man may use physical force to extort the consent of another, it is the best product and the best judgment that win in every field of human endeavor, and raise the standard of living—and of thought—ever higher for all those who take part in mankind’s productive activity.”

Ability and ambition are mentioned in Rand as two variables of capitalist success, but must be understood as actually interoperating on a level at which the two inform one another. Ability is only manifested into success through ambition, but the extent of ambition is informed via ability, or as Rand proclaims the synthesis: “to cheat your way into a job bigger than your mind can handle is to become a fear-corroded ape on borrowed motions and borrowed time, and to settle down into a job that requires less than your mind’s full capacity is to cut your motor and

sentence yourself to another kind of motion: decay.” But the language of universalism is misleading, in that it would seem to be a philosophy for universal man, it is actually in celebration of the beleaguered upper class. If this is not evident enough in that a sub-section is titled “The Martyrdom of the Industrialists,” then it can become evident in the consideration of the next passage. Rand also here intonates the ‘best product,’ and the meaning of ‘best’ can be contended with in either an aristocratic or Darwinian sense, as the best in the sense of an ideal, or the best in terms of the situation it finds itself in, of a ‘best’ of the marketplace. Rand favors the former contention, in her assertion that “the man who holds high standards of craftsmanship, but devotes his effort to the production of trash—these are the men who have renounced matter, the men who believe that the values of their spirit cannot be brought into material reality.” Yet ‘trash’ might refer to the the cheapest product, made shoddily but affordably, and in that meaning conforms to certain expectation of the market to provide for demands at all levels of capacity to buy. The layman’s jacket is not the same as the rich man’s jacket, but to provide a jacket to every man requires some production of ‘trash’. The problem is the ambiguity of ‘trash’ as a turn of phrase, but seated within the larger aristocratic tendency of Rand, it seems clear that trash is to some extent tied up in craftsmanship.

“By creating a mass market, [the businessman] makes these products available to every income level of society. By using machines, he increases the productivity of human labor, thus raising labor’s economic rewards. By organizing human effort into productive enterprises, he creates employment for men of countless professions. He is the great liberator who, in the short span of a century and a half, has released men from bondage to their physical needs, has released them from the terrible drudgery of an eighteen-hour workday of manual labor for their barest

subsistence, has released them from famines, from pestilences, from the stagnant hopelessness and terror in which most of mankind had lived in all the pre-capitalist centuries—and in which most of it still lives, in non-capitalist countries.”

Here, the aristocrat-businessman becomes a romantic ‘great liberator,’ the organizers of the Industrial Revolution which saved (released perhaps) humanity from an array of miseries. The figureship of the “the great liberator” is the clarion moment of Rand’s aristocracy, it places the ambiguous businessman not only as figure of excellence, but also as a figure of deference. The less capable owe gratitude to the businessman, who have become their betters through the diffuse benefaction of capitalism-fueled development, as Rand lists in the selected quotation. The mass market also becomes the product of the businessmen as much as the goods which are rolled off Fordist factory belts. In that way, the businessman actually manifests the actual social space of capitalism. It becomes difficult in Rand to actually distinguish capitalism as a system apart from the businessmen because this dynamic pervades Rand’s discourse capitalism. Capitalism is always for Rand the system which rewards the best, but also, as in aristocracy, it is a system which emanates from the capacity of the best to govern it.

Despite that, capitalism remains a system of government which in the American context, towards which Rand is posturing her writings, is tied up with democracy (or at least republicanism) and is thus tied to the rule of the masses. Rand calls for a political movement which will see the arrival of ‘conservative’ intellectuals and politicians (the cronies of the intellectuals in Rand’s eyes) not afraid to defend the rights of the Producers to the rewards of their creative efforts. But, as anyone can ultimately succeed in Rand’s framework, and in contention with the actual state of the American political apparatus, Rand’s aristocracy is faced

with the question of how it is meant to survive amongst a non-benefitting mass. Furthermore, Rand does not offer exact prescriptions to the problem of reforming the political situation, this text is meant partially as a display of the ideals of Randian capitalism. Precisely the difference between Rand and the other authors of this generational milieu, especially Rothbard and Nozick, is that with the arrival of Rothbard, the upwards-facing (aristocratic) moralization has been replaced by a moral attitude towards specific actors which can only be described as Darwinian. The difference between these two moral attitudes is accompanied also by a revisitation of how the moral is meant to function to ground and shape a libertarian society. By the publishing of Rothbard's *For A New Liberty*, the morality of libertarianism has been transformed, and started to become more and more entangled with the tradition of political philosophy as its prescriptive capability disappeared. In Rothbard, we find a libertarian morality which demands only a single principle to define every aspect of political life, and thus more applicable, and harder to contest.

Rothbard

“Since men can think, feel, evaluate, and act only as individuals, it becomes vitally necessary for each man’s survival and prosperity that he be free to learn, choose, develop his faculties, and act upon his knowledge and values. This is the necessary path of human nature; to interfere with and cripple this process by using violence goes profoundly against what is necessary by man’s nature for his life and prosperity. Violent interference with a man’s learning and choices is therefore profoundly “antihuman”; it violates the natural law of man’s needs”¹³

Those words reverberate with the clinical fury with which Rand took to trying to dismantle a society which had begun to build for itself an ethos of sharing, embodied in the New Deal. But this claim to the rights of the producer class against “[v]iolent interference,” was an expression of a ‘new intellectual,’ and of a widening in the intellectual landscape of the nascent moral libertarianism. Murray Rothbard, Austrian economist amongst other titles, took up the mantle of moral libertarianism in the work *For A New Liberty: The Libertarian Manifesto*, whose publishing marked a substantial development in the approach to a moral theory of libertarianism. Rand’s work was marked by an inability to restrain itself to the limitations of its initial claims, not helped by the idiosyncratic language and intentional ignorance of the philosophical canon, leading to ungrounded moral pronouncements. Rothbard, a member of the academy and a more disciplined thinker, rather than attempting to build on Rand’s auteur philosophy, developed a more rigid and systematic ethics. The moral arguments of Rand are developed by Rothbard’s capacity to interface moral libertarianism consistently with logical frameworks, often drawn from academic sources which Rand either disregarded or was unaware of. Rothbard bases his

¹³ Murray Rothbard, *For A New Liberty*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1973, pg. 33

own political theory in the philosophy of Locke, Weber, and other confirmed members of the liberal political canon whose ideas have faced public trial through generations of intellectuals. Standing on the shoulder of giants, and

In the refinement that the moral argument for libertarianism undergoes in Rothbard, many of Rand's core contentions from *For The New Intellectual* are represented with new arguments to support them, in a more systematic philosophical format which is more congruent with the intellectual history of liberalism and libertarianism. Rand's ultimate project, of creating a morality for the 'Producer' class, is validated in Rothbard, who describes the 'state' as "a legal, orderly, systematic channel for predation on the property of the producers."¹⁴ However, exactly in the way that Rothbard here attributes the 'predation' of the producers to the state, Rothbard's general understanding of the state and its role in the politics of libertarianism differ remarkably from Rand. In Rand, the ideal political situation is in many ways informed by the early American republic, and maintains a fixation on restoring and reforming the current American state back to the glory of the Founding Fathers. Rothbard also breaks from Locke by rejecting the conception of a social contract as it were,¹⁵ which in turn rejects any narrative of the state as an entity which was formed or which is based on democratic and consensual participation.¹⁶

For A New Liberty as an intellectual project might be understood primarily as an extended critique of statism through the application of a moral philosophy with libertarian characteristics to the problems of the contemporary state. The form a 'moral philosophy with libertarian characteristics' takes is a deontological system of thought in which the governing

¹⁴ Rothbard, *For A New Liberty*, pg. 61

¹⁵ *Ibid*, pg. 77

¹⁶ *Ibid*, pg. 52

assumptions are self-ownership as the fundamental and conditional fact of property rights, with those property rights being a morally inviolable and metaphysically inherent fact of each person. The moral philosophy which Rothbard presents is built on the natural-rights account from Locke, and the Rothbard is a son of liberalism only to the extent that the free-market, and the property rights which gives mandate to the free-market, are also tied up with liberalism. As Rand might shame crony capitalism as a sort of falsehood, Rothbard denounces it as an institution of the state, urging towards the capacity of a repressed competition to take place and unseat monopolies, corporate giants, and other monsters of the regulated marketplace. It is insurgent in that way, it fixates itself on a majority, but lays claim to that majority by condemning the artificial successes which are bred at the intersection of government and big business. It's Darwinism, that asserts that the evolutionary dead ends posed by wasteful and bloated companies will be unseated by the fitter, the more maneuverable, the underdogs, is also somewhat egalitarian.¹⁷ It poses a vision of the future in which every man becomes a capitalist. That shift between Rand and Rothbard happens precisely because Rothbard is not interested in the texture of behavior, but only in a binary of interaction. Freedom does not, for Rothbard, intersect with virtue. The N.A.A. is a moral idea, but it's morality is almost programmatic, an algorithm by which a 'good' and 'bad' can be posited but with none of the emotive elements of Rand, nor assigning heroism to the moral agents. The N.A.A. is also conceptually blind to what its moral agents look like, and cannot make claims about how society should be shaped. In that way, Rothbard is also writing a morality which is more market-like, it orders human moral interactions in the same emergent manner as a pure theory of the market sees economic

¹⁷ Rothbard, *For A New Liberty*, pg. 387-388

interactions as emergently ordered. In that sense, Rothbard might even be read as a synthetic figure between Rand and Hayek, binding together the economic and moral arguments in a way which gives moral right to the legacy of Hayek, but which burns off the impurities of Rand's virtuousism. These impurities might be listed as Rand's hero-worship, her behavioral dictates, and inability to ground private property except negatively, demanding the gratitude of the working class.

“[The libertarian] insists that whatever services the government actually performs could be supplied far more efficiently and far more morally by private and cooperative enterprise.”¹⁸ From Rothbard's own axiomatic logic, ‘society,’ or any other organization in the ‘public,’ does not exist *per se*, and is only a nomenclature for a set of real individuals in the same way as a company refers to many people working to create a product or service. However, the state is not only another form of social organization, Rothbard has distinguished the state a ‘criminal band,’ which is to say that the state, unlike other modes of social formation, is an abstraction which shapes individual behavior which *always* infringes on the rights of those it proposes to govern. This criticism of the state generates certain problems, but also provides an effective limit of the logic of the moral libertarian position, the goal of complete replacement of the state by private operators and organizations.¹⁹ The main problem of this criticism of the state is the way in which it compromises the social theory Rothbard constructs. Rothbard attempts to establish the ‘state’ as an abstraction which bears no meaningful differentiations from any other abstract social formation. The state is also, however, defined by the function of maintaining a ‘monopoly’ on

¹⁸ Rothbard, *For A New Liberty*, pg. 11

¹⁹ The usefulness of this outer limit for understanding the ideological ties which make this group of authors a ‘generation’ of thinkers is explored further in the upcoming chapter on Nozick, but is mentioned here to clarify where the idea originates in the argument of Rothbard.

violence within its jurisdiction. The tension which exists in the way that the state is characterized by Rothbard must both be an abstraction which does. The state defends the rights of its citizens through law enforcement, via the collective action of the legislators, police, and the courts, as per the Lockean historical movement from nature to political society. Law, and its enforcement, as Rothbard describes its hypothetical anarcho-capitalist form, takes on a striking similarity to exactly the structures which Rothbard is attempting to subvert.

The problem presented by law is that law and its enforcement, which is considered necessary by Rothbard, creates situations in an anarcho-capitalist thought experiment which blur the lines between statism and solutions provided by the market. Rothbard's position on the subject of enforcement in regards to anarcho-capitalist law is that "[o]n the free market, what would be enforced is whatever [laws] the customers are willing to pay for."²⁰ However, Rothbard also declares, "there will have to be a legal code in a libertarian society," meaning a legal code which is universally understood and accepted, and which conforms to libertarian moral principles.²¹ Rothbard immediately qualifies such a legal code, adding the caveat that any legal code which includes law that violate the non-aggression axiom, or courts which uphold any such laws "would be *illegal* in terms of libertarian principle, and could not be upheld by the rest of society"²² What Rothbard does not and perhaps cannot provide, is a mechanism which would cause the formation of an anarchist situation in which society "would insist on the libertarian principle of no aggression against person or property, define property rights in accordance with libertarian principle, set up rules of evidence [...] in deciding who are the wrongdoers in any

²⁰ Rothbard, *For A New Liberty*, pg. 221

²¹ *Ibid*, pg. 234

²² *Ibid*, pg. 235

dispute, and set up a code of maximum punishment for any particular crime.”²³ Even providing for the acceptance of a libertarian legal code universally, the problem arise of how enforcement and punishment is to be resolved in a way which is firstly, not in violation of the rights of the perpetrator, and secondly, allows for the enforcement agencies to be also restrained by the rule of the legal code. The second clause encompasses the first, as without any mechanisms in place to somehow bind the actions of private law enforcement agencies to the libertarian legal code, there is no ability to guarantee that those agencies will actually respect either the legal code, or the non-aggression axiom in their actions.

Working through these conditions of a libertarian law in reverse, Rothbard notably does not produce at all a justification for why the network of private courts and police forces would agree upon on a universal libertarian code, or why, even if they would, why it would be a legal code based on libertarian principles. The looming element, although it is unaddressed by Rothbard beyond mentioning it as a possible arbitrator, is “the rest of society.” Society, as Rothbard has already established, is an abstract set which includes all individuals within an ambiguous network of social and economic interactions, it is “non-existent” as an entity in its own right. Therefore there is no ‘higher good’ to appeal to, but instead for the “rest of society” to refuse to uphold a legal code would require individuals, en masse, to refuse the authority of a legal code. The narrative underlying this assertion is a variant of the Lockean doctrine of revolution, substituting tyrannical rule for law which infringes on the non-aggression axiom, and revolution with a refusal to “uphold” the legal code. What is meant by “uphold” is not laid out in Rothbard explicitly, but it can be taken from the following passages that Rothbard sees most

²³ Ibid, pg. 235

problems within a private market legal system as being solvable by the power of consumer patronage. However, patronage works within a multiplicity system for patronage to even be considered as a solution to social problems, there must always be alternatives which can be favored so as to shift the system. But Rothbard's legal code is singular, there are not competing codes, but one code developed by the 'competition' of many judges and courts. To not be 'upheld' would mean that courts which enforce an illegitimate variant of the legal code would have to be rejected by consumers to such a degree as to nullify those aberrant courts, police departments, etc. The problem then is precisely what if the "rest of society," in which Rothbard lodges the entire possibility of salvation, were not a 'Libertarian Society?' For as much as Rothbard rejects the need for the transformed man, without the transformed society what is to stop the emergence of any other political ideology in the 'vacuum' of anarchic libertarianism? The problem for Rothbard is not whether or not the account of an emergent libertarianism is viable in the private market system, but why other political ideologies are less viable as possibilities.

The argument must render the liberal state ultimately indistinguishable on a moral level from the governments of totalitarianism, and their forms of violence and control. However, in staking that claim, Rothbard also demonstrates the power of thinking from moral first principles to dissolve the political identities of liberalism, fascism, communism, and so on into one textureless entity, the state. Liberalism, and by extension all other ideologies and forms of government based in either direct or representative democracy, problematizes Rothbard's model of a universal state. Taking liberalism as the paramount example—on account of the fact that American liberalism is the central object of Rothbard's criticism—Rothbard makes two claims

which are meant to undermine liberalism's claim to a consensual relationship with the governed. The first is in fact a set of claims which generally challenge the ability of the American state, as matter of historical fact, to defend the rights of its citizens. This set of claims can be ignored for the purpose of evaluating Rothbard's argument, as they are essentially supplementary to the main theory, but must be noted so the reason. The second claim is that the theory of the social contract is untenable on the basis that the historical origins of any given state "generally began in violence and conquest [and] never by general consensus or contract."²⁴ This critique of the social contract essentially alleges that there is no historical point at which any state was operationally 'just' (according to Rothbard's natural-rights ethics) as there was no point at which the state was actually in voluntary accord with all of its members. The idea of the Lockean consensus, by which a group of individuals escapes from the state of nature, and collectively defers their powers of self-defense to the state, is thereby invalidated. The precarity of the argument is that the extent to which Rothbard is able to separate the natural-rights argument of Locke from the Lockean consensus is also the extent to which central ideas to Rothbard's hypothetical anarcho-capitalism can also be questioned. The Lockean consensus is premised on the idea that by the consent of any number of individuals, the right to punish is submitted up to government. The presumption is not that the government lays special privilege to the authority of violence, "legitimacy" would be Rothbard's term, but rather that the right to punishment are somehow transferable if one consents. Taking as given the situation Rothbard describes, in which there is a system of courts which all subscribe to a basic libertarian legal code, and there are many protection agencies that work alongside these courts, it must be considered what occurs

²⁴ Rothbard, *For A New Liberty*, pg. 84

when two citizens who are both members of one protection agency are to do when one violates the rights of the other. The protection agency, which is obligated by contract to both parties to protect their rights, cannot allow either party to maintain their individual right to punish the other, and so are at the very least incentivized by their contractual relationships to restrain the aggrieved party from punishing the other without ‘due process.’ The problem that is created is that the protection agency, in order to fulfill its contractual obligation to both parties, is morally required to actually infringe on the right to punish in the case of both parties in order to guarantee the protection of its clients.²⁵ Whether or not this narrative is convincing is irrelevant to the point, as the initial argument Rothbard makes is made on exactly the same lines, rationalizing what behaviors protection agencies would take on in an anarchist situation. The essential conclusion is that the behavior of these protection agencies cannot be regulated, but also that if their benevolence is assumed, it could as easily take the form of the social contract which Rothbard sought to avoid. Performing the service of law enforcement, at some point, requires the deferral of some rights so as to be able to prevent wanton violence, exactly as explained in Locke’s state of nature. Thus the ultimate critique of liberalism, although it does not fail, actually reveals that there are circumstantial conditions in which the anarchist law enforcement mechanisms begin to take on an uncanny resemblance to the liberal state. In that way, the foundational claim, that the state is always different from the

The framework for anarchic law which Rothbard proposes comes already accompanied by an implicit theory of justice, based upon understanding the exchange of actions which the non-aggression axiom gives description to. The non-aggression axiom bifurcates all human

²⁵ This is assuming that the interest to protect the clients by the agency overrides the moral interest in allowing the clients to maintain their state of war, which is only as plausible as any other conjecture as to the possible conditions of an anarcho-capitalist society.

action into the category of aggressive or non-aggressive action, either violating the property rights of others or not. From this, it follows that just circumstances are such wherein no individual's property rights are being violated by the aggression others. To establish the initial circumstances by which possessions are acquired and transformed into the property of an individual as just, Rothbard affirms Locke's labor theory of property.²⁶ However, upon the violation of an individual rights, or the attempt at violation, individuals are entitled to certain forms of response. The implicit Rothbardian theory of justice which follows from those premises is that there is a system for determining just and unjust actors in a given interaction, which can be ascertained by tracking how exchanges of aggression occur and resolve, so as to determine who in a given exchange is or was entitled to self-defense, retribution, or restitution. Retribution and restitution are owed particular attention, as Rothbard later devised a method of determining the theoretical "maximum limit" on the right to punishment of either type through a "proportionate principle." The proportionate principle is defined as entailing that "the criminal loses rights to the extent that he deprives the victim."²⁷ For Rothbard, proportionality amounts to the functional doubling of the punishment in proportion to the crime, which means that an assault might be responded to with a more vicious assault, and a theft might demand restitution of the original stolen amount, and also compensation of the same amount. However, the theory of proportionate punishment exposes pragmatic problems which the anarchic state of law and its enforcement create. Firstly, unless proportionality is intended strictly as a theoretical exercise, who is meant is to enforce the rule of proportionality? As Rothbard considers it, "if Hatfield, merely beat up McCoy, and then McCoy kills him in return, this too would put McCoy up for

²⁶ Rothbard, *For A New Liberty*, pg. 43-44

²⁷ Murray Rothbard, *The Ethics of Liberty*, New York University Press, 1998, pg. 85

punishment as a murderer.”²⁸ However, in an anarchic system, as Locke recognized and described, precisely the problem is that there is no *de facto* authority which will either enforce the rule of proportionality, nor defend the rights of the victim—it is a state of war. Self-defense is unlimited in this system to precisely the extent that Locke described the ignorance of the victim: until a crime has been committed, the victim might always assume the possibility of a murderous threat, and therefore exact any form of self-defense they deem necessary.²⁹ Rothbard is able to justify the argument of proportionality only on the assumption that in an anarchic system, all security agencies and all private courts would be generally cooperative, and a reasonable majority would have access to both resources. If justice then is based on a general respect for the non-aggression axiom amongst the masses, and proportionality in all forms of response to aggression except self-defense, then there must be some means by which both standards can be maintained. Rothbard addresses murder as posing a problem in that the success of a murder necessarily means the responsibility for punishment must either be transferred or dissipate. Assuming, as Locke does, that the relationship between an individual and a protection agency is such that The problem is not that Rothbard is necessarily incorrect, but only that insofar as Rothbard is making claims that are contingent on certain necessary circumstances, counter-claims might be lodged by reasonably modifying the circumstances. Furthermore, Rothbard, throughout all discussions of punishment, always asserts that the primary purpose of punishment is always, and should always be restitution. As will be explored in the upcoming discussion of Nozick, the implications of always holding out compensation as a means of achieving justice is that compensation might become a tool for creating systems in which

²⁸ Rothbard, *The Ethics of Liberty*, pg. 91

²⁹ John Locke, *Second Treatise on Government*, Bowen Island, Canada: Early Modern Texts, 1689, pg. 7-8

substantial infringement upon the property rights of individuals can be morally negated. And this only compounds the problem of the lack of structural or implicit regulations upon the agencies which are meant to be doing the work to maintain the N.A.A.

There are no guarantees to the maintenance of the N.A.A. without an overarching body with an interest or a mandate in enforcing the N.A.A. Although Rothbard would assert that there are principles of emergent order which would shift the market of legal practice towards the N.A.A., the claim is inherently unprovable. Moreover, within the larger claim by free-market political agents to the privileging of emergence, why wouldn't there be a multiplicity of ethico-legal systems on offer? The answers are unclear, and should be taken as the anarcho-capitalist system running up against the limitations of its own capacity to address the state rather than liberalism. The difference is crucial: a critique of liberalism refines a model, a critique of the state attempts to radically redefine what it means to be in a society. The latter project is fine, but in Rothbard's account there is not enough consideration given to how markets and the state interact with one another.

Rothbard's deontological approach to moral libertarianism remains a powerful and consistent critique of the state, but that critique is itself largely a rearticulation of previous thinkers.³⁰ The problematic element of the anarcho-capitalist argument are the circumstantial arrangements which were required to maintain a cohesive and functional model of an anarchist society accommodating capitalism and property rights. Although these claims are neither provable nor disprovable given the absence of an attempted anarcho-capitalist society, the ambiguities which are generated leave Rothbard's system of thought exposed to replacement by

³⁰ Locke, Rand, Weber, and Nock are all examples authors whose ideas are either directly inserted into *For A New Liberty* or whose ideas are represented synthetically in Rothbard.

a system with a more powerful explanatory power. The inability to account for possibility of a state re-forming out of anarchy, the moral problem of compensation and restitution, and being able to assume the appropriate behavior of the private protection agencies all remain open for critique.

Nozick

Anarchy, State, and Utopia, by Robert Nozick's own attribution, was the tangential result of a conversation between Nozick and Murray Rothbard.³¹ Rothbard created a substantial and robust system of thought for defending libertarianism and critiquing the State deontologically. However, at the fringes of Rothbard's system, there were substantial unresolved ambiguities, which did not necessarily problematize the anarcho-capitalism, but which left key parts of the argument in states of conjecture. The legacy which Rothbard passed on to Nozick was a legacy of conjecture open to solutions. Nozick, a technician of morality, developed Rothbard's system of thought by providing substantive, plausible responses and solutions to some of the major ambiguities from Rothbard. The conclusions are a surprising severe turn back into the minarchist position, which roughly corresponded to Rand's preferred government. The difference between minarchist and anarchist position is probably the most substantive difference between the two thinkers, although it does not take place along a regression to Randian logic, but rather an advancement along lines of thought which Rothbard paved. Nozick returns the state to moral libertarianism, as part of a corrective measure of ambiguities which were playing out in Rothbard.

Nozick complicates the idea of a state by examining area where the ambiguous metrics which define statehood create "statelike entities," or entities which operate somewhere between the definitions of "dominant protective agencies" and "states." Nozick negatively defines the

³¹ Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, pg. xvi

“statelike entity” against the dominant protective association, claiming that the protective agency “makes no such claim [to be the sole authorizer of violence.]”³² The “statelike entity,” by the same negative definition, is also a historical stage in the progression from anarchy to statehood in which the protective agency finally does make a claim to being the authorizer of violence.

Nozick explicitly presents that historical transition as inevitable due to the emergent pressures such as the demand for protection and for consistent and persistent means for protecting property rights.³³ Presenting the appearance of the minimal state as an emergent phenomenon of the state is another manner in which Nozick affirms certain dogmas of liberalism. Social contract theory is one such dogma enmeshed with liberalism, and particularly with strains of liberalism with libertarian bents, not only due to the foundational proximity of social contractarianism to Locke, but also, as Neidleman renders it, “[social contract theory] presupposes the fundamental freedom and equality of all those entering into a political arrangement and the associated rights that follow from the principles of basic freedom and equality.”³⁴ Rothbard contested social contract theory by claiming that origin of most states was in the violent conquest of one group by another group, a claim which positions the state as originating in, and thus inextricable from, violence.³⁵ Nozick’s return to social contract theory indicates that within the intellectual movement of the moral libertarianism, the relative radicalism of Rothbard neither prevailed, nor, by accounts of the modern libertarian party and its platform, has the anarchist tendency succeeded there. Rothbard’s account, regardless of being more or less historically plausible as an account of state origins, leads to inevitable tensions when Rothbard attempts to claim a stateless future as the

³² Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, pg. 117

³³ *Ibid*, pg. 16-17

³⁴ Neidleman, Jason, *The Social Contract Theory in a Global Context*, E-International Relations, Oct. 9th, 2012

³⁵ Rothbard, *For A New Liberty*, pg. 77-78

method by which to achieve a reality in which natural rights are more strongly upheld. The social contract theory essentially, although not absolutely, is defined as the emergence of a state out of anarchism. Rothbard's suggestion that states are born out of conquest, and warring tribes, asserts a vision of the pre-state existence, which is at least superficially anarchism, as a situation in which conquest and violence overturned the freedom and independence of certain groups by other certain groups. Rothbard does not distinguish whether and how a new, capitalist anarchism would differ from this primordial anarchism, which leaves open the question of whether or not the reemergence of the state also threatens the capitalist anarchism Rothbard advocates.

The stark definition of the state, which Rothbard adapts from Weber, strips the concept of the state of its nuance, and reduces the state to a single concept despite the obvious multiplicity of the state's forms and historical stages, as well as the function it provides at those different stages. Nozick begins to undo Rothbard's reductionism by creating new conceptual categories for understanding the historical stages of the state, how those different stages have separate functions and attend to different moral considerations. The "ultraminimal state" is one of those conceptual categories, invented by Nozick for use in adding gradation to the conceptual distance between capitalist anarchy (protection and 'state-like' services provided by corporate or private entities) and a 'state.' The ultraminimal state is meant to distinguish as both are providing "protection and enforcement services," but the services of the ultraminimal state are paid only to the members of society who voluntarily pay into its protection scheme.³⁶ The ultraminimal state for Nozick must, on the terms of a moral progression, develop into a minimal state. The relationship of moral progression that Nozick outlines implies the moral inferiority of the

³⁶ Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, pg. 26

ultraminimal state by the fact of its operators being considered “morally obligated” to proceed into the minimal state.³⁷

The ultraminimal state, in Nozick’s historical framework, is the first ‘statelike entity’ for which legal rights—that is to say pragmatic rights which are decided upon, described, and enforced through the mechanisms of a state—can be observed within the functioning of that entity. Nozick defines rights, legal or otherwise, as side constraints to establish a claim to how rights direct the traffic of moral relationships. As side constraint, it is not that people move towards the ideals which rights represent and codify, but rather that rights prevent actions in the direction of other people, rights *repulse*.³⁸ The idea of side constraints is both a marker and a product of Nozick’s relationship to the larger generation of moral libertarian thought. The side constraint develops the ideology’s throughline theory of the sacrosanct individual, and is in many ways a more completely developed theory of right. Nozick expresses and validates Rothbard’s configuration of the non-aggression axiom as a right, amongst other rights which Nozick considers human beings to possess inherently.³⁹ Nozick offers this explanation of how the non-aggression axiom would result from the philosophical circumstances as Nozick sees them: “This root idea, namely, that there are different individuals with separate lives and so no one may be sacrificed for others, underlies the existence of moral side constraints, but it also, I believe, leads to a libertarian side constraint that prohibits aggression against another.”⁴⁰ The ‘root idea,’ the separateness of persons, is intellectual baggage from Rawls, and which Nozick is also applying (possibly appropriating) for the purpose of arguing against utilitarian concerns.

³⁷ Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, pg. 52-53

³⁸ *Ibid*, pg. 32

³⁹ *Ibid*, pg. 33 & iix

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, pg. 33

Nozick's essential moral perspective, in terms of the separateness of persons, "[treating] individual lives as morally important units," in distinction to the strict utilitarian account.⁴¹ These individuals are the basic moral unit, are morally important, and in conjunction with the claim that Nozick has asserted that each individual has intrinsic rights, rights which must be respected due to their moral importance, the non-aggression principle can be logically concluded, and in some sense 'falls out' of those two claims interacting. Maintaining the non-aggression axiom keeps with the tradition of moral libertarianism, but Nozick makes a crucial distinction between a non-aggression *principle* and a non-aggression *axiom*, favoring the former.

Rothbard justifies the axiom (with due notice given to the continuing distinction between principle and axiom) as the result of deriving from self-ownership. The derivation, modeled on Locke's own account of property, defines axiom as the "the absolute right to be "free" from aggression," and the "central axiom of the libertarian creed."⁴² and therefore the non-aggression principle is not only the first right, but also the only possible right . There is only that single right and its violations when considering morality. Rothbard also to someone degree offers a primitive description of separateness of persons, but Nozick uses the idea of the separateness of persons to further complete the logic of self-ownership and, operating under this summary of separateness, clarifies its libertarian implications in the expression: "[by virtue of reflecting] the fact of our separate existences ... [...] [that] there is no moral outweighing of one of our lives by others so as to lead to a greater overall *social* good."⁴³ As McKerlie notes, Nozick is not grounding the argument here, but is presenting a different interpretation of the moral ontology of the world,

⁴¹ McKerlie, *Egalitarianism and the Separateness of Persons*, Canadian Journal of Philosophy, Vol. 18, No. 2, June 1988, pg. 205

⁴² Rothbard, *For A New Liberty*, pg. 2, 31

⁴³ Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, pg. 33;

with the individual being the base unit. This configuration is not a grounding, but rather is a sort of matching; rights are understood as matching an intuition about morality which is constituted by certain large moral frameworks. As Nozick applies it, the separateness of persons becomes a means of justifying libertarian individualism, bolstering Rothbard's claim that the individual is the only 'real' unit deserving moral protections by attempting to refute the utilitarian claim to what Nozick calls "a greater overall *social* good." The model of the individual which Nozick establishes, on the terms of general libertarian argument, is more robustly defended as the principle moral agent by having a counter-argument to utilitarianism, and also abandons the axiomatic logic of Rothbard. In that sense, Nozick could actually be seen as putting forward a weaker assertion of the Abandoning axiomatic logic does leave the philosophy more imprecise, as Nozick's account of the principle is suggested, but not defined, by the separateness of persons and is left without a defined ground as Nozick proceeds. But, at the cost of that imprecision, Nozick reframes the principle as a right which exists, but which is not in the position of serving as the axiomatic core of the ideology (which, as axiomatic, is inherently unprovable) and instead substitutes axiom for what might be considered a general a general intuition of rights. Using the intuition of rights offers some benefits, as it allows for rights to be conceived and presented on a rolling basis, and justified on the basis of observations about the conditions of human existence, a strong if not infallible method of justification, and often equally proficient as a means of justification to axioms within the more than enough when applied to the realm of real politics. Moreover, American citizens have rights, which are legally defined, inviolable and protected as a matter of fact. Nozick's assumption of the (minimal) state as an answer to the moral problem of protecting rights clarifies that Nozick is offering in one sense a philosophy of rights with which

to define moral limits to what rights a liberal state such as America might enforce, and how. However, the morality which Nozick advances becomes fraught when it actually comes into contact with legalized rights, and therefore the formulation of a theoretical defense is not a necessary approach.

In a morality that is so intertwined with rights, the principle ambiguities of that moral system rapidly escalate to legalistic problems: if the immoral is defined by the violation of rights, and seeing as Nozick only references articulates the non-aggression principle along the lines of property rights and their violation, whether or not there is a system for weighing different moral violations remains an outstanding problem for a world in which the right to self-defense is deferred to a state. The problem of this ambiguity is twofold, the moral weight of different violations is uncertain. Nozick himself fluctuates between several apparent metrics for measuring moral violations different systems assigning moral weight, sometimes measuring violations per instance, and sometimes by the severity of the violation, and sometimes just by whether or not violations have occurred at all. The problem is that an ambiguous definition of violations leaves the problem of legal justice unaddressed, as the capacity of the state to protect its citizens from moral violations entails punishments which may, if left unexamined, violate moral rights in turn. The difference between murder and theft serves as the ultimate expression of this problem. Nozick makes allowances for two responses to moral violations, namely punishment and the exaction of compensation. To reasonably derive appropriate punishments for murder and theft respectively requires that there be a morality which distinguishes between those two things at a moral level for the purposes of punishment, or is able to make a declaration of worth for purposes of compensation. The moral weight is important, and the ambiguity relevant, due to the

fact that Nozick is both declaring the importance of these violations to morality, and also trying to assert the moral inviolability of each individual. Nozick avoids specifying the specific rights which belong to the individual except to say that “[side] constraints are set . . . in our theory, by the Lockean rights people possess.”⁴⁴ The deference to Locke on the issue of the individual rights presumes that, at least for the purpose of evaluating Nozick’s moral system, the rights can be provisionally assumed to be property rights as outlined in Locke. The ‘Lockean rights,’ assumed to be all rights which Locke explicitly defines as such, include the right to “life, liberty, and possession” under the moral-conceptual category of “property,” with the right to “judge and punish breaches of the law of nature — punishing in the manner he thinks the crime deserves” appended.⁴⁵ However, Nozick leaves unspecified whether these rights arrive within the same conceptual framework as Locke, or whether they are being parsed into a set of conceptually separate rights. Assuming the former, as Nozick makes no distinction and also invokes Locke, the basis of property rights can still be considered to be the initial and intrinsic ownership of the self, as Locke specifies. Therefore, it might be taken that property is also the primary medium through which Nozick’s morality can be applied and understood. The extent of the moral status of the individual, and their inviolability, is bound up with the violation of the property of another person. Property, which is presumably understood in the Lockean sense to encompass to include the proprietor’s body and what they claim as their possessions and liberty, delimits exactly where the moral ‘domain’ of the individual begins and ends. How Nozick addresses this moral ‘domain’ has important consequences for how the Lockean system of rights can be understood as a moral system, and by extension how the libertarian morality is involved in re-interpreting and

⁴⁴ Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, pg. 171

⁴⁵ Locke, *Second Treatise on Government*, pg. 28

applying Lockean ideas. “A line (or hyper-plane) circumscribes an area in moral space around an individual.”

The idea of a moral ‘domain’ is addressed by Nozick in the form of an idea of moral space, in which is to describe the way in which every object which belongs to an individual becomes part of the moral violation of the individual, not just in Nozick but in any property-based moral system. “[a] line (or hyper-plane) circumscribes an area in moral space around an individual.”⁴⁶ If the property was not somehow morally rooted in an individual, stealing it, or any other form of more indirect violation of property, it would not be possible to trace how theft was in fact a violation. On the basis that all property violations are violations of the individual, extended to their property, then it would follow that all moral violations would essentially ‘count’ the same when trying to calculate damage. Intuitively however, the difference between a crime such as murder and a crime such as theft should be clearly delineated and somehow accounted for, despite both being reducible to property violations. Nozick often defers the development of the intricacies of his own philosophy, but the absence of an answer still leaves a sizable gap in the structure of Nozick’s logic, which, as noted earlier, is a substantial problem for a philosophy which is dependent on the sustained non-violation of key rights, an inviolability which may well be unraveled by problems concerning punishment and compensation. Developing both lines of critique, if compensation is admitted as a means by which moral violations might be remedied, then the problem becomes whether or not murder is to be admitted amongst those violations which may be compensated, and if so how a precise compensation is to be generated for the death of a person. Nozick’s philosophy, because it is

⁴⁶ Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, pg. 57

unable to morally distinguish. That Nozick refuses to connect the concept of moral violation to a system for weighing those violations appropriately may or may not be deliberate; their context is not deliberate, but rather reflects an oversight in Nozick. What that ambiguity does allow for, however, is that is for the conception of rights which that Nozick devises to be applied throughout *Anarchy, State, & Utopia* essentially in whatever format straightens out whatever mechanics Nozick is attempting to reckon with.

The work which produces the minimal state, is however, not only ambiguous, but deeply mundane in the sense of its conceptual proximity to the American liberal state. Nozick introduces the concept of utopia, and attempts to elucidate not only how the most basic model of the liberal state is actually itself a utopia, but also performs interesting semantic maneuvers to actually maintain the inspirational character of utopia. Nozick's investigations into the concept of utopia are finalized with the conclusion that the concept of utopia has been demonstrated to be functionally the same as identical to the minimal state.⁴⁷ The question of utopia generally is framed by Nozick as a world out of a set of all possible worlds in which all actors would rather remain in that world than travel to another possible world.⁴⁸ Overlooking some granularities in the thought-experiment (personal values, the scope of 'possible worlds', etc.) the basic premise of utopia for Nozick is essentially established upon choice. Thus Nozick's utopia is measured not by standards of perfection or perfectability, but rather optimization. The radical difference between Nozick's 'utopia' and traditional notions of utopia reveal the implicit bias in any conception of utopia, but Nozick attempts to leverage that bias in the same moment. Nozick's utopia is functional in its definition, which is to say that in the same way a price is determined in

⁴⁷ Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, pg. 333

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, pg. 299

the emergent order of market forces, so might a utopia be determined in the emergent order of desires interacting en masse.

The idea of these massed desires manifests as the concept of the ‘meta-utopia’: “Utopia is a framework for utopias, a place where people are at liberty to join together voluntarily to pursue and attempt to realize their own vision of the good life in the ideal community but where no one can impose his own utopian vision upon others.”⁴⁹ This movement away from a ‘common sense’ definition of utopia is neither inert, nor necessarily coherent with the rest of Nozick’s intellectual project in *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*. From Wolff, there are two characterizations of Nozick which might frame how Nozick’s definition of utopia might be subversively presented.

“[Nozick’s deontological libertarianism] is based on a strict doctrine of natural rights, violation of which is never permitted, whatever the consequences.”⁵⁰ Wolff here describes Nozick’s project and how Nozick perceives his own project. Secondly, Wolff asserts the failure of deontological libertarianism to philosophically defend free-market capitalism successfully: “unless they dishonestly smuggle consequentialist considerations into the definition of rights of self-ownership.”⁵¹ The unmentioned subject of that accusation of ‘dishonest smuggling’ is not Nozick, but the notion of ‘dishonest smuggling’ is an appropriate moniker of how Nozick approaches his construction of a definition of a ‘utopia.’ Nozick constructs a notion of utopia ‘dishonestly’ in that Nozick’s general premise is to document the process of working up from first principles. However, Nozick’s ‘utopia,’ on the basis of the testing principle it uses to determine a ‘utopia,’ defines utopia in such a way as to encourage the equation of utopia with moral state.

⁴⁹ Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, pg. 312

⁵⁰ Wolff, *Libertarianism, Utility, and Economic Competition*, pg. 1605

⁵¹ *Ibid*, pg. 1623

For Nozick, the apparent purpose project of exploring the concept of utopia is to justify an initial premise, that “that the minimal state is inspiring as well as right.”⁵² Whether or not the Nozickian utopia is inspirational within the larger framework of the deontological approach is entirely superfluous to the argument. But the ‘rigor’ of Nozick’s analytic approach, which Wolff describes as part of the psychological appeal of deontological argumentation, is an unemotional and sterile way of conceiving a politics. Moreover, deontological arguments still require some sort of Kantian consensus, in which the rational audience will acknowledge the rationality of the argument and carry it out solely on the basis of their own rationality. The pragmatic issue is that appeals to the sort of abstract rationality which Nozick works with rarely, if ever, are able to engendered political movements. As Nozick asks, “Can it thrill the heart or inspire people to struggle or sacrifice? Would anyone man barricades under its banner?”⁵³ Utopia, in the commonplace sense of that term, carries an emotive drive because of how the idea of imagining or being converted to a vision of the value and possibly the innate beauty of the concept as it is presented. The rhetoric of utopia compels the completion of the political task of building utopia *intrinsically*. One of the offerings of a consequentialist theory of politics is that the proposed rewards drive political action by appealing to self-interest. In the absence of such consequentialist appeals. Nozick actually sins doubly. The first is made on the position that Nozick is being disingenuous, and actually is writing utopia as a concept which supports the minimal state automatically. From the position, it is eminently clear that Nozick is attempting to leverage the traditional emotional drive of the intonation of other ideas of utopia to both evoke in designate the minimal state as an as ‘inspiring,’ feeling, and, as a utopia, the object of some

⁵² Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, pg. ix

⁵³ *Ibid*, pg. 297

instinctual desire usually associated with those things. The second is that, as Wolff diagnosed, Nozick smuggles consequentialist arguments in the form of his conceptualization of utopia as a meta-utopia. The problems of the meta-utopia in general are an important touchstone in understanding the horizons of Nozick's thought, and the situation it leaves moral libertarianism in.

Nozick's notion of the minimal state as a 'meta-utopia' (and after all, more utopias are greater than fewer utopias) is a significant indicator of how Nozick the argument for moral libertarianism as Nozick conveys imagines itself as somehow higher than an appeal to a specific way or form of life. undermines the general notion of utopia. There is a basic problematic premise in the claim to the minimal state as the necessary condition for enabling utopia sub-communities within the community of the minimal state. By the same essential open conditions that define the testing principle of utopia which Nozick proposes, certain notions of utopia would entail the desire to construct a utopia which contradicts the notions of Nozickian utopia. The presiding question would be: why does Nozick allow for say a socialist utopia within the minimal state (as a framework) when the two are postured to eventually contradict each other? Nozick's configuration is that every utopia within the meta-utopia must be formulated with the caveat of not violating the principles of the meta-utopia, of accepting its place within a substrate of society. The limitations upon the possible realizations of the utopia(s) within this meta-utopia framework suggests that when faced with reality, the meta-utopia can be assumed to actually fail to ensure a flourishing of pluralistic utopias. In either case, verifying this is impossible. But Nozick's premise of utopia is tested by the thought experiment of keeping everyone in one possible world voluntarily.

The utopia of Nozick is still haunted by the ideas of Rawls. The conversation between the work of Nozick and Rawls charts to some extent a larger political battle that libertarianism emerged into. The Vietnam era compromised the perception of American liberal democracy. In the aftermath, political claims that extended out of the conceptual schemes of liberalism arose out of the exposed flaws in liberalism. Articulating the exact objects of criticism is unimportant, the fact remains that the two predominant movements of reaction were split between social democracy and libertarianism. In that sense, Nozick was actually indebted to Rawls as the articulator of the exact sense of liberalism which Nozick's libertarian political impulses were forming against. Nozick's utopia is the weird byproduct of the attempt to establish a libertarian future for liberalism, and to portray the libertarian vision of striped down liberalism as a vision to be inspired by. How moral libertarianism at large interfaces with the general social liberalism however, produces much more interesting lines of thought.

Theoretical Analysis

Nozick's *Anarchy, State and Utopia*, ended the inaugural era of moral libertarianism by bridging the divide that Rothbard had built between the philosophical base of moral libertarianism and its parent ideology, liberalism, which was coming into full bloom in America. The neo-liberal regime in America, that began within the year of the publishing of *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* with the hiring of Paul Volcker as Federal Reserve head marked the beginning of a new opportunity for libertarian politics. The age of neoliberalism fused together formerly disparate political elements, creating a political environment in which both laissez-faire economics (traditionally conservative in America) and social welfare (traditionally progressive) were gravitating together under one ideology. The neoliberal paradigm re-affirmed the economic vision of Hayek and other liberal economists and put them into practice. The neoliberal shift largely ended debate over best economic practices in the final third of the 20th century, allowing social questions to be explored further. The moral libertarians were uniquely positioned to provide an ideology by which to address these social questions, and also to address state power in the age of the internationalist, neoliberal America.

A novel understanding moral libertarianism might be achieved by considering both how moral libertarianism conforms, or does not conform, to established frameworks of liberalism, and how moral libertarianism relates to its sibling ideology, social liberalism. The concept of positive & negative liberty, as proposed by Isaiah Berlin, serves as the framework which will be considered on this basis: it is a prominent description of the inner conflicts of liberalism, has been used by other scholars to describe libertarianism, and the definitions of negative liberty are

often represented by effective proxies in moral libertarian thought. The other relationship which there is to be an attempt to analyze, being the relationship between moral libertarianism and social liberalism, is eminently applicable, as historically the two have been contrasted intellectually, per the portrayal of the Rawls vs. Nozick ‘debate.’ The contrast is far from arbitrary however; social liberalism and moral libertarianism in conversation creates a fruitful binary which not only informs the positive / negative liberty framework, but also provides the necessary juxtaposition to gain insight into how the ideas of liberalism are being handled by moral libertarianism.

Isaiah Berlin’s concepts of ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ liberty has been perhaps the most influential description of the concept of liberty produced in the recent history of liberalism. Positive liberty is defined by Berlin as “freedom of ... self-direction” while negative liberty is defined as “freedom of the individual not to be interfered with within a defined area.”⁵⁴ The difference might be simplified as the freedom *to* vs. the freedom *from* respectively. Libertarians in general have been often described or characterized as exclusive proponents of negative liberty, and at times as opponents of positive liberty, as with Friedman’s account.⁵⁵ This characterization is largely correct for libertarianism in general, and is completely true within the moral libertarians.⁵⁶ However, the claim to a strict division between positive and negative liberties, when tested vigorously against both the moral libertarians and the social liberals, are undermined in ways which suggest that the difference may in fact be rhetorical. The social liberals might be considered to be positive liberty analogs to the moral libertarians. The theoretical frameworks of

⁵⁴ Isaiah Berlin, “Two Concepts of Liberty”, *Four Essays on Liberty* pg. 25

⁵⁵ Jeffrey Friedman, “What’s Wrong With Libertarianism?”, *Critical Review*, Vol. 11, Issue 3, 1997, pg. 431

⁵⁶ Rand, *For The New Intellectual*, pg. 231; Rothbard, *For A New Liberty*, pg. 26; Nozick, *Anarchy State & Utopia*, pg. 33, 176 all serve as examples of the moral libertarians advocating negative liberty.

Rawls often appeal to positive liberty, such as the original position and its premises, that “those who engage in social cooperation choose together ... the principles which are to assign basic rights and duties and to determine the division of social benefits.”⁵⁷ Rawls’ principles of justice⁵⁸ as do the programs of the New Deal and other proposals from Pres. Roosevelt. The social liberals generally might be taken as representing a platform of freedoms *to*, although in the same way as the moral libertarians, these categories fall apart. Positive liberty, and therefore the social liberals, offer a particularly compelling avenue to investigate how the categories of positive and negative liberty fail due to Berlin’s admission that: “No doubt every interpretation of the word liberty, however unusual, must include a minimum of what I have called ‘negative’ liberty. There must be an area within which I am not frustrated. No society literally suppresses all the liberties of its members; a being who is prevented by others from doing anything at all on his own is not a moral agent at all, and could not either legally or morally be regarded as a human being.”⁵⁹ The admission that negative liberty is always part of any conception of liberty belies the possibility that in the same way a positive liberty is always present in any conception of liberty, or appeal to liberty. Certain political claims from Roosevelt, and the way in which these claim are structured, demonstrate how both categories of liberty are present in any conception of liberty.

The Roosevelt presidency produced a dramatic proposal of guiding principles to guide the crafting of legislation to increase the scope of American citizenship and its entitlements, in what is known as the “Four Freedoms” speech. The rhetorical moves which are contained in the speech expose faults in the dichotomous relationship of positive and negative liberty. Of particular note is the third freedom, “the freedom from want—which, translated into world terms,

⁵⁷ John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pg. 10

⁵⁸ Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, pg. 53

⁵⁹ Berlin, “Two Concepts of Liberty”, pg. 24-25

means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants-everywhere in the world.”⁶⁰ Freedom from want as “economic understandings which will secure ... a healthy peacetime life,” has many of the trappings of a claim to positive liberty, but is expressed as negative liberty, the freedom not to be interfered with by want. Although the example may appear spurious, the claim is also verifiable in terms of the reverse, through a negative claim that is ventured through a rhetoric of positive liberty. Ayn Rand writes, “men are free to trade, with reason and reality as their only arbiter, when no man may use physical force to extort the consent of another.”⁶¹ Here not only is a positive claim ventured that is seemingly caused by negative, “men are free to trade” is actually the direct corollary of “when no man may use physical force,” but also the interchangeability and interdependence of both are placed next to one another in natural juxtaposition. “Men are free to trade” is only another way of expressing the negative version, that ‘men are free from forces which might threaten their trade.’ The negative expression, “no man may use physical force,” is synonymous with the positive form, “every man may expect to live a life free of violence. In the end, the difference between the two forms of expression, despite appealing to different liberties, convey the same meaning and achieve the same end. Also, to the same degree that the rhetoric of liberty is interchangeable, the theory of positive and negative liberty also implies interdependence. Assuming that negative and positive liberty were discrete categories, what is the rationale of liberty required to justify self-defense? As Locke configures it, the positive liberty to self-defense and punishment of criminals is derived from the negative liberty to his property, one cannot protect one’s negative

⁶⁰ Franklin D. Roosevelt, “State of the Union Address ‘The Four Freedoms’” (speech, Washington, DC, January 6, 1941) Voices of Democracy: The U.S. Oratory Project, <https://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/fdr-the-four-freedoms-speech-text/>

⁶¹ Rand, *For The New Intellectual*, pg. 24

liberty without the ability to practice the positive liberty. Of course, by the interchangeability of these categories, that relationship may be inverted. The collapse of negative liberty as discrete category does however open up for discussion how the libertarians are articulating a purist, coherent idea of property rights and the non-aggression principle. And Locke, gets around the problem of the semantics of negativity and positivity, explaining the reliance of the better half of the moral libertarian thinkers on the framework Locke provides.⁶²

The prevailing explanation of property amongst the moral libertarians is the Lockean account: “every man has a property in his own person.”⁶³ For Locke, due to the ownership of labor through self-ownership, and the ownership of possessions through the admixture of labor, all possessions are, by logical extension, of the same moral status as the individual. For Locke, labor is a sort of metaphysical process which creates a bond between the individual and anything which the individual labors upon that is either the person’s possession, or still out in the world of commons.⁶⁴ Disregarding the question of how or why it is labor which accomplishes the process of transforming common resources into own property, the relationship is clearly the movement between domains of ownership. The origin of all property is the ownership of the self, and therefore, everything that is owned is owned by extension of how labor instills a part of that original self-ownership in everything it labors upon. MacPhearson describes this doctrine in Locke as part of a larger historical idea of ‘possessive individualism,’ manifested in Locke by the condition of the individual, that “[t]he individual is proprietor of his own person, for which he

⁶² As a reminder, Rand attempts to ground property in rationality, and Nozick (to some extent) in the separateness of persons, although both author’s arguments eventually take on the form of the Lockean framework.

⁶³ Locke, *Second Treatise on Government*, pg. 11

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, pg. 11

owes nothing to society.”⁶⁵ The doctrine of possessive individualism is essentially the governing logic of the moral libertarians, and also creates a method by which the to get around the problem of the negative-positive liberty confusion. The right of self-ownership is intrinsic in such a way that it relies neither on positive nor negative liberty precisely to define how it operates, it merely is the condition of being human. From that proprietorship, one can integrate possessions into your domain by “mixing” them with your labor. In summary, the every item of property is only property in relationship to an individual. From that relationship, it might be inferred, as noted in the discussion of Nozick, that all property violations might also be understood as a violation of the individual, seeing as all property is metaphysically invested with the ‘essence’ of individual ownership by labor. The individual is also understood as being the property of itself, and as property, the individual exists within the same moral category as possessions. The present danger of equating human beings to property at the level of moral categories is that attempts to create a framework for thinking about how to evaluate moral violations already presumes some equivalency between individuals and their property. This summation of the problems of the Lockean system has already been examined in the study of Nozick, focusing on the problem of moral weight. But the outstanding question is why the philosophy of the moral libertarians cannot discard Locke and the accompanying problems.

The Lockean labor theory of property inadvertently renders both person and possession into the category of property, and the equivalency that is created when both of those things enter into the same category is actually useful for the moral libertarian ideology. The morality of the politics of redistribution are fundamentally premised on a moral difference between person and

⁶⁵ C.B. MacPhearson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1962, pg. 269

property, in the sense that person has a moral priority over property. Welfare programs, land reforms, and other projects of redistribution rely on the ability to tax citizens or otherwise appropriate varying degrees of their property for the sake of bettering the conditions of other people. To be able to stake a claim against that sort of redistribution, an equivalency between person and property creates a logic in which social welfare cannot be asserted as a greater concern than the right of property. By incorporating the individual into property as a moral category, the Lockean model of property argues the inviolacy of possessions by rendering them indistinguishable from the value of a human life. The moral libertarians require exactly what the self-ownership schema of Locke offers: the intertwining of intrinsic rights, and a concept of property which has moral importance, in this case by elevating possessions to the moral stakes of the human body, and life. Property, as the primary right of Locke and his moral libertarian grandchildren, both ambiguates the lines between person and possession morally, while also elevating possession to the level of personhood, granting possessions moral importance, and also implying through the totalizing category that personhood is at stake in possession. The consequences of Locke's argument are not apparent until the point at which laws must be arranged so as to account for moral violations. The groundwork of Lockeanism, that seems to render the individual indistinguishable from their property, leaves no meaningful guideline for devising laws, except by providing some sort of exceptional quality to that first self-ownership. However, even in the case of an exception for the "first ownership" of the person, separating the owner from the property, such an argument would undermine the framework of Lockean property, as it would remove the source for property acquisition. There the Hegelian iteration of the argument returns, separating the individual from property, but also creating the basic notion

that the individual cannot be evaluated or generated on the sole basis of property or of self-ownership. That problem is not necessarily some absolute metaphysical concern, but that in the course of creating a liberal society, the methods and systems by which liberalism produces legal systems or how liberal citizens conceive their own rights are going to be inevitably rooted in how the generally accepted moral status of people, possession, and property which have been established.

Thoughts on Moral Libertarianism & Ideology

Moral libertarianism has always been established in a binary between itself and social liberalism, as matter of historical proximity, and of disagreement in theory and policy. However, the binary relationship between moral libertarianism and social liberalism is not a relationship of pure opposition. As evidenced by the inadequacy of the negative liberty / positive liberty schema in describing the divide between moral libertarianism and social liberalism, the relationship is defined largely by shared principles. Broadly, the ideologies⁶⁶ share the fundamental principles of liberalism, namely equal rights, freedom of the individual, and (to differing extents) competitive markets. Rothbard appears to be a problematic edge case, but deeper consideration of the project of Rothbard reveals that Rothbard is not so far ideologically removed from liberalism. Firstly, the stateless society that Rothbard describes performs essentially the same functions as a liberal society with a state. Secondly, anarcho-capitalism, also advocates essentially the same political principles (rights, freedom, markets) as the general liberalism, but

⁶⁶ Ideology is here used to loosely refer to an organized system of political thought.

differs strongly in considerations of implementation. The general ideology of liberalism bridges the two poles of the binary.

Understanding the poles of the binary as being connected in this way outlines an intimate network of relationship which can be described as a single parent ideology which is related to two sub-ideologies, which are in turn related to each other by their shared heritage. The intimacy of these ideologies might be described as an intimacy in the sense that they largely share basic political principles in such a way that there are premises which can be taken as universal within the whole network. However, liberalism, as the parent ideology, passes down these universal principles to the two sub-ideologies, or at least defines what makes up ‘universal’ principles within the network. Therefore the relationships are actually defined by the hierarchy of theory in which liberalism is the dominant ideology. By virtue of the hierarchy governing the whole network of relationships, what the sub-ideologies are doing in relationship to the parent ideology might be reframed.

In relationship to the dominant parent ideology, the question arises whether or not the sub-ideologies constitute legitimately independent ideologies, or if these sub-ideologies are too dependent on the parent ideology for determining their principles to be considered anything other than ‘extensions’ of the parent ideology. The ambiguity of the idea of an extension clears the way to think about these ‘ideologies’ as relating to or interfacing with ‘proper’ ideologies (such as liberalism) in ways which ask important questions about the definition of ideology and their formation. The possibility which will be argued for here is the possibility of moral libertarianism and social liberalisms as ‘ethics’ of liberalism.⁶⁷ Ethics here is not equivalent to deontology, the

⁶⁷ The use of ‘ethics’ here is specifically not related to ethics in the sense of moral theory, but rather ethics is being used loosely to refer to how these ‘ideologies’ attempt to make claims about *how* and *why* the political practices of some other ideology should be established and carried out in a certain way.

signature argumentative method of the moral libertarians. Ethics here would refer to the way in which moral libertarianism and social liberalism lodge claims to how liberalism *ought* to be practiced, while still essentially agreeing on the basic principles which define liberalism. There are some indications in the moral libertarian literature that the authors considered themselves to be, in certain ways, relating to liberalism according to this model. Rand appeals to a return, then a surpassing of the political vision of the liberal Founding Fathers,⁶⁸ and Rothbard actually refers to the liberalism of Locke as “libertarian classical liberalism,” and early liberalism as a “radical libertarian” doctrine.⁶⁹ In both cases, the author establishes a relationship to liberalism as a predecessor, or a parent ideology, to their own.

However, describing moral libertarianism as an ethics of liberalism only generates further questions, and the idea of an ethics of an ideology in general demand the establishment of conditions so as to define and clarify the difference between an ethics and an ideology. The idea of an ethics is fundamentally premised on the idea of an extension of a certain ideology, which is to say that its own claims are based in another ideology, but what original contributions are made by the ethics do not constitute a new ideology. The problem may be that there cannot be a quantitative point at which an ideology has sufficiently developed itself so as to become independent of any sort of parent ideology, or other existing ideology. In such a case, the point of distinction may instead be qualitative. Plausibly, an ethics could be defined as any system of thought which makes claims to how a separate ideology is practiced or thought about without modifying the basic principles or pretensions of that ideology. The point at which it becomes an

⁶⁸ Rand, *For The New Intellectual*, pg. 23-24

⁶⁹ Rothbard, *For A New Liberty*, pg. 3

independent ideology could then be defined as the point at which a system of thought, say moral libertarianism, actually modifies the majority of basic principles or pretensions.

The applications of such an idea might hold repercussions in the area of studying culture, hegemony, or the development of politics. The claim, that moral libertarianism is not itself an independent ideology from liberalism, casts the entire project of libertarianism in a new light, as it both binds the ideology more closely to liberalism, and also denies the ability of libertarianism, as it stands, to transcend liberalism, it will always be replicating the paradigm of liberalism. The difference between an ethics and an ideology, if valid, might imply other potentially worthwhile lines of study, but until that point only provides the function of demonstrating one form of the relationship of libertarianism and liberalism.

Conclusion

The moral libertarians, simply, represent the sect of deontological libertarians who sought to argue the case of libertarianism from the point of the individual. The philosophical distrust of the state which is shared between the whole of the movement is tied closely to the dependency of the whole group upon the model of rights and freedom which Locke espoused, and similarly to Locke, the moral libertarians only ever concede to the state as source of protection from aggression. In a sense, the moral libertarians were merely re-articulators of Locke for a situation which seemed to demand it. Such is the extent of the relationship between the libertarians and the godfather of liberalism. However, Nozick, Rothbard, and Rand all equally pushed at the boundaries of libertarian tradition, and sought to introduce new ways of thinking in the logic of property and non-aggression.

The moral libertarians, although they achieved neither the sort of mass support required to transform political society in America, nor some titanic party to challenge the American regime (and perhaps that is by their nature) still produced an ideology whose repercussions continue to ricochet throughout American politics. Contemporary politics, from the question of gay marriage to marijuana legalization to the wars in the Middle East have all incorporated the argumentative forms of the moral libertarians. Regardless of the precision of the ideological correspondence between the libertarians and the political agents mimicking their ideas and methods, there has been some successful transfer to the sphere of mainstream ideas those ideals that were championed by the moral libertarians. Even Rand's relatively unformed ideology of selfishness continues to influence modern capitalists, entrepreneurs, and politicians, a formidable

and influential social reach for the goddess of the market. The Koch Brothers have spent millions of dollars lobbying on behalf of libertarian changes in the structure not only of the Republican party but of institutions and individuals all across America. Those brothers, who are nothing more than two millionaires interested in smaller government have still wrought more change than the most organized efforts of the malevolent State. They have wielded the State against itself, and still have done more to demonstrate the evils of the private realm than Rothbard could ever have imagined. Perhaps, in the most idyllic libertarian imagination, their machinations would mark the coming of some more free world, but their money passes through too many dark passages to maintain any false optimism. The libertarianism which has contorted itself fill the gaps in the ideology of modern liberalism does not fit the lofty profile of its founders.

And yet, libertarians are seemingly the only ideology of the modern right which maintain a progressive notion of human freedom. Consideration of the other ideologies of the American right-wing yields an array of truly conservative political movements : the neoconservatives, the nationalist-populists, and the Evangelical Christian block. The neoconservatives offer strong-arm foreign interventionism which is fundamentally based on the willingness to commit to extraordinary brash endeavors of violence and *Realpolitik*, in the name of ensuring continued American hegemony. The nationalist-populists clamor for the strengthening of the state, so as to be able to halt immigration, solidify the borders, and return the country to a glorious past in which it was mighty and triumphant. The Christian right is defined by an urgent desire for regulation of the social sphere by the state, seeking control of abortion, marriage, and education, while also advocating interventionism for the purpose of economically and militaristically supporting Israel. The moral libertarian position, from whichever point it is approached,

renounces global hegemony, borders, regulation of any free exchange between adults, wars overseas (or at home) and, most of all, the expansion of state powers which is meant to enact it all. The libertarians, as noxious as their ideology might appear to critics of capitalism, fundamentally believe in the possibility of human freedom to be extended, and the reform of society along lines of evidently true critiques. The American State does sacrifice the lives of thousand of faceless foreigners to the machine of global hegemony. The American State does, inadvertently or otherwise, create regulations which protect large business interests, stabilizing the economic status quo and preventing the disruption of a political-economic order in which the lines between politician and businessman are permeable. The American State does subject its citizens to humiliation, obstruction, and violence, often without recognition, recompensation, or even an expressed will to change. The liberal right at large blinds itself to these critiques, while the libertarian faction refuses to look away.

The libertarian movement at large has charted progress in diverse ways, but the moral libertarians provided a framework for libertarian principles to be directed towards the specific end of reforming targeted social ills. There is no attempt here to create a non-rhetorical or absolute definition of progress. But at the very minimum, moral libertarianism is progressive in comparison to the other right wing ideologies which it shares political space with, who consistently demonstrate a politics of open hierarchy, casual violence, exclusion of minorities, and otherwise solidifying the power of traditional institutions. The moral libertarians at the very least appear progressive by contrast, offering a right wing ideology opposed to state violence, opposed to state control over individual lives, in favor of the expansion of the rights of the individual and the abundance of freedom. The moral libertarians, as critics of the state, are

wholly progressive in the context of any ethical violations by the state, although notably failing to meet standards of progressive discourse when redistributive economic justice is concerned. In the more rarefied strains of Rothbard's economic analysis however, a trend towards a more even economic redistribution is even assumed once the support structures which have been erected between big business and government have been removed.⁷⁰ Perhaps with the exception of Rand, the moral libertarians do not offer a vision of an economically stratified society, only one in which the government does not regulate free economic exchange. However, the circumstantial accounts cannot be treated as more than conjecture, at least until an organized libertarian movement is able to grab ahold of political power.

The Libertarian Party of the United States, perhaps the largest attempt at organizing on behalf of the libertarian ideology, is dominated by the ideology of moral libertarianism, building a platform which is a sort of synthesis of the thinkers of the moral libertarian generation. The party offers a series of platform positions on its website which might be dissected so as to reveal their heritage. From the section 'Personal Liberty': "Individuals are inherently free to make choices for themselves and must accept responsibility for the consequences of the choices they make. [...] No individual, group, or government may rightly initiate force against any other individual, group, or government. Libertarians reject the notion that groups have inherent rights. We support the rights of the smallest minority, the individual." The non-aggression axiom, what Rothbard considered to be the central idea of libertarianism, is unequivocally stated, not as belief, but as fact, as axiom, as ethical truth. Rights are reserved for the individual, denying the collective any rights at all, referencing not only Rothbard's abstract societies, but more generally

⁷⁰ Rothbard, *For A New Liberty*, pg. 387-388

the invectives of Rand against the ungrateful masses. Taking ‘responsibility for consequences’ is a moral behavior which Rand directly endorses,⁷¹ and which Rothbard asserts as a matter of course. Another quotation delves further into the relationship between individual and government: “The protection of individual rights is the only proper purpose of government. Government is constitutionally limited so as to prevent the infringement of individual rights by the government itself. The principle of non-initiation force should guide the relationships between governments.” The retention of the government diverges from the anarchist tendencies of Rothbard and directs the political ambitions of the party towards the modified liberalism which defined the philosophies of Rand and Nozick. The framework of constitutional limitations grounds the party in the American context, and also provides a coherent, pragmatic grounds upon which to maintain the stability of the political vision which Nozick outlined in depth.

The Libertarian Party in many ways may be a sign of changing tides for the modern libertarian movement. The party has almost doubled in size since 2008, the aforementioned presidential candidate Gary Johnson was involved in a record presidential campaign for the libertarians, and if growth trends continue, automatic debate access could be triggered. The party stands, bound up in the systems of thought which the moral libertarianism created, and woefully understudied even as they emerge more and more visibly onto the American political scene. The future, past, and present of the libertarian movement must continue to be studied, and the moral libertarians understood, not as outsiders, but as the children of liberalism. Further interrogation of the relationships of parentage between what are thought of as distinct ideologies, and the history of development in the thought of as-yet unstudied moral libertarians, would serve greatly

⁷¹ Rand, *For The New Intellectual*, pg. 112-113

to benefit the general understanding of how libertarianism emerges at a conceptual level, and thus how to understand libertarianism as it unfolds, and ideology generally.

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Libertarianism, Climate Change, and Individual Responsibility

Olle Torpman^{1,2,3} 

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Abstract

Much has been written about climate change from an ethical view in general, but less has been written about it from a libertarian point of view in particular. In this paper, I apply the libertarian moral theory to the problem of climate change. I focus on libertarianism's implications for our individual emissions. I argue that (i) even if our individual emissions cause no harm to others, these emissions cross other people's boundaries, (ii) although the boundary-crossings that are due to our 'subsistence emissions' are implicitly consented to by others, there is no such consent to our 'non-subsistence emissions', and (iii) there is no independent justification for these emissions. Although offsetting would provide such a justification, most emitters do not offset their non-subsistence emissions. Therefore, these emissions violate people's rights, which means that they are impermissible according to libertarianism's non-aggression principle.

Keywords Libertarianism · Non-aggression principle · Boundary-crossings · Individual emissions · Offsetting · Individual climate responsibility

Introduction

Climate change threatens much of what we value, for which reason it raises several ethical questions. Do humans have a responsibility to prevent climate change? If so, on whom does this responsibility fall? Although much has been said on the ethics of climate change in general, less has been said about climate change from a *libertarian* standpoint in particular. My aim in this paper is to make a contribution in this respect, by applying libertarianism to the problem of climate change. I

✉ Olle Torpman
olle.torpman@philosophy.su.se

¹ Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Uppsala, Sweden

² Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden

³ Institute for Futures Studies, Stockholm, Sweden

focus on libertarianism's implications for our individual responsibilities regarding climate change. More precisely, I study libertarianism's implications regarding our individual emissions.

There are several reasons why libertarianism is of interest in connection to climate change. First, many are attracted to libertarianism's core idea that individuals have rights and that those rights are what fundamentally determine right action. Arguments based on this view are common in the climate debate—not least from right-wing politicians. Second, the moral aspects of climate change have so far been studied mainly from consequentialist and welfare-based perspectives, which are perspectives that libertarians reject. Third, when something is said about libertarianism and climate change, it is often taken as a defense of such things as private property, free markets, or business as usual—which are all closely linked to climate *inaction*.¹

Moreover, libertarianism focuses on *individual* actions while climate change is the result of *joint* human emissions. Indeed, it seems that none of the harms caused by climate change are attributable to particular individuals. One could see this as posing a problem for libertarianism in relation to climate change, since, as argued by Dan C. Shahar (2009, p. 234), '...much of the concern regarding climate change cannot be reconciled with a rights-oriented paradigm'. This problem is also highlighted by contemporary libertarian Matt Zwolinski (2014), who dubs it 'the problem of *interconnectedness*', which he thinks is raised against libertarianism by environmental pollution in general:

[The] exclusive focus on the outcome of individual actions leaves many of the most serious problems posed by environmental pollution entirely unaddressed. [...] Any particular action by an individual, considered in itself, makes only a minuscule contribution to the overall problem. Either no one is harmed at all by such actions (the harm resulting only once the cumulative amount of pollution crosses a certain threshold), or the harm produced is minimal (becoming significant only when it is added up with all the other harms resulting from other individuals' actions). Intuitively, a morality of individual rights ought to have something to say about actions of this sort. (2014, pp. 16–17)

In this paper, I argue that libertarianism has something quite substantial to say about actions of this sort. As we shall see, libertarianism gives us reasons to pay serious attention even to our individual emissions.

Although it has been argued by others already that climate change infringes rights, not much has been said about *how* this is so in detail from a libertarian point of view. Also, comparatively little has been said about the concrete *recommendations* that libertarianism yields in view of such a verdict. This paper aims to make a contribution in both of these respects, by providing a clear explanation as to *why* our emissions violate rights, and *what* we concretely should do about it.

¹ To quote Jonathan Adler, '[c]onservative politicians, libertarian thinkers, and market-oriented policy experts typically argue that the best response to the risk of climate change is to do little or nothing' (2009, p. 297). One exception to this trend is the work of the Niskanen Center: www.niskanencenter.org. See also see Dolan (2006), Shahar (2009), and Dawson (2011).

The structure of the paper is as follows. In ‘[The Basics of Libertarianism](#)’, I explain the core concepts of libertarianism and spell out its non-aggression principle. In ‘[Do our Emissions Cross People’s Boundaries?](#)’ and ‘[Are Our Emissions Justified for Independent Reasons?](#)’, I investigate whether our individual emissions violate this principle. In ‘[Some Objections and Replies](#)’, I respond to some arguments that can be raised against my view. In ‘[Conclusion](#)’, I conclude that our non-subsistence emissions do violate people’s rights, and that they are therefore impermissible according to libertarianism.

The Basics of Libertarianism

There are many different kinds of libertarian theories discussed in the philosophical literature.² In this paper, I discuss libertarianism exclusively as a *basic* moral theory—i.e. in competition with utilitarianism, Kantianism, virtue ethics, etc. Hence, I shall not address forms of libertarianism derived from other moral theories (e.g. utilitarianism, ethical egoism, or contractarianism). Nor shall I discuss libertarianism considered as a *political* theory.³

One of the most fundamental ideas of the libertarian moral theory is that individuals possess *moral self-ownership*. To possess moral self-ownership is, on one description, to possess the same moral rights to oneself as a slave owner has legal rights to his slaves or as a legal owner of an inanimate object has legal rights to that object.⁴ In accordance with this idea, you, and no one else but you, have the right to decide over your body and your choices in your life.

Libertarianism also comes with the idea that individuals may gain moral ownership over *external* resources (i.e. extra-personal resources)—such as land, minerals, water, air, etc. However, rights to external resources must somehow be acquired (which the right to ourselves must not).⁵ All libertarians accept some kind of theory on how this is done. In the words of contemporary libertarian Bas van der Vossen: ‘[S]ince persons can be justified in having property rights, they must be able to appropriate’ (2009, p. 368).

Libertarianism maintains that moral ownership of an entity (oneself or one’s external property) consists of a set of *rights* over that entity. As this implies, the notion of rights is central in the libertarian tradition.

² Brennan (2012) brings a broad variety of such views up for discussion. See also Mack (2011) for a brief history of libertarian theorizing.

³ However, I will consider arguments from such views in case they are relevant to my discussion.

⁴ See, for instance, Cohen (1995, p. 68), Kymlicka (2002, p. 108), Vallentyne (2009a, p. 4) and Narveson (2013, pp. 375–376).

⁵ See Mack (2010, p. 54).

The Libertarian Notion of Rights

In the entry ‘Libertarianism’ (2014) in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Peter Vallentyne and Bas van der Vossen claim that the libertarian rights amount to rights of *control* (over the use of the entity, both a liberty-right to use it and a claim-right that others not use it), *compensation* (as rectification for whenever someone uses the entity without one’s permission), *enforcement* (e.g. pre-emptive rights of prior restraint if someone is about to violate these rights), *transfer* (of these rights to others by sale, rental, loan, or gift), and *immunity* (to the non-consensual loss of these rights). As we will see below, it is the control-right and the compensation-right that are of most interest in the case of climate change. Hence, these rights will be our focus in this paper.

It should be emphasized that libertarianism is concerned with *moral* rights, as opposed to *legal* rights. In other words, libertarianism holds that people bear their rights irrespective of whether these rights are recognized by any legal system. Moreover, libertarianism basically endorses only *negative* rights (i.e. rights to *non-interference*). The idea of universal self-ownership is inconsistent with basic positive rights (i.e. rights to assistance), since such rights would obligate individuals to actively serve as means to other individuals’ ends, which would infringe on the former individuals’ self-ownership. As libertarian Jan Narveson (2013, p. 382) puts it, ‘[a] positive right, by definition, cuts further into our liberty than the corresponding negative one: if you are *forced* to help others in need, then you do not have your choice whether to help them’. According to libertarianism, no adult individual initially has any right to any sort of positive treatment or aid from others.⁶

As indicated in ‘Introduction’, libertarianism is an *individualist* approach. This means that only individual people count as moral agents and rights-bearers. The individualist stance comes with a so-called *person-affecting restriction*, according to which all rights and duties are at bottom *personal*. This means that if an action is wrong, it involves the wronging of *someone*. If no one has been wronged, then no moral wrongdoing has occurred. As this suggests, libertarianism takes *the separateness of persons* seriously: A person’s rights (duties) are *her* rights (duties) and may not be substituted, transferred or counterbalanced by or to anyone else’s rights (duties) without her permission. Robert Nozick expresses this idea as follows:

There are only individual people, different individual people, with their own individual lives. [...] The moral side constraints upon what we may do, I claim, reflect the fact of our separate existences [...] There is no justified sacrifice of some of us for others. This root idea, namely, that there are different individuals with separate lives and so no one may be sacrificed for others, underlies the existence of moral side constraints. (1974, p. 33)⁷

⁶ See also Mack (2010, p. 62): ‘the natural right to self-ownership rules out persons’ being born to positive obligations to deliver goods or services or desirable practices to others’. Note that the compensation right is in one sense a positive right. However, since it is *conditional* on the prior violation of other rights, it is not *basic*.

⁷ See also Mack (2010, pp. 58–59).

As will be clear below, this individualist tenet of libertarianism has some interesting implications with respect to the possibility of compensating those individuals whose rights we violate. It also implies that no person initially has any duty to correct for any other person's wrongdoings.

Summing up so far, the libertarian principle can be formulated as the

Non-Aggression Principle: An act is morally permissible if and only if, and because, it does not violate anyone's rights.⁸

As the non-aggression principle entails, libertarianism is a view regarding side-constraints—i.e. it does not prescribe that we minimize rights-violations, but only that we do not violate any rights. What it means to violate a right remains to be answered.

What is a Rights-Violation?

An interesting feature of libertarianism is that it does not take rights-violations to stem from harms, but rather from *infringements*. It is thus possible to harm someone without violating her rights (e.g. punching someone in a boxing match), and it is possible to violate someone's rights without harming her (e.g. breaking into someone's house without them ever noticing). Within the libertarian framework, 'infringement' is understood partly in terms of 'boundary-crossing'.⁹ The idea is that individuals have moral boundaries that surround all and only that which make up their respective legitimate territories—i.e. themselves and their external property. In that sense, the rights of a person are determined by the boundary of that person's moral territory, and to violate her rights implies crossing her boundary.

In order for a person's boundary to be crossed, she must be subject to some kind of effect. Libertarianism originally comes with a very strict view on personal boundaries and the effects these allow for. As Vallentyne and van der Vossen argue:

Recognizing people's rights as full self-owners means condemning as wrongful even very minor infringements, such as when tiny bits of pollution fall upon an unconsenting person. [...] [F]rom the point of view of self-ownership, there is no principled difference between minor infringements and major infringements. (2014, p. 8)

In line with this idea, people's boundaries are sensitive to *any* interference whatsoever. Any physical intervention on one's legitimate territory—such as a fist, bullet, light wave, sound wave, molecule, etc.—*is* a boundary-crossing.¹⁰ As Peter Railton notes in a critical paper, strict libertarians 'do not say that whether a border is wrongfully crossed depends upon the magnitude of the effect' (1985, p. 196). In

⁸ See Nozick (1974, p. 34), Block (2004), Vallentyne (2007b), and Mack (2010, p. 59).

⁹ See, for instance, Nozick (1974, pp. 57–59), Elliot (1986), Sobel (2012), and Mack (2015). Sometimes 'impingement', 'trespassing' and 'transgression' are used synonymously to 'boundary-crossing'. However, the other constitutive part of infringement is *lack of consent*, which is explained below.

¹⁰ See also Vallentyne (2007b) and (2011).

the words of David Sobel, another critic, the libertarian view thus appears to allow a ‘simple and powerful argument against a range of activity without requiring an investigation into the significance of the infringement’ (2012, p. 34).

This, however, might sound implausible. It seems to open up for any action being a rights-violation. However, it is only *agential* interferences that count as boundary-crossings—i.e. interferences that stem from a moral agent. Effects from non-agential causes—such as from the sun, from an earthquake, or from a volcanic activity—do not count. Moreover, boundary-crossing is not sufficient for rights-violation. To infringe upon someone is to cross her boundaries *without her consent*. As Nozick (1974, p. 58) writes: ‘voluntary consent opens the border for crossings’.¹¹ In other words, this means that someone’s action does not amount to an infringement if the individuals whose boundaries are crossed by this action permit that crossing. In the real world, people often consent to many sorts of boundary-crossings. These are therefore unproblematic from a libertarian point of view.

Interestingly, ‘consent’ and ‘dissent’ may not only refer to *explicit* consent/dissent, but also to *implicit* consent/dissent. The usual way to spell out implicit consent is by reference to the actions people themselves perform and the conventions in which they take part. If a person autonomously chooses to enter a situation, aware of the rules and constituents of this situation, then she implicitly consents to these rules and constituents—even if she has not explicitly consented to them. Similarly, one could say that when an individual freely performs an action of a certain type, she implicitly consents to others performing actions of that same type.

In the words of David Friedman, the relevance of implicit consent implies that ‘by breathing and turning on lights and doing other things that impose tiny costs on others I am implicitly giving them permission to do the same to me’ (2014: §41).¹² Surely, when it comes to implicit consent, a person’s conduct amounts to such just in case she also knows what she is doing.¹³ As we shall see below, this has some interesting implications in the climate case.

So, boundary-crossing without consent equals infringement. But are all infringements rights-violations? There is a discussion among libertarians whether there might sometimes be overriding justifications for infringing on people’s rights.¹⁴ The motivation for this is captured in the following passage by Judith J. Thomson (1986):

Suppose a man has a right that something or other shall be the case; let us say that he has a right that p , where p is some statement or other, and now sup-

¹¹ See also Mack (2010, p. 61).

¹² Cf. Thomson (1975).

¹³ See Huemer (2013, pp. 37–38). This is not all there is to say about the role of consent within the libertarian framework. There is, for instance, a remaining problem regarding cases where people can neither implicitly nor explicitly consent/dissent to the actions that affect them. Many medical cases are of this kind, see Arneson (2005, p. 271). For more general cases, see Mack (2015, p. 217). One way of dealing with this problem is to take into consideration not only people’s *choices* but also their *interests*. Vallentyne (2007a, p. 193) proposes such an idea, lending room for people’s interests being lexically inferior to their choices. See Wall (2009) for problems with this proposal. However, I will not employ this idea further in this paper.

¹⁴ See Shahar (2009, p. 224).

pose we make p false. So, for example, if his right is that he is not punched in the nose, we make that false, that is, we bring about that he *is* punched in the nose. Then, as I shall say, we *infringe* his right. But I shall say that we *violate* his right if and only if we do not merely infringe his right, but more, are acting wrongly, unjustly in doing so. (1986, p. 40)

What can then be seen as potential justifiers for infringements in this respect? Relevant factors discussed in the literature are:

- (a) *Unavoidability*. The most obvious justifier is provided by the principle that ‘ought’ implies ‘can’. It entails that if an agent cannot avoid infringing on someone’s rights, then the agent does not act impermissibly when doing so.
- (b) *Avoidance of catastrophe*. Nozick, for instance, speculates that one might be justified in infringing on other people’s rights in order ‘to avoid catastrophic moral horror’ (1974, p. 30, n.). Narveson similarly speaks about cases of ‘preventing the heavens falling’ (2013, p. 374).
- (c) *Unforeseeability*. Peter Vallentyne, Hillel Steiner, and Michael Otsuka (2005, p. 207), as well as Sobel (2012, p. 51), discuss whether an infringement does not amount to a rights-violation if the agent performing the action could not have foreseen the infringement.
- (d) *Self-defense*. The enforcement right (mentioned above) involves a right to self-defense. This right implies that a defender’s infringing action does not amount to a rights-violation on part of the aggressor, if the action is performed merely in self-defense.¹⁵
- (e) *Compensation*. Another possibility discussed in the libertarian literature is that an infringement need not be a rights-violation given that those whose boundaries are crossed without consent are compensated for this crossing.¹⁶

The general idea is that whenever there is justification of any relevant kind, the infringement (i.e. unconsented boundary-crossing) does not amount to a rights-violation and hence it is not impermissible on libertarianism.¹⁷ Thus, only unjustified infringements count as rights-violations.

In the remainder of this paper, I will investigate whether our individual emissions violate people’s rights. I start, in ‘[Do our Emissions Cross People’s Boundaries?](#)’, by investigating whether our individual emissions cross the boundaries of other people. In ‘[Do our Emissions Cross People’s Boundaries Without Their Consent?](#)’, I then discuss whether that is done with or without their consent. In ‘[Are Our Emissions Justified for Independent Reasons?](#)’, I investigate whether there are any independent libertarian justifications for our emissions.

¹⁵ Cf. Railton (1985, p. 190, n. 8).

¹⁶ See Nozick (1974, Ch. 4).

¹⁷ Consider, for instance, Thomson (1977), Kagan (1994), and Vallentyne (2009b, 2011).

Do our Emissions Cross People's Boundaries?

Although early libertarian thinkers were unaware of the link between greenhouse gas emissions and climate change, they were aware of the moral problems concerning air pollution in general. In his book *New Liberty* (1973), pioneering libertarian Murray Rothbard devotes an entire chapter, 'Conservation, Ecology, and Growth', to environmental problems. There he specifically discusses air pollution:

The vital fact about air pollution is that the polluter sends unwanted and unbidden pollutants—from smoke to nuclear radiation to sulfur oxides—through the air and into the lungs of innocent victims, as well as onto their material property. All such emanations which injure person or property constitute aggression against the private property of the victims. Air pollution, after all, is just as much aggression as committing arson against another's property or injuring him physically. Air pollution that injures others is aggression pure and simple. (1973, p. 319)

In connection to this, Rothbard quotes another early libertarian thinker, Robert Poole, who makes a similar observation in his "Reason and Ecology" (1972).¹⁸ Poole first defines 'pollution' as 'the transfer of harmful matter or energy to the person or property of another, without the latter's consent' (1972, p. 245). He then argues that '[a] libertarian society would be a full-liability society, where everyone is fully responsible for his actions and any harmful consequences they might cause' (1972, p. 253). Shortly thereafter, Robert Nozick—presumably the most well-known of all libertarians—characterized 'pollution' as 'the dumping of negative effects upon other people's property such as their houses, clothing and lungs, and upon unowned things which people benefit from, such as a clean and beautiful sky' (1974, p. 77).

On the basis of these passages, it is tempting to conclude that libertarianism deems air pollution impermissible in general, and since greenhouse gas emissions are a form of air pollution, libertarianism deems greenhouse gas emissions impermissible too. However, greenhouse gas emissions differ from other air pollutions such as 'nuclear radiation' and 'sulfur oxides'. While individually caused pollution of the latter kinds might harm people directly, it is questionable whether our individual emissions of mere greenhouse gasses might do so. As mentioned above, climate change is the result of *joint* human action. Moreover, thresholds and tipping points in the climatic system suggest that the total effects of our joint emissions amount to more than the aggregated effects of our separate emissions.¹⁹ For this reason, one might be tempted to think that our individual emissions do not cross people's boundaries, and that they hence do not give rise to any rights-violations. At a closer look, however, things are more complex.

¹⁸ My quotations of Poole are taken from Rothbard (1973, pp. 324–326).

¹⁹ See IPCC (2014, pp. 39–54), Cook et al. (2013), Rockström et al. (2009), and Steffen et al. (2007).

The Ways in Which Our Emissions Cross Other People's Boundaries

Some authors—for instance, John Broome (2012, pp. 50–59), Avram Hiller (2011, pp. 59–60), and John Nolt (2011)—have argued that even individuals' emissions cause harm to others. They have done this by taking the estimated total harm that is the result of human-induced climate change, and dividing this by the total amount of emissions, and then estimating the proportional climate impact of each individual emitter. The calculation says that the harm caused by each individual emitter is serious. To quote Broome (2012, p. 56), 'the annual emissions of one single person living in a rich country shorten people's lives by a few days in total'. In the words of Hiller (2011, p. 357), 'the [emitting] actions of a full life of an American seriously harm the full life of one person'. If these claims are correct, then the emissions of a rich individual apparently make a difference that counts as boundary-crossing according to libertarianism.

It could be objected that this line of argumentation involves an aggregation, and a reference to average numbers, that is at odds with libertarianism. Broome, for instance, assumes that 'a great many miniscule, imperceptible harms add up to a serious harm' (2012, p. 75). But to shorten the lives of billions of people by a fragment of a second each is not identical to shorten *one particular individual's* life by a few days in total. Such an aggregated harm is not suffered by any particular person, and is therefore *not* relevant to libertarianism.

In response to this, however, it should be noted that even miniscule and imperceptible harms are harms. And if individuals' emissions cause such harm to other people, then their emissions amount to boundary-crossings. In this respect, it should be mentioned that fossil fuel-based energy production generates a number of additional pollutants that affect people more directly than carbon dioxide molecules. Moreover, an individual's emissions might sometimes take us over the climate thresholds, and thus give rise to quite substantial harms. This seems to hold at least for those people who emit massively—e.g. Saudi oil tycoons or CEOs of multinational corporations who fly around the world in private jets.²⁰

It is, however, a quite complicated task to determine whether or not an individual's emissions give rise to harm. As we saw in '[The Basics of Libertarianism](#)', however, rights-violations do not fundamentally derive from harms, but from infringements. Thus, it is in the present context possible to sidestep the notion of harm and still be able to assess people's emissions from a libertarian point of view. As I will argue below, the libertarian notion of boundary-crossing suggests that our individual emissions—irrespective of any resulting harm—cross the boundaries of at least some other people. If it can *also* be argued that our individual emissions cause harm, then this will strengthen the upshot of this section: that our individual emissions amount to boundary-crossings.

The main reason for counting our emissions as boundary-crossings on libertarian standards is that they are physical signals that come into contact with other people and their property. One might think that a notion of boundary-crossing with these

²⁰ See Chancel and Piketty (2015) and Kagan (2011).

implications is *too* sensitive, since it opens up for the moral wrongness of a vast number of actions. Indeed, this seems to fit poorly with the core ideas of libertarianism. As stated by Sobel: ‘Could the philosophical theory named for liberty actually turn out to be unacceptably restrictive of our freedom?’ (2012, p. 37).

In the next sub-section, I explore the ways in which libertarians could address this issue. I argue that they all fail, and that we therefore should accept that emissions are boundary-crossing.

How Libertarians Might Argue That Our Emissions Do *Not* Cross Other People’s Boundaries

In his book *The Machinery of Freedom* (2014: §41), David Friedman claims that ‘[i]t seems obvious that we want property rules that prohibit trespass by thousand megawatt laser beams and machine-gun bullets but not by flashlights and individual carbon dioxide molecules. But how, in principle, do you decide where along that continuum the rights of the property owner stop?’ One answer, discussed by Friedman himself, is that only *significant* boundary-crossings should count. He does not specify what would count as significant, but it suggests a strengthened notion of boundary-crossing that is less sensitive to external influence.

Perhaps such a strengthening could be made along the lines of Rothbard, who claims that ‘[a]ir pollution [...] of gasses or particles that are *invisible* or *undetectable* by the senses should not constitute aggression per se, because being insensible they do not interfere with the owner’s possession or use’ (1982, p. 83, my emphases). Since separate individuals’ greenhouse gas emissions are precisely of this sort—invisible and undetectable—one could argue that they should not count as boundary-crossings.²¹

However, this proposal is inconsistent with some of the core beliefs in the libertarian tradition. It might avoid some problems with minor infringements, but only at the cost of creating new problems. For instance, it has the implication that many clearly problematic actions—such as physically molesting a sleeping person who is incapable of detecting this—do *not* amount to boundary-crossings, and hence will not be wrong on libertarianism. Also, exposing ignorant people to nuclear radiation, that cannot be seen or detected by their senses, would not be boundary-crossing. But, intuitively, such acts *should* count as boundary-crossing on libertarianism.

Eric Mack (2015) has come up with a defense of a refinement in the location of boundaries that is supposed to avoid these problems. His basic idea is that having a right to something, X, implies a right to some *use* of X. If that were not the case, Mack argues, we would end up with a ‘hog-tying problem’, as we would then be prohibited from doing almost anything. For that reason, he postulates an ‘elbow room for rights’. According to this postulate, ‘a reasonable delineation of basic moral rights must be such that the claim-rights that are ascribed to individuals do not systematically preclude people from exercising the liberty-rights that the claim-rights

²¹ This argument is also stressed by Block (2011, p 5).

are supposed to protect' (2015, p. 197). Mack's refinement suggests that 'minor intrusions', defined as 'impositions of very low-level physical effects upon another person or her property' (2015, p. 196), do not count as boundary-crossings. Exactly what this means, he argues, is to be settled by convention.²² However, he does make a further specification:

The moral elbow room reasoning is that, while individuals must be at liberty to engage in *non-malicious* (and *non-wanton*) minor intrusions if they are to be at liberty to dispose of their *own* persons and possessions as they see fit, this liberty need not extend to malicious (or wanton) minor intrusions. It suffices to solve the hog-tying problem that non-malicious and non-wanton minor intrusions be permissible. As long as the minor intrusions on others are incidental to the agent's decisions about how to deploy his person or property we reasonably view these deployments as fundamentally exercises of that agent's rights. However, if those intrusions are wanton or malicious – done for or verging on being done for their intrusiveness – they are more reasonably seen as the agent doing as he sees fit with others or their property and, hence, as boundary-crossing. (2015, p. 212, my emphases)

This idea avoids my previous objection. Since individuals have the right to use *only their own* persons and properties, the elbow room postulate is supposed not to allow individuals to steal things, molest sleeping people, or the like, even if doing so would be undetectable by the victims. Since Mack's account implies that non-malicious and non-wanton minor intrusions do not count as boundary-crossings, and since only boundary-crossings can be rights-violations and hence impermissible, his account implies that no non-malicious or non-wanton minor intrusion can be impermissible.

But it seems that some non-malicious or non-wanton minor intrusions *are* boundary-crossings on libertarianism. For example, if I happen to scratch your car when walking my dog, then that *is* a boundary-crossing even if it would be done non-maliciously and non-wantonly. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that it is a rights-violation. But if it is not a rights-violation, then the best explanation to that is not that it is not a boundary-crossing. The explanation is rather that it is either consensual somehow (e.g. by parking one's car in the public street one consents to it being subjected to small scratches), or that there is some justification for that crossing. In any case, therefore, I do not think that libertarians should accept a strengthened notion of boundary-crossing *à la* Mack. If non-wantonness and non-maliciousness matters—which I think Mack is right that it does—then this is most plausibly as a justifier for infringement (to be discussed in '[Are Our Emissions Justified for Independent Reasons?](#)').

²² Although Mack says that '[t]he permissibility of minor intrusions is explained on the basis of a refinement in the location of boundaries rather than a general attenuation of rights' (2015, p. 198), his reference to convention seems to imply that his proposal concerns the notion of consent. In other words, it seems to be an idea about what people give their permission to, rather than what their boundaries are resistant to. I will return to this in the next section.

In effect, I think individuals' emitting activities constitute boundary-crossings, even if they would be mere non-wanton and unintentional effects of exercises of liberty-rights. Whether they might still be permitted is a separate question (to be discussed in '[Do our Emissions Cross People's Boundaries Without Their Consent?](#)' and '[Are Our Emissions Justified for Independent Reasons?](#)'). The only remaining potential way for libertarians to avoid counting emissions as boundary-crossings, is, I think, by interpreting boundary-crossing in terms of *liberty-restriction*. Based on such an understanding, an action crosses somebody's boundary only if it hinders her from performing some actions that she would otherwise have been able to perform.²³ In other words, an action is boundary-crossing (on this account) only if it restricts someone's legitimate choice-set compared to what the choice-set would look like were the action not performed. Thus, it might be argued that since no individual's emissions restrict any other individual's liberty, no individual's emission crosses any other individual's boundary. In this way, libertarianism would provide a solution to the problem of miniscule effects.

Although liberty-restriction would perhaps be plausible as a *sufficient* condition for boundary-crossing, it is not plausible as a *necessary* condition for boundary-crossing. Considered as a necessary condition, it is inconsistent with the libertarian control-right—in particular the claim-right that others not use one's property without permission. To see this, suppose that I use your car impermissibly for a short ride, before I return it unnoticed to you. Assume that there is nothing that you cannot do because of my action that you could have done had it not been performed. In this case, my action does not in any relevant sense restrict your choice-set. Still, the libertarian control-right gives you the claim-right that others do not use your property without your permission. Hence my action is impermissible and so it constitutes a boundary-crossing. Consequently, liberty-restriction cannot be a necessary condition for boundary-crossing.

Libertarians therefore have reason to stick to a strict notion of boundary-crossing on which particular individuals' emitting activities are boundary-crossings—they are neither intentional, noticeable, malicious, wanton, nor liberty-restricting in any relevant sense. However, as we saw in '[The Basics of Libertarianism](#)', not all instances of boundary-crossings amount to rights-violations. First and foremost, an action that crosses another person's boundary is an infringement only insofar as it *lacks the consent* of this person. If the person somehow permits the crossing, it does not constitute an infringement.

²³ This is in line with an idea of Rothbard's, that '...we must refine our concept of invasion to mean not just boundary crossing, but boundary crossings that in some way interfere with the owner's use or enjoyment of this property' (1982, p. 151). See also Vallentyne (2011) and Oberdiek (2008) for discussions of similar views.

Do our Emissions Cross People's Boundaries *Without Their Consent*?

Although individuals' emissions cross the boundaries of others, it seems plausible to assume that people will not dissent to them on the basis of their direct effects—especially not when considered in isolation. Indeed, people care little about things that are unnoticeable to them, and the effects of individual emissions of greenhouse gases are miniscule and imperceptible. If the absence of dissent is taken to be equally relevant as presence of consent, then libertarianism seems to imply that our individual emissions do *not* amount to infringements.

However, libertarianism takes wrongdoing to require only *the absence of consent* (and thus not the presence of dissent) from those people whose boundaries are crossed.²⁴ Even if people do not dissent to the emissions of others, the interesting question is whether they do, or do not, consent to them. In this section, we shall take a look at whether people might consent either explicitly or implicitly to our emissions.

People's Lack of Explicit Consent to Emissions in General

Although the major effects of climate change are to be seen in the future, some of the effects are perceivable today already. Some individuals are harmed or even killed by climate change at this moment. This appears to be the main reason why some people raise their voices against the high emissions even of separate individuals—although they know that each and every one of these emissions may be considered inoffensive in isolation—because they realize that these emissions taken together put the survival of themselves and their children at risk.

There is also dissent from people who are not yet themselves affected by climate change, but who care for others. This, I surmise, is also why we have a debate on climate change in the first place. Even if the survival of the human species is not protected by libertarianism per se, and even if the identity of future people is contingent on the activities of present people, some present people express concern for future generations and the human species. And for *that* reason, they dissent to these emitting activities. Consequently, there is clearly no explicit consent to people's emissions in general.

Before we can conclude that this turns our emissions into infringements, a few questions need to be answered. One question concerns whether the dissents at issue are *valid*—i.e. whether they can make the actions at issue count as infringements. Indeed, one person's dissent (or lack of consent) to an action can make that action an infringement only if that action is a boundary-crossing of that person. I cannot make

²⁴ Note that this does not require that lack of consent must be morally equated with dissent, since we could allow for different roles or magnitudes between them. For instance, one might want to argue that although a person's lack of consent to another's boundary-crossing action *suffices* for making that action an infringement, if the person moreover dissents to that action then it cannot be excused or in other ways justified. We will get back to related issues in '[Are Our Emissions Justified for Independent Reasons?](#)' section.

an action impermissible by dissenting to that action, if my own boundaries are not crossed by that action. So, what is the case regarding people's lack of explicit consent to emissions in general?

One worry here is due to temporal distances. If the crossings of present individuals' boundaries are entirely due to the emissions of past individuals (e.g. those who lived in the nineteenth century), then present individuals' boundaries are not crossed by other present individuals' emissions. Hence, they cannot validly dissent to the emissions of present individuals, meaning that these emissions cannot violate any present individuals' rights. Perhaps, therefore, it does not matter that some present people raise their voices against the high emissions of others.

As we saw in '[Do our Emissions Cross People's Boundaries?](#)', however, our greenhouse gas emissions are spread very fast and widely in the atmosphere, which means that at least some of the boundary-crossings of our emissions occur to present individuals here and now, as well as to present individuals later in their lives. Consequently, these present individuals may validly dissent to these emissions.²⁵

We need to establish, however, that there is no conflicting *implicit* consent in the background. If there is, it might outbalance the lack of explicit consent to emissions in general. As can be inferred from the discussion in '[The Basics of Libertarianism](#)', the notion of implicit consent suggests that anyone who emits greenhouse gases to a certain extent gives her implicit consent to others to emit such gases to that same extent. Since almost anything we do gives rise to greenhouse gas emissions (even the poorest of the poor emit *some* amount of greenhouse gases), *all* present individuals implicitly consent to *some* emissions simply by performing acts that are needed in order to stay alive (breathing, eating, digesting, etc.).

This suggests that people who emit only small amounts of greenhouse gases do *not* give their implicit consent to the massive emissions of others. This is true for most poor people, and also those (relatively few) people among the rich who do not emit the same quantities as the typical rich. Unless these low-emitting individuals have given their *explicit* consent to higher emissions, they do not consent to those emissions.

People's Implicit Consent to Other's Subsistence Emissions

The previous line of reasoning suggests that we may distinguish between the amount of emissions that everyone makes, and those emissions that exceed this amount. This may be done along the lines of a seminal paper by Henry Shue (1993), making a distinction between *subsistence emissions* (i.e. emissions required for satisfying basic needs) and *non-subsistence emissions* (i.e. emissions required for satisfying non-basic needs). If we stick to this terminology, and take 'subsistence emissions' as a technical term for the amount of emissions that everyone makes (and has to make in order to satisfy basic needs), and 'non-subsistence emissions' as a technical term for any emissions that go beyond that amount, then we may infer that subsistence

²⁵ In a similar vein, Nicholas Stern has argued that 'the rights of a young person now to enjoy life and property in the future are being violated by the emissions of the current generation' (2014, p. 415).

emissions are implicitly consented to by everyone, while non-subsistence emissions are not. Consequently, libertarianism implies that only our non-subsistence emissions amount to infringements.²⁶

Some might want to object that since the poor do not really have any choice but to emit as little as they do, their emissions cannot be taken for implicit consent to only such minor emissions. Presumably they would consent to some major emissions—even some of the non-subsistence emissions—if they had the opportunity to emit more themselves. This, however, would be a form of *hypothetical* consent—i.e. consent that *would* be given by the agent were she in a somewhat more ideal position (with more knowledge, more opportunities, more capacities, etc.). However, hypothetical consent is ruled out from a libertarian point of view. What matters for libertarianism is what people *actually* consent to (explicitly or implicitly). And the poor do not actually give any such consent.²⁷

Perhaps one could object to this reasoning by questioning the understanding of implicit consent that I have adopted: By performing an action of a certain type, the agent implicitly consents to others performing actions of that same type. An alternative way of understanding implicit consent, with different implications, would be in terms of proportionality: By consuming a certain proportion of what the agent herself could consume, she consents to others consuming the same proportion of what they themselves could consume. But this understanding is implausible. For example, it implies that any poor person who consumes everything there actually is for him to consume would thus consent to any consumption levels whatsoever of everyone else. For that reason, we should stick to the previous understanding of implicit consent. We should also accept that our non-subsistence emissions amount to infringements on at least *some* people.

Of course, one might want to reject the relevance of implicit consent completely, and endorse the notion of explicit consent only. Doing so is, however, of no help in the context of climate change. Given that many people do not even explicitly consent to other people's subsistence emissions, this would imply that *all* emissions amount to infringements on libertarianism. This gives libertarians reasons to accept the relevance of implicit consent. Hence, *at least* our non-subsistence emissions count as infringements on libertarianism.

Still, it is not clear how subsistence emissions should be distinguished from non-subsistence emissions *more concretely*. Plausibly, whether a particular emitting act is to count as an instance of subsistence emissions or non-subsistence emissions will depend on the extent to which the agent has already emitted in the past, as well as on how much she will emit in the future. This suggests that emissions should be counted from an *annual* or a *lifetime* per capita perspective. From the annual perspective, a person's emissions would count as subsistence emissions only if her total

²⁶ Doing so is also in line with Locke, who thought that people's most fundamental right is 'the right everyone had to take care of, and provide for their Subsistence' (1690: Vol. 1, First treatise, §87).

²⁷ Cf. Nozick: 'tacit consent isn't worth the paper it is not written on' (1974, p. 287). If we would take hypothetical consent to be relevant, then, since many people actually suffer from the harms caused by climate change, some of them would not even hypothetically consent to such high amounts of emissions.

amount of emissions during that year would not exceed the amount needed for satisfying basic needs during that year (whatever that amount is). From the lifetime perspective, her emissions would count as subsistence emissions only if her total amount of emissions made in her life would not exceed the amount needed for satisfying basic needs during her lifetime (whatever that amount is). Considering the lifetime perspective, an individual would be allowed to rectify her non-subsistence annual emissions made in previous years by emitting sufficiently less in the remainder of her lifetime. This suggests that our non-subsistence emissions *in this sense* count as infringements on libertarianism.

The next question to answer is whether our non-subsistence emissions, *qua* infringements, are impermissible on libertarianism. This depends on whether they can be justified for independent reasons.

Are Our Emissions Justified for Independent Reasons?

Any plausible moral theory, including libertarianism, should allow for some non-consensual boundary-crossings. As I have argued above, the most coherent way for libertarianism to do this is *not* through a modification of the notions of boundary-crossing or consent. On my view, the most plausible way to do this is instead by reference to justifiers for infringements. As stated in ‘[The Basics of Libertarianism](#)’, the potential justifiers discussed in the libertarian literature concern (i) unavoidability, (ii) avoidance of catastrophe, (iii) self-defense, (iv) unforeseeability, and (v) compensation. In this section, I explore whether any of these potential justifiers are relevant with respect to libertarianism’s implications for our individual emissions. I will also say something about Mack’s ‘elbow room’ view, discussed in ‘[How Libertarians Might Argue That Our Emissions Do Not Cross Other People’s Boundaries](#)’, in this regard.

When it comes to (i), unavoidability, it could be argued that it is impossible to make *no* emissions at all. Breathing and digesting yields emissions. However, this unavoidability is already accounted for by the distinction between subsistence and non-subsistence emissions. And the focus here is on the potential permissibility of our non-subsistence emissions. Regardless of where we want to draw the line between those emissions that are possible to avoid and those that are not, it is clear that non-subsistence emissions are of the former kind. Therefore, unavoidability fails to justify our non-subsistence emissions.

Concerning (ii), avoidance of catastrophe, it is safe to say that our greenhouse gas emissions—especially our non-subsistence emissions—are not plausible candidates for this kind of justification. If there is any catastrophe to worry about, it is rather *because* of our emissions.

Regarding (iii), self-defense, it suffices to say that people’s non-subsistence emissions are typically not performed for the sake of defending themselves. People might emit as a means to improve their lives, but they do not do it as a means to defend their rights. If any emissions could count as self-defense, then those are subsistence emissions. Hence, the right to self-defense cannot function as a justifier for our non-subsistence emissions.

When it comes to (iv), unforeseeability, I find it implausible as a justifier for infringement in general. Although unforeseeability plausibly affects the judgment of *blame* for people's actions, it is not obvious that it affects the *permissibility* of their actions.²⁸ However, the effects of our climate-relevant activities are nowadays quite foreseeable. Even if we accept that early industrialists were justified in doing what they did, for the reason that they could not foresee the environmental consequences of their actions, this does not imply that unforeseeability constitute a justifier for present people's non-subsistence emissions.

Regarding (v), compensation, things are more complex.

Is Compensation a Means to Justify Our Non-Subsistence Emissions?

There are several ways in which compensation might be considered as a potential means to justify non-subsistence emissions. It seems obvious, for instance, that compensation could work in a *proactive* sense as a means for obtaining prior consent to subsequent boundary-crossings. If a non-subsistence emitter were to persuade mere subsistence emitters—by way of compensation—to let him continue to make non-subsistence emissions, then there would no longer be any valid dissent to his non-subsistence emissions, thus making them permissible. In this sense, however, compensation would not constitute any justifier for infringement, but rather a means for assuring that a boundary-crossing does not amount to an infringement in the first place. As things are at the moment, however, non-subsistence emitters do not compensate their victims in this proactive respect (this will be addressed below).

Ever since Nozick (1974, Ch. 4), there has been a discussion among libertarians whether compensation could perhaps also work in a justificatory respect—i.e. whether it would be permissible to cross people's boundaries without their consent provided that compensation is paid to them later. Nozick labels this option 'cross and compensate'.²⁹ Nevertheless, I think this option is unavailable from a libertarian view. As we saw in 'The Basics of Libertarianism', ownership consists of a bundle of rights, of which the right to compensation is one. This right is due to the more basic control-right that others do not infringe on one's own territory, and it kicks in whenever someone does. Consequently, *if* a rights-violation has already occurred, *then* compensation is prescribed as a means for rectifying that violation. This suggests that it is impermissible to cross people's boundaries without their consent *even if* we compensate them afterwards. Thus, compensation cannot function as a justifier for infringement.

In any case, compensation would be practically problematic in the case of non-subsistence emissions. As Railton puts it, '[i]f a polluting activity harms an individual, the compensation required would be such that the victim would have been indifferent before the fact between not suffering the harm at all and suffering the harm but receiving the compensation given' (1985, p. 213). The problem with

²⁸ See Sobel (2012, p. 51) and Thomson (1990, p. 234) for similar arguments.

²⁹ See also Railton (1985), Arneson (2005), Wall (2009), Sobel (2012), and Mack (2015, p. 196).

compensation for our individual emissions becomes clear as soon as we try to spell out what it would require in practice. The main problem is that some individuals are not indifferent before the fact between not being affected by our emissions and receiving the compensation given, no matter the amount of compensation. Some people are dying from climate change and cannot be compensated at all. And even if we *could* compensate our victims, we would not know exactly *to whom* we owe compensation (or *how much* we owe each of them).³⁰ Even if compensation would work as a means for rectifying *some* infringements, it does not seem to work when it comes to rectifying the infringements that are due to our non-subsistence emissions.

A related possibility for justifying our non-subsistence emissions concerns so-called *offsetting*.

Is Offsetting a Means to Justify Our Non-Subsistence Emissions?

To offset emissions is to make sure that for every unit of greenhouse gas you add to the atmosphere, you also subtract one unit from it. Offsetting is thus, to put it in economists' terminology, a way of internalizing the external costs of one's emissions. In other words, it means that the emitter pays for all the *social costs* related to his emitting activities. Offsetting has been suggested as a justifier for emissions by, for instance, John Broome (2012), and is a popular idea among libertarians as well.³¹

All measures of offsetting are external to the agent's own activities, in the sense that they either amount to helping others *produce less* greenhouse gases, or to helping nature *absorb more* of the gases already produced. Investing in projects that generate renewable energy, for instance via solar panels and wind turbines, is an example of the first kind of offsetting. Investing in projects that plant carbon-absorbing trees, or developing methods for capturing carbon in underground storage facilities (to the extent it works), are examples of the second kind. The gist is that offsetting lets you neutralize your total emissions. Thereby, the idea goes, you make sure they give rise to no boundary-crossings, meaning that you may continue to make even some non-subsistence emissions.

The problem with this idea, however, is that while one's emitting acts produce greenhouse gases immediately, one's offsetting acts that reduce greenhouse gases do so only after some time. To fly from New York to London and back, for instance, will emit more than a ton of greenhouse gases during the flight.³² But the time it takes to offset one ton, via whatever offsetting program one may choose, is most likely far longer than that. Consequently, one's offsetting will not affect the same

³⁰ See Broome (2012, p. 79), and Railton (1985, pp. 214–217). There would also be problems due to transaction costs. See Nozick (1974, p. 76): 'the appropriate compensation would seem to involve enormous transaction costs'. Nozick here speaks about the problems of compensations to 'those persons who undergo a *risk* of a boundary crossing' (my emphasis). However, the nature of climate change suggests that the same worries hold for *actual* boundary-crossings as well.

³¹ See, for instance, Adler (2009), Epstein (2009), Brennan (2012), and Friedman (2014: §64).

³² This example is from Broome (2012, p. 74).

particular people that are affected by one's emissions. Given that one's non-subsistence emissions cross the boundaries of *particular* people, one's offsetting cannot assure that these emissions do not cross these people's boundaries.

But even if offsetting one's non-subsistence emissions does not undermine the boundary-crossing aspects of those emissions, it might be relevant for another reason: If offsetting can make sure that people's non-subsistence emissions do not contribute to climate change, then offsetting may undermine the motives that people have for not consenting to these emissions. In this respect, offsetting might provide an alternative to stop producing non-subsistence emissions.

There are, still, many practical complications with offsetting, not least from a libertarian point of view. First, there is the obvious restriction that our offsetting must not violate anyone's rights. Second, our offsetting must be additional, which means that the reductions in question would not have happened even if we had not made our offsets. Otherwise the emissions that we reduce through our offsetting measures will not really even out the non-subsistence emissions we make.³³ The fact that our emissions do not decrease, however, is evidence that most emitters do not successfully offset their non-subsistence emissions.

What About Mack's 'Elbow Room' for Rights?

In 'How Libertarians Might Argue That Our Emissions Do Not Cross Other People's Boundaries', I discussed Mack's 'elbow room' view, according to which non-malicious and non-wanton minor intrusions do not count as boundary-crossings and hence do not count as infringements. I objected to this view, since some non-malicious or non-wanton minor intrusions *are* boundary-crossings on libertarianism. However, I opened up for the 'elbow room' view to be relevant when it comes to *justifying* infringements.

Now, having discussed the role of consent (in 'Do our Emissions Cross People's Boundaries Without Their Consent?'), and thus distinguished between subsistence and non-subsistence emissions and explained what counts as subsistence emissions and non-subsistence emissions, respectively, it seems clear that a prohibition of non-subsistence emissions neither implies the 'hog-tying problem', nor 'preclude[s] people from exercising the liberty-rights that the claim-rights are supposed to protect' (Mack 2015, p. 197). As this means, a prohibition of non-subsistence emissions does not give rise to the problems that the 'elbow room' view is meant to avoid.

As this unveils, the 'elbow room' would function as a justifier in a similar way as (i), unavoidability, discussed above. Even though it is impossible to make *no* emissions at all, it is clear that non-subsistence emissions are possible to avoid. This also suggests that if non-wantonness and non-maliciousness is at all relevant as a justifier for infringing emissions, then it is so only with respect to subsistence emissions. Consequently, the 'elbow room' view cannot justify the infringements that are due to our non-subsistence emissions.

³³ Cf. Broome (2012, pp. 87–89).

Some Objections and Replies

Before drawing any final conclusions, I wish to answer some potential objections to the account given so far.³⁴ Most noticeably, it could be argued that the reciprocal character of the account of ‘implicit consent’ that I am adopting has some troublesome implications.

For instance, suppose some person who, for reasons of economic deprivation, is forced to endure standards of living *below* subsistence. In this case, it seems that we cannot appeal to this person’s implicit consent to justify others’ subsistence emissions. The case moreover suggests that the level of acceptable emissions might be much lower than subsistence emissions. One way to escape this implication is to appeal to *unavoidability*. As was argued in ‘[Are Our Emissions Justified for Independent Reasons?](#)’, people can be said to have a right, due to unavoidability, to subsistence. This in turn justifies people to emit up to a subsistence level *even if* others are emitting less.

However, this seems to assume that subsistence emissions are really *necessary* for subsistence to be achieved. But suppose someone who actually achieves subsistence while successfully offsetting her emissions to the point of having zero net impact on the climate system. In this case, it seems that subsistence emissions are not necessary for that person to achieve subsistence. Moreover, that person cannot be said to implicitly consent to others’ subsistence emissions. Hence, it seems that this person’s offsetting implies an obligation on others to offset their emissions to zero as well.

It is correct that it follows from my interpretation of libertarianism that as long as some people reduce their net emissions to zero—e.g. via carbon offsetting—then this obligates others to offset their emissions too, *given that they can*. Since different people have different capacities and live under different circumstances, this implies that what is (in the relevant sense) necessary or unavoidable for one person might not be necessary or unavoidable for another. If someone cannot offset (or in other ways neutralize) their emissions, e.g. due to economic deprivation, then that someone is justified in not doing so.

Still, it seems that the version of libertarianism that I have defended is incompatible with industrial civilization. Consider, by way of illustration, the first person building a factory in a previously unindustrialized society. Since no other factories would exist at the time, the industrialist would not be able to appeal to others’ implicit consent to justify this project. Since industrial civilization revolves around people being allowed to take innovative actions that increase the level of impacts on others (i.e. without antecedently securing the consent of every affected individual), this seems to make my interpretation of libertarianism incompatible with any real material progress.

However, it could be argued that, although my account implies that the emissions of the first industrialists did cause boundary-crossings to some people, it is not

³⁴ I want to thank two anonymous reviewers for bringing up these objections.

obvious that these people did not consent to them. As mentioned in ‘[Do our Emissions Cross People’s Boundaries Without Their Consent?](#)’, the reason that people tend not to consent to carbon emissions is the climatic effects of these emissions. But it is only after the carbon budget is exempted that any relevant threshold in the climate system is passed, for which reason the first industrialisers did not themselves give rise to any climate change. Moreover, if the affected people voluntarily took benefit from the factories (e.g. by being employed in them), then they could be said to have implicitly consented to the related emissions.

Of course, not everyone affected by the polluting activities of the early industrialists benefitted from their activities. And when it comes to assessing these activities, climate change as such is not the main issue. The early industrialists emitted not only carbon dioxide but also large quantities of lead, sulfur, mercury, and nitrogen oxides, etc. The negative impacts of *these* emissions were readily perceived at the time, and it is quite obvious that not everyone affected by them consented to them. For that reason, these activities were nonetheless impermissible according to libertarianism.

However, this verdict is not counterintuitive. If the first industrialists actually did cause such harm to their contemporaries, then libertarianism implies that what they did was wrong. In effect, libertarianism requires that these people are compensated, which seems fair enough. Note that this does not mean that libertarianism is incompatible with industrialization *as such*, but only with industrialization *as it actually evolved*. If the question is whether existing factories should be allowed to continue to operate, then the answer is clear: Libertarianism allows this only as long as the responsible agents make sure that their factories will not violate anyone’s rights henceforth (and that they rectify any relevant historical injustices). As this means, libertarianism is in fact compatible with industrial civilization, it is just that it requires a rights-respecting development of such a civilization.

Interestingly, there is nothing specifically libertarian about this condemnation of the actual history of industrial civilization. Most moral theories yield similar verdicts. Utilitarianism, for instance, implies that early industrialists acted wrongly for the reason that they could have chosen other alternative actions which would have produced more utility. Kantianism implies that early industrialists acted wrongly for the reason that the maxims on the basis of which they acted were not universalizable (in the relevant sense). Virtue ethicists would, presumably, say that early industrialists acted wrongly for the reason that they were not acting out of virtuous motives. This suggests that the fact that libertarianism did not allow industrial civilization to evolve the way it actually did does not make an argument against libertarianism in favor of other moral views.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that although our individual emissions in separation would cause no harm to others, they do cross the boundaries of other people. Although it can be argued that the boundary-crossings that are due to our subsistence emissions are consented to by others, the boundary-crossings that are due to our non-subsistence emissions are not consented to by everyone. Therefore, these

non-subsistence emissions amount to infringements according to libertarianism. Moreover, I have argued that there is no independent justification for these infringements, although there is an alternative to stop making non-subsistence emissions: to offset our non-subsistence emissions completely. At present, however, most people do not offset their non-subsistence emissions. Therefore, these emissions violate people's rights, which means that they are impermissible according to libertarianism's non-aggression principle.

Interestingly, this conclusion hinges on the current differences between people's emissions. If everyone were a non-subsistence emitter, then all emissions would be implicitly consented to by everyone. In that case, libertarians would have to turn to other resources in order to find reasons for condemning our non-subsistence emissions. On that note, I have in this paper neglected the lives of future people, as well as the question regarding the joint responsibilities we might have regarding climate change. I have also disregarded the various risks that are associated with climate change, as well as the libertarian proviso for appropriations of the natural resources (e.g. coal, oil, and gas) that are used in our emitting activities. If this was taken into consideration, then we would presumably find separate reasons for libertarians to take climate change seriously.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the conclusion of this paper also depends on the specific notions of 'rights-violation', 'infringement', 'boundary-crossing', etc., that I have argued for. As this implies, a critic could argue that I have not used the most plausible version of libertarianism and that, therefore, the conclusion is of limited value to the debate. However, whether there are other more plausible versions of libertarianism that could avoid these implications is a topic for further investigation. At the very least, I hope that the arguments made in this paper provide a direction for further theorizing on libertarian morality and its implications for climate change.

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Mid-Libertarianism and the Utilitarian Proviso

Olle Torpman^{1,2,3} 

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1 Introducing Mid-libertarianism

The core idea of libertarianism, considered as a basic moral theory, is that people have certain negative rights and that those rights determine morally right action. Libertarianism is supposed to provide robust explanations to some of our intuitions, such as that it is wrong to steal, kill, rape or enslave other people. However, its exclusive focus on *negative* rights (i.e., rights to non-interference) makes it incapable of explaining some other intuitions, such as that the utterly rich should help the utterly poor. Although libertarianism can explain why we should never do bad to others, it cannot explain why we should sometimes do good to others. For this reason, libertarianism is not satisfactory as it stands. A natural suggestion, therefore, is that we should either abandon libertarianism in favor of some of its better faring rivals, or revise the theory in order to get rid of the features that make it unsatisfactory.

This paper proposes a new libertarian theory of morality: a theory that endorses a *utilitarian* proviso for use of external resources. I call this theory *mid-libertarianism*. The basic idea of mid-libertarianism is that individuals are free to do as they want as long as they do not violate the rights of others, given that they maximize utility whenever they use external resources. The paper is divided into four main sections. In this first section, I introduce mid-libertarianism as a normative ethical theory. In the second main section, I put forward the key arguments for mid-libertarianism, which are, roughly, that it maintains the main explanatory powers of existing versions of libertarianism, while it avoids some of the most severe problems that these theories face. In the third section, I answer some potential objections to mid-libertarianism. In the fourth section, I conclude that mid-libertarianism deserves to be taken seriously as a new contender in the normative ethics debate.

✉ Olle Torpman
olle.torpman@philosophy.su.se

¹ Department of Animal Environment and Health, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Uppsala, Sweden

² Department of Philosophy, Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden

³ Institute for Futures Studies, Stockholm, Sweden

1.1 The Core of Libertarianism: The Self-Ownership Thesis

Since the theory I am proposing is a version of libertarianism, I will start by saying something about the core ideas of libertarianism. There are many different versions of libertarianism discussed in the philosophical literature (Brennan 2012; Mack 2011). In this paper, I discuss libertarianism as a *basic* moral theory. As such, libertarianism provides a fundamental criterion for morally right action, and is thus a rival to utilitarianism, Kantianism, virtue ethics, etc. (Vallentyne and van der Vossen 2014). The gist of libertarianism is that individuals have certain negative moral rights, and that those rights determine right action. As this implies, I am not here discussing *political* libertarianism, which can be based on non-libertarian moral theories such as contractarianism or utilitarianism.

Libertarianism's most salient thesis concerns full moral self-ownership, according to which every person has fundamental moral rights to anything that counts as herself – including her body parts, organs, blood, eggs, sperms, stem cells, thoughts, etc. We may call these *personal resources*. Most versions of libertarianism also allow people to gain moral ownership over natural resources (i.e., non-personal resources) – such as land, minerals, water, air, etc. We may call these *external resources*. While the rights to our personal resources are natural and thus in need of no acquisition, the rights to external resources must somehow be acquired (Mack 2010: 54; van der Vossen 2009: 368).

It is not entirely clear how personal resources should be distinguished from external resources (Lippert-Rasmussen 2008). For instance, any person's body consists of material – molecules – that once were external to her body. Also, any person's continued existence is contingent on the use of external resources such as air (to breathe), food (to eat) and water (to drink). Despite these problems, we seem to have an intuitive understanding of the distinction. For instance, it is quite unproblematic to distinguish you from me, me from my clothes, and my clothes from your smart phone, etc. Since my aim in this paper is to provide what I think is the best version of libertarianism, I will sidestep this problem here. Suffice it to say that if the distinction is problematic, then it is so not only for mid-libertarianism but for any version of libertarianism.

With that said, libertarianism maintains that full ownership of an entity (one-self or one's external resources) consists of a full set of *rights* over that entity. According to Vallentyne and van der Vossen (2014), these rights amount to rights of

- (i) *control* (over the use of the entity, both a liberty-right to use it and a claim-right that others not use it),
- (ii) *compensation* (as rectification for when someone uses the entity without one's permission),
- (iii) *enforcement* (e.g., rights to self-defense if someone is about to violate these rights),
- (iv) *transfer* (of these rights to others by sale, rental, loan, or gift), and
- (v) *immunity* (to the non-consensual loss of these rights).

The reason why libertarianism fundamentally endorses only *negative* rights (i.e., rights to *non-interference*) is that the self-ownership thesis is inconsistent with fundamental *positive* rights (i.e., rights to assistance). Positive rights would obligate individuals to actively serve as means to other individuals' ends, which would infringe on the former individuals' self-ownership. According to libertarianism, no adult individual initially has any right to any sort of positive treatment or aid from others (Narveson 2013: 382; Mack 2010: 62). Note also that libertarianism is concerned with *fundamental moral* rights, as opposed to *derived* or merely *legal* rights. As this means, libertarianism holds that people bear their rights irrespective of whether they are recognized by any legal system.

The libertarian rightness-criterion can be formulated as the

Non-Aggression Principle: *An action is morally right if and only if, and because, it does not violate anyone's rights.*¹

Among libertarians, "rights-violation" is typically understood in terms of non-consensual boundary-crossing. There is, however, an ongoing discussion about how "boundary-crossing" and "consent" should be understood. Since the relative plausibility of mid-libertarianism will not depend on any such specific understanding, I shall not here take a stand on this issue.

1.2 Provisos for Use and Appropriation of External Resources

Most versions of libertarianism allow people to privately appropriate external resources. On the libertarian theory of appropriation, external resources become privately appropriated by the person who first discovers them, mixes his labor with them, brings them into useful production, or merely claims them (Nozick 1974: 175-82; Feser 2005: 65-6; Rothbard 2009: 14). What distinguishes different versions of libertarianism is the limit they set on how much external resources an individual may use or appropriate (Narveson 1999).

Most versions of libertarianism impose a "fair share"-constraint on appropriations of external resources. This constraint is originally due to Locke, who formulated a proviso according to which individuals may privately use or appropriate external resources only as long as they leave "enough and as good" for others (1689: Ch. V, §27). On *right-libertarianism*, as defended by Nozick, this means that an agent may appropriate resources only insofar as she does not thereby put anyone in a worse situation than they would otherwise have been (Nozick 1974: 178). According to *left-libertarianism*, as proposed by Vallentyne, Otsuka and Steiner, an agent may appropriate resources only insofar as those are used in an egalitarian manner. On one influential interpretation (to be discussed below), this means equalizing people's opportunities for well-being (Vallentyne 2009; Otsuka 2003; Steiner 2009).

¹ See, for instance, Nozick (1974: 34), Block (2004), Vallentyne (2007a), and Mack (2010: 59).

Although most libertarians think of the proviso as a condition for successful appropriation (i.e., a condition for when an appropriation results in private ownership), they tend to disagree on how a failure to meet the proviso relates to wrongdoing. One interpretation says that the proviso states an additional criterion for right action, separate from the criterion stated by the non-aggression principle. Another interpretation says that the proviso identifies certain rights that people have naturally with regard to external resources (e.g., they initially own the world jointly) – rights that are violated whenever people use these resources without the consent from others. A third interpretation is that the proviso identifies a compensation right that people have conditionally on other people’s use of external resources – rights that are also protected by the non-aggression principle.

All formulations of the proviso, however, suggest that people have certain obligations conditional on their use of external resources. Moreover, they all rely on the intuition that external resources should be fairly divided (although libertarians have different intuitions about what this means in detail). Indeed, the possibility of a libertarian proviso is due to the distinction between personal resources and external resources, and the fact that nothing follows immediately from the self-ownership theses with respect to external resources. It is an open question whether external resources are initially unowned or owned, or whether they initially belong to everyone equally.

There are thus different ways in which the proviso can be formulated. The formulations mentioned above do not constitute an exhaustive list of possible provisos. For instance, Locke himself considered more than one proviso for use of external resources. Besides the abovementioned “enough and as good”-proviso, he considered an “efficiency”-proviso. Roughly, this proviso says that an agent may use resources only to the extent he is capable of using them *productively* (Locke 1690: Ch. 5).² It is the possibility of a libertarian proviso in general, and Locke’s efficiency-proviso in particular, that opens up for a utilitarian proviso for use of external resources – and thus a mid-version of libertarianism in between left- and right-libertarianism respectively.

1.3 A Utilitarian Proviso

As any proviso attached to the non-aggression principle, a utilitarian proviso would be a condition for use or appropriation of external resources. Indeed, a utilitarian proviso would also bear the core contents of utilitarianism. According to utilitarianism, the right thing to do in a situation is to perform an act that produces at least as much utility as any alternative act would produce in that situation (see, for instance, Mill 1871; Tännsjö 1998; Bykvist 2010). Consequently, a utilitarian proviso would imply that *if* an agent uses external resources, *then* she should maximize utility.

² Locke says about the external resources that we should “make use of it to the best advantage of life, and convenience” (1690, Ch. 5: §26), and that “[n]othing was made by God for man to spoil or destroy” (1690, Ch. 5: §31). This proviso is discussed as a *no-waste* proviso, according to which individuals may use resources only if they can put them to good use (Bovens 2011).

There are several different ways in which this could be understood. Take the notion of utility first. Often “utility” is understood in welfarist terms, denoting preference-satisfaction or hedonic experiences. It is possible, however, to understand “utility” in non-welfarist terms denoting, for instance, fulfillment of certain items on an objective list, perfection, or self-realization. In this paper, I will be open to whether a welfarist or non-welfarist understanding of “utility” is most plausible. (However, I will return to this issue in section 3.3, where it becomes clear that it could make a difference to the theory I am proposing.)

It is still possible to interpret the utilitarian proviso in several ways. On one interpretation, the proviso would – together with the non-aggression principle – imply that an act which involves the use of external resource is right if and only if it does not violate anyone’s rights *and* if it maximizes utility. However, such a theory would be impracticable. Since many utility-maximizing acts involve rights-violations, and since many rights-respecting acts exclude utility-maximizations, it would hardly yield any recommendations at all. A more plausible interpretation of the utilitarian proviso is one where the non-aggression principle restricts the set of actions to which the utilitarian proviso applies. Accordingly, an act which involves the use of external resources is right if and only if it is one that maximizes utility *among those acts* that do not violate anyone’s rights. In contrast to the previous interpretation, this combination would not be impracticable. There will always be one or more utility-maximizing acts relative to the set of acts that respect people’s rights.

Still, this view would yield counterintuitive recommendations. For instance, since no agent can violate their own rights, it recommends that whenever we use external resources, we should donate all our money or spend all our time on helping those that are in greater need. Eating food, for instance, implies using external resources, which triggers the utilitarian proviso. And one of the acts that are available to me involves donating my organs to other people in need of such organs for their survival. Given that saving these other people would maximize utility, it is recommended that I do so – even if that would lead to my own death. This is utterly counterintuitive.

Therefore, a more plausible understanding of the utilitarian proviso is one that does not apply to *all* acts available to the agent, but *only* to those acts that involve the use of *external* resources – i.e., those acts that become available to the agent given their use of such resources. In accordance with this idea, the utilitarian proviso I propose can be formulated as follows:

The Utilitarian Proviso: *If an act involves the use of external resources, these resources should be used so as to maximize utility in a rights-respecting way.*

On this formulation, the utilitarian proviso does not apply to non-external (i.e., personal) resources, such as body parts or organs. Although it gives agents certain distributive obligations that require them to use their own bodies in certain ways, their personal resources are not themselves resources to be distributed. Thus, it does not require that one donate all one’s organs, bone marrow, stem cells, blood, or etc., just because one eats an apple. Moreover, this formulation of the utilitarian proviso allows only for utility-maximizing acts that do not violate any rights.

Now, as mid-libertarianism combines the libertarian non-aggression principle (considered as a principle for right action in general) with the utilitarian proviso (for use of external resources in particular), we may formulate a mid-libertarian rightness criterion as follows:

An act is right if, and only if, and because:

- (i) **it does not violate anyone's rights, and**
- (ii) **if it involves the use of external resources, these resources are used so as to maximize utility in a rights-respecting way.**

The basic idea of mid-libertarianism is, accordingly, that individuals are free to do as they want as long as they do not restrict the freedom of others, given that the external resources they use are used in a way that maximizes utility. In the next main section, I spell out the main arguments for mid-libertarianism.

2 Arguments for Mid-Libertarianism

The main argument for mid-libertarianism is that it provides explanations to the rightness/wrongness of actions in a way that better accords with our intuitions than existing versions of libertarianism – or *classical libertarianism*, as I will refer to them hereafter. In this section, I will show this in two steps. First, I argue that mid-libertarianism, in virtue of its endorsement of the non-aggression principle, maintains the main explanatory powers of classical libertarianism. Second, I argue that mid-libertarianism, in virtue of its utilitarian proviso, avoids some of the main objections that can be raised against classical libertarianism.

Since mid-libertarianism comes with a utilitarian proviso for use of external resources, something should be said also about how mid-libertarianism fares in comparison to utilitarianism. If utilitarianism would be a better theory than mid-libertarianism, then my proposal in this paper would make no sense. As I will argue in section 2.3 and 2.4, however, mid-libertarianism maintains some of the main explanatory powers of utilitarianism, while it avoids some of its main troubles.

2.1 Mid-libertarianism Maintains the Explanatory Powers of Classical Libertarianism

As we saw above, some of the main strengths of classical libertarianism are the explanations it gives as to why it is wrong to kill other people, or steal their organs, etcetera. Libertarianism manages to explain in an intuitive manner why we are never allowed to use innocent people against their will, why rape is wrong, why (involuntary) slavery is wrong, and so on. Also, it explains why we should be free to do nothing at all if we wish: If you did not break it, you need not fix it!

Of course, such recommendations are sometimes yielded by other moral theories as well, but the libertarian explanations as to *why* such acts are wrong/permissible

are quite straightforward: They stem directly from the self-ownership thesis which puts the rights of individual people at its core. Libertarianism thus appears to point out *the right kind of reason* for why we should respect people and their lives. In other words, libertarianism appears to give the *correct* explanation to some of our widely held intuitions – including, first and foremost, the one that we should not do bad to others.

Thanks to the endorsement of the self-ownership thesis, as well as the endorsement of the non-aggression principle, mid-libertarianism manages to yield these explanations too. Just as classical libertarianism, mid-libertarianism condemns murder, rape, involuntary slavery, and so on, in virtue of its assumption that people have certain inviolable moral rights to themselves. Consequently, mid-libertarianism maintains some of the main explanatory powers of libertarianism. Indeed, if this was not the case, mid-libertarianism would not even be a libertarian theory.

2.2 Mid-Libertarianism Avoids the Main Objections Raised Against Libertarianism

Some of the most troublesome objections to classical libertarianism are that (i) it demands too little from us, and (ii) it implies too strong private property rights to external resources. In this sub-section, I spell out these objections and show how mid-libertarianism avoids them.

What concerns (i), libertarianism says that we are never required to make any positive sacrifices for other people – even if they would die without our help. For instance, we are allowed to throw away our food when others are starving, and to burn down our houses and money just for the fun of it when others are homeless and poor. Mid-libertarianism, however, does not have these implications. Even though we are, on mid-libertarianism, relatively free to do what we want with our *personal* resources – such as our body parts – we are not as free to do whatever we want with *external* resources. Mid-libertarianism's utilitarian proviso for use of external resources requires that these resources are used in a utility-maximizing way. And that does not allow us to waste our food, or throw away other resources, if these could instead be given to others for better use.

Perhaps one could argue that mid-libertarianism *still* demands too little from us, since it only requires that *external* resources are used so as to maximize utility – and so to the extent we ourselves use such resources. However, mid-libertarianism is *less* vulnerable than classical libertarianism to the present objection. Moreover, a theory that would demand more from us – for instance, by requiring that we sacrifice our own (or other people's) *personal* resources for the mere well-being of other people – would bear its own problems.

What concerns (ii), the argument is that classical libertarianism gives people just as strong private property rights to external resources as it gives people to their personal resources, which is implausible. As long as someone has legitimately appropriated a certain external resource, this resource becomes his own just as much as his body parts. According to classical libertarianism, this furthermore implies that no other agent is (non-consensually) allowed to use these external resources, even if

doing so would be necessary for saving other people's lives. For instance, if you do not have my permission, classical libertarianism does not allow you to use my boat in order to save the lives of some drowning children. This is counterintuitive.

Mid-libertarianism avoids this implication. On mid-libertarianism, people do not possess any *fundamentally moral* rights over external resources. Such rights are incompatible with the requirement to use them so as to maximize utility, as is implied by the utilitarian proviso. If a resource that belongs to someone (i.e., in a non-moral manner) could be used by someone else in order to maximize utility, then that somebody else is allowed to do so. In the boat case, you would thus be allowed to use my boat in order to save the children from drowning.³ Note that this does not mean that we are required to go out in other people's gardens and look for resources that could be used more productively – only the person who actually uses a certain resource is obliged to distribute that resource in order to maximize utility. In the boat case, you are thus not required to use my boat to save the children, yet you are permitted to do so.

Perhaps some would worry that this feature of mid-libertarianism, which grants *no* moral rights to external resources, is implausible. It seems that people should be given at least *some* private ownership over external resources, such as their houses or clothes. Although mid-libertarianism does not allow for moral ownership of external resources, it does allow (just like utilitarianism) for *derived* ownership, i.e., legal ownership, of external resources. The reason is that a utility-maximizing use of resources would require some legal protection of private ownership. The world would be a worse place without any such protection. Note, however, that such ownership is not fundamentally moral on mid-libertarianism. We shall get back to this in section 3, when we discuss objections to mid-libertarianism.

2.3 Mid-Libertarianism Avoids Some of the Main Objections Raised Against Utilitarianism

So far, I have argued that mid-libertarianism fares better than classical libertarianism, and that this is due to its utilitarian proviso. One might question, therefore, why we should not move entirely to utilitarianism rather than revising libertarianism into a more utilitarian-like theory. In this section, I answer this question by showing that mid-libertarianism can avoid some of the objections that have been leveled against utilitarianism. The objections I will consider are that (i) utilitarianism is too demanding, (ii) utilitarianism is impractical, and (iii) utilitarianism is too impersonal.

According to (i), which is called *the demandingness objection*, utilitarianism is implausible for implying too high demands on ordinary people in their ordinary lives. If spending all of your spare time on working for Oxfam would maximize utility, then utilitarianism demands that you do so. If donating all your organs to others in order to

³ When I hereafter talk about "someone's" resources, or the resources that someone "has" or "possesses", I simply mean the resources that this someone effectively (e.g., physically) controls, thus neglecting the issue of whether these resources are their moral property.

save their lives, and doing so would be utility-maximizing, then utilitarianism demands that you do so. And this is, at least to many people, to demand *too* much.

Mid-libertarianism does not have these implications. Since it distinguishes between personal and external resources, and since the utilitarian proviso applies only to (and conditionally on the use of) external resources, mid-libertarianism does not demand that people sacrifice their personal resources – such as their own time or body parts – for the sake of others. Perhaps one might think that mid-libertarianism is too demanding nevertheless, since it requires that the external resources we have are used so as to maximize utility, but it is clear that mid-libertarianism fares at least better than utilitarianism from the view of demandingness.

According to (ii), which is sometimes called *the impracticality objection*, utilitarianism is implausible for providing too little practical action guidance. For one reason, agents often do not know (and cannot know) which of alternative actions will produce most utility (Feldman 2006). One of the reasons why utilitarianism is vulnerable to this objection, is that it takes into consideration *all* those acts that are available to the agent. Since it is practically impossible for the agent to assess *all* the consequences of *all* these acts, and *all* the values of all these consequences, she cannot know which act she morally ought to perform.

Mid-libertarianism, however, does *not* take into consideration all those acts that are available to the agent. The reason is that the utilitarian proviso applies only to those acts that involve the use of external resources, and is restricted only to those acts that do not violate any rights. This restricted sub-set of actions has fewer members than the total set of available actions. Moreover, on mid-libertarianism, the agent could always do right by doing nothing at all. Therefore, mid-libertarianism fares better than utilitarianism from the perspective of practicality.

According to (iii), which might be called *the impersonality objection*, utilitarianism is implausible for being too impersonal. This is partly because it rejects the separateness of persons. Utilitarianism is an *aggregationist* approach, implying that we may permissibly sacrifice the lives of innocent others, if doing so will produce more utility. For this reason, utilitarianism also rejects the self-ownership thesis, which means that it does not endorse any moral rights of individuals. Although this is something that utilitarians are well aware of, it is an implication that comes with certain costs. Indeed, many people have the intuition that it is wrong to sacrifice innocent people – even if doing so maximizes utility.

Mid-libertarianism avoids this implication too, since, on mid-libertarianism, people have fundamental moral rights over themselves. Hence, it does not allow that we sacrifice innocent others. If we want to make the world a better place, we are permitted to use only external resources (and our own personal resources) for such purposes. This permission is sanctioned by mid-libertarianism's rejection of fundamental moral rights over external resources.

2.4 Mid-Libertarianism Maintains Some of the Explanatory Powers of Utilitarianism

Mid-libertarianism does not only manage to avoid some of the main objections that can be raised against utilitarianism, it also maintains some of utilitarianism's explanatory powers. The main strengths of utilitarianism are the explanations it gives as to why one should help those in need, and why we should do the best we can with the resources we have. It explains in an intuitive manner why the rich should help the poor. Also, it manages to explain why our obligations to help others increase with the amount of resources we have (since the more resources one has, the more good one can do).

These recommendations are sometimes given by other moral theories as well, but the utilitarian explanation as to *why* we should perform such acts appear more straightforward: The right thing to do is to produce as much good as possible. Utilitarianism thus appears to point out *the right kind of reason* for why we should share our resources with others, and why the haves should help the have nots, and so on. In other words, utilitarianism appears to give the *correct* explanation to some of our widely held intuitions. Since mid-libertarianism endorses the utility principle as a proviso for use of external resources, it manages to yield many of these explanations too. It says that we should do the best we can with whatever external resources we have. Indeed, it does not imply any *unconditional* duties to help the poor, but it provides an explanation to our intuitions at issue that seems good enough. We shall get back to this in section 3.

2.5 Summing Up

Summarizing section 2, mid-libertarianism's combination of the libertarian non-aggression principle and the utilitarian proviso makes it capable of explaining intuitions such that:

- 1) We should not do bad to others; and
- 2) We should do good to others with the external resources we have.

Given that the utilitarian proviso is conditional on the use of external resources, whereas the non-aggression principle is non-conditional, mid-libertarianism also manages to explain the intuition that:

- 3) It is worse to do something bad (e.g., to kill someone) than to not do something good (e.g., to not save someone).

Moreover, since mid-libertarianism (just as other libertarian theories) distinguishes between personal and external resources, it can explain the intuition that:

- 4) It is typically worse to interfere with (e.g., punching, shooting, stealing) someone's *personal* resources (e.g., body parts) than someone's *external* resources (e.g., her money or belongings).

In virtue of the utilitarian proviso, mid-libertarianism also manages to explain the intuition that:

5) We should do as much good as we can with the external resources we have.

It also manages to explain an intuition that at least libertarians tend to have, namely that:

6) We are morally permitted to do nothing *at all* (i.e., given that we have not already done something that requires compensation).

Of course, these intuitions are only some of those (whose propositional content) we would want a moral theory to explain. However, whereas classical libertarianism appears to give the correct explanation *only* to 1, 3, 4 and 6, and utilitarianism appears to give the correct explanation *only* to 2 and 5, mid-libertarianism manages to give correct explanations to *all* of them.

Sure, mid-libertarianism does have some counterintuitive implications of its own. It seems, for instance, to imply that it is not better to do something good than to do nothing at all. These implications, and other potential objections, are discussed in what follows.

3 Answering Potential Objections to Mid-Libertarianism

Although mid-libertarianism has not been discussed in the literature, I will in this section defend it against some potential objections that could be derived from the current debate. First, I answer the objection that the utilitarian proviso, as situated in the mid-libertarian theory, is not an interesting proviso at all. Second, I answer the objection that mid-libertarianism is a too complex moral theory. Third, I defend mid-libertarianism against the objection that it yields too counterintuitive implications. Fourth, I answer the objection that left-libertarianism is, at any rate, a superior moral theory.

3.1 Is the Utilitarian Proviso Really a Proviso?

As mentioned in section 1.2, most libertarians who accept a proviso think that it constitutes a condition for successful appropriation (i.e., a condition for when an appropriation results in private ownership). In my formulation of mid-libertarianism, however, the utilitarian proviso does not fill any ownership-generating function. Thus, one might question whether the utilitarian proviso is a proviso at all, and whether mid-libertarianism is a libertarian theory at all.

It is true that a fulfillment of the utilitarian proviso does not, on the mid-libertarian formulation, generate ownership in any fundamentally moral sense. However, it is not a requirement of a proviso that it fills such a function. As mentioned in section 1.2, the possibility of a libertarian proviso is due to the distinction between personal resources and external resources, and the fact that nothing follows immediately from the self-ownership theses with respect to the use, appropriation, or

ownership of external resources. Moreover, since the libertarian theory of appropriation implies that any form of *use* of (unowned) resources amounts to an (at least attempted) *act of appropriation* of those resources, a proviso should apply to any kind of use of external resources – whether or not a fulfillment of the proviso is supposed to generate private ownership. Locke, for instance, seem to have thought of the proviso not as a condition for successful ownership in particular, but rather as a condition for use of external resources in general (Locke 1690, Ch. 5).

Therefore, there is nothing inconsistent with a theory (like mid-libertarianism) that endorses the self-ownership thesis, without endorsing the possibility of private appropriation of external resources in a sense that can generate moral ownership over those resources. In fact, mid-libertarianism is not the one and only libertarian theory that rejects the possibility to privately own external resources in a fundamentally moral sense. According to so-called *Joint Ownership Left-Libertarianism*, for instance, the world's external resources belong to humans *collectively*, which means that it cannot become *private* property (Cohen 1995; Vallentyne and van der Vossen 2014).

What, then, happens if one fails to satisfy the proviso? As mentioned in section 1.2, libertarians tend to disagree on how a failure to meet the proviso relates to wrongdoing. Still, they all think any proviso-violation requires *compensation*. The role of compensation is thus twofold in the libertarian tradition. First and foremost, it is considered as a requirement conditional on rights-violations. If I steal something from you, then I owe you compensation as rectification for that. Second, compensation is considered as a requirement conditional on proviso-violations. If I fail to meet the proviso for use of external resources, then I am required to compensate for this by doing something that leads to a situation that is normatively equivalent to the situation that would have obtained had I satisfied the proviso. Although libertarians typically forbid compensation to be used as a justification for rights-violations, they allow compensation to be used as a justification for proviso-violations. This means that agents have the choice either to satisfy the proviso or to pay compensation for violating it.

On right-libertarianism, this means doing something that guarantees that those affected by one's appropriation of a certain resource will in the end be no worse off than they would have been had one not appropriated or used those resources. On left-libertarianism, this instead requires promoting equality to the same extent that an egalitarian distribution of the involved resources would have done. On mid-libertarianism, this requires performing some act that produces the same amount of utility as a utility-maximizing usage of the relevant resources would have produced.

This implies that if an agent uses a certain resource, and the maximally good usage (available to the agent) of that resource would produce n utils, then this compensation clause allows the agent to omit using them in that way if she produces n utils in some other permissible way. Of course, this cannot (initially, at least) be done by using external resources, since those resources should be used so as to maximize utility in the first place. What is left, however, are the alternatives to spend one's own time or personal resources on doing things for others that one would otherwise not have been obliged to do. For instance, if the agent could produce n utils by working one weekend for Oxfam, taking part of a medical testing program, telling stories

to orphans, singing to elderly, or donating blood or sperms/eggs or bone marrow or a kidney, or etcetera, then doing so would free her from the obligation to use these resources in a utility-maximizing way. In summary, therefore, the utilitarian proviso is not less of a proviso than other provisos in the libertarian tradition.

3.2 Isn't Mid-Libertarianism a Too Complex Moral Theory?

Since mid-libertarianism combines libertarianism's non-aggression principle with a utilitarian proviso, it might appear to be a more complex theory than classical versions of libertarianism. And since simplicity is considered a virtue of a moral theory, one may object that mid-libertarianism is lacking in this regard.

One might think that complexity is problematic either *per se*, or for the problems that it gives rise to. What concerns the latter, one might think that mid-libertarianism's complexity is problematic because it yields conflicting verdicts. Consider the following example. An agent uses some external resources, the utility-maximizing usage of which would produce x utils. But instead of using them that way, the agent donates a kidney as compensation which produces x utils as well. When doing so, the agent no longer has any moral obligation to redistribute these external resources so as to maximize utility. As this means, the agent is free to keep them for herself. However, as was argued in section 2.3, agents are allowed to use *others'* external resources if they use them in a utility-maximizing way. For instance, you are allowed to use my boat in order to save some drowning children. Thus, there seems to be a conflict between the permission of one agent to keep a certain resource for herself, and the permission of other agents to use this resource in order to maximize utility.

In response to this, two things should be emphasized. First, the conflict at issue is not a *principled* conflict. It would be a principled conflict only if the permissions at issue were considered as *rights* belonging to the respective agents. If one person has a right to a certain resource, this implies that other people may not use it without that person's consent. But no such rights are sanctioned by mid-libertarianism. That one agent has a *permission* to keep a certain resource for herself does not exclude that other agents *also* have a permission to use this resource. Hence, the conflict is merely practical. Similar practical conflicts are yielded by other versions of libertarianism too, at least in cases regarding appropriations of external resources. For instance, two agents who are about to appropriate a certain previously unowned piece of land are both permitted to take the land.

Second, both mid-libertarianism and classical versions of libertarianism can avoid such practical complexities. Since they commonly prohibit rights-violations, they prohibit agents to intervene in other agents' ongoing use of resources, given that such an intervention would violate the rights of those agents. Thus, they imply a recommendation along the lines of a "first come, first served"-rule. Given that the notion of "rights-violation" is determined partly by the notion of "consent" (recall that a rights-violation *is* a non-consensual boundary-crossing), both theories moreover allow for negotiation to play a role in cases of practical conflict. Mid-libertarianism would also imply that a person who can produce more utility out of a certain resource-usage in a certain situation is morally permitted to such usage in that

situation, whereas others are obliged not to use these resources themselves in that situation (since, for them, not using them would be the best way of using them in such cases).

This suggests that mid-libertarianism is not a more complex moral theory than any other version of libertarianism that comes with a proviso for use of external resources. Sure, this does not show that mid-libertarianism is not too complex, since these other theories might be too complex as well. This brings us to the worry that complexity is problematic *per se*. In reply to this worry, however, it should be mentioned that the standard of simplicity must be weighed against other standards for moral theory evaluation, such as the standard of explanatory power (Timmons 2012). If mid-libertarianism manages to explain our moral intuitions better than some rival moral theories (as I argued in section 2), then the fact that it is more complex is not decisive for its relative plausibility.

On that note, the simplicity standard operates in relation to the *reality* of morality. If morality is *actually* a complex matter, then simplicity is not as such a virtue of any moral theory. This suggests that the simplicity standard is all about *precision* – i.e., about how well a moral theory tracks the truths of moral matters. If there are actually two “moral laws”, as it were, out there (i.e., one that forbids rights-violation, and one that demands utility-maximization with respect to use of external resources), then a “complex” theory like mid-libertarianism would be more precise than “simpler” theories.

3.3 Doesn't Mid-Libertarianism Yield Too Counterintuitive Implications?

In section 2, I argued that mid-libertarianism can explain some of our widely held moral intuitions, and that it avoids some of the main objections that can be levelled against classical libertarianism and utilitarianism, respectively. Still, this does not exclude that mid-libertarianism yields counterintuitive implications nevertheless. In this subsection, I bring forward, and reply to, some charges in this regard. More precisely, I discuss the objections that (i) mid-libertarianism requires too much of us, and (ii) mid-libertarianism sometimes recommends us to do nothing rather than something good.

Starting with (i), one might argue that even if mid-libertarianism does not require that we donate our own organs or spare time (or other personal resources) to others, it still demands that we give away most of the external resources we possess. For instance, when I eat food I obviously use that food. And since food is an external resource, mid-libertarianism requires that I use it in a utility-maximizing way. Given that eating the food myself is worse than giving it away to the poor, mid-libertarianism recommends that I do not eat it myself. As this seems to hold for any instance of food-eating, mid-libertarianism seems to imply that I starve myself to death. This is counterintuitive.

Although eating is an act to which the utilitarian proviso applies (in virtue of being an instance of external resource-usage), giving one's food away to the poor *at every meal* will most likely not maximize utility. If you give it all away to the poor, you will soon become unable to do other good things in your life. And this effect

is certainly relevant to the ranking of your available distributions of that food with regard to utility production.

Moreover, as was mentioned in section 3.1, mid-libertarianism allows that the agent does not redistribute her external resources in a maximally efficient way, if she makes sure to produce the same amount of utility (or more) by other means. If the agent can do so by working one weekend for Oxfam or donating a kidney, then she does not have to make the redistribution. This compensation clause of mid-libertarianism gives it an advantage as compared to utilitarianism with respect to demandingness, since utilitarianism would require that the agent in this situation redistributes her resources to others *and* works voluntarily for Oxfam during one weekend *and* donates her kidney. This, I think, shows that mid-libertarianism does not demand *too* much of us.

A more serious objection to mid-libertarianism is (ii), the objection that it sometimes recommends people to do nothing rather than something good. This conflicts with the intuition that it is always better to do something good than to do nothing. To see why mid-libertarianism yields this recommendation, reconsider the boat case (from section 2.2). Now, however, assume that you use my boat in order to save only *one* child, whereas you could have used it to save both children. Given that saving two children is better than saving one, mid-libertarianism implies that you acted wrongly and hence impermissibly. However, if you would not have used the boat at all, but rather stood by and watched both children drowning, then mid-libertarianism would not imply that you acted wrongly – but rather permissibly. This is a counter-intuitive implication.

This objection could perhaps be avoided if the utility principle's maximizing approach were replaced with a *satisficing* approach. According to such an approach, agents would not be obligated to maximize utility, but “only” to produce a satisficing amount of utility. However, this revision would be vulnerable to a structurally similar objection, concerning cases where the agent would produce just a little less utility than what is required in order to pass the threshold set by the satisficing approach. In that case, even a satisficing approach would recommend that the agent do nothing rather than something good.

There is one threshold that would not have this problem for the satisficing approach. This is the threshold that only requires an *improvement*, meaning that agents who use external resources are required to make the world a better place compared to what it would have been had they not used these resources. The problem with this approach, however, is that it would allow almost anyone to use almost anyone else's resource at almost any time, since it is almost always possible to make improvements with others' resources. In the boat case, for instance, you would be allowed to use my boat without my consent just for your own fun of it (given that doing so would be an overall utility improvement in the world).

Perhaps this is not in the end *that* problematic, since the world's external resources would thus eventually end up where they can produce most utility. If one finds this too problematic nonetheless, one could make revisions in the mid-libertarian axiology. A pluralist axiology that identifies other values than utility, or a non-welfarist view on utility, would perhaps do the trick. On such an axiology, non-consensual use of others' resources could be regarded as intrinsically bad, and thus

as something that should be considered when assessing whether a certain instance of resource-usage makes the world a better place. If so, mid-libertarianism would *not* allow you to use my boat as you wish.

At any rate, the implication that it is sometimes better to do nothing at all than to do something good is yielded by any moral theory – including both left- and right-libertarianism – that requires good-doing conditionally on the use of external resources. Adherents of mid-libertarianism could thus do as adherents of these other views, and just bite the bullet. All moral theories have counterintuitive implications in some cases (Vallentyne 2009). Or, they could try to find ways to debunk the intuition that it is always better to do something good than nothing at all.

3.4 Why Not Left-Libertarianism Instead of Mid-Libertarianism?

In section 2, I argued that the main argument for mid-libertarianism is that it can explain the rightness and wrongness of actions in a way that better accords with our intuitions than classical libertarianism. Since a roughly similar argument was given for left-libertarianism by its adherents when they introduced their theory, I should say something about how mid-libertarianism fares in comparison to left-libertarianism in particular.

There are several versions of left-libertarianism discussed in the literature. What is common to them all is the view that external resources initially belong to everyone in some egalitarian manner. More precisely, left-libertarianism accepts a proviso according to which use of external resources require that they are distributed in order to neutralize existing inequalities that stem from people's different internal (in)abilities which they possess through no choice or fault of their own. What distinguishes different versions of left-libertarianism is their view on exactly *what* it is that shall be equalized.

I shall here stick to what I think is the most plausible version of left-libertarianism, so-called *equal opportunity left-libertarianism*, which is advocated by Otsuka (1998, 2003) and Vallentyne (2007b, 2009). Quoting Vallentyne and van der Vossen (2014: 14), equal opportunity left-libertarianism

...interprets the Lockean proviso as requiring that one leave enough for others to have an opportunity for well-being that is at least as good as the opportunity for well-being that one obtained in using or appropriating natural resources. Individuals who leave less than this are required to pay the full competitive value of their excess share to those deprived of their fair share.

Having clarified that, I see three potential arguments for why left-libertarianism could be more plausible than mid-libertarianism: (i) left-libertarianism is a more coherent moral theory, (ii) left-libertarianism is a more practicable moral theory, and (iii) left-libertarianism has more intuitive appeal.

When it comes to (i), left-libertarianism's egalitarian proviso might seem to be more coherent with the non-aggression principle, than mid-libertarianism's utilitarian proviso. That is, it might seem that libertarianism's self-ownership thesis coheres better with the view that external resources should be distributed in an egalitarian

manner. However, if we think that there is an upside for left-libertarianism regarding coherency, then this is presumably because we think of the clash between libertarianism and utilitarianism when considered as separate moral views – i.e., as *mutually exclusive* moral theories. But mid-libertarianism considers the utilitarian principle to govern a *different* domain of actions than the libertarian principle. And there is no tension between a non-aggression principle that applies generally, and a utility principle that applies particularly to (and conditionally on) the use of external resources. So, if left-libertarianism is to be considered more plausible than mid-libertarianism, it cannot be for reasons having to do with coherency.

When it comes to (ii), the practicability issue, one may think that egalitarianism is more practicable than utilitarianism, since egalitarianism does not require as much of ordinary agents as utilitarianism. Egalitarianism does not require that the agent has knowledge about all the values of all the outcomes of all her available options. And since left-libertarianism endorses an egalitarian proviso, it appears to be more practicable than mid-libertarianism. However, if a utilitarian proviso is practically problematic for the reason that it is hard for agents to know which of alternative distributions will maximize utility, it seems that the egalitarian proviso will be equally problematic for the reason that it is also hard for agents to know which of alternative distributions will equalize people's opportunities for wellbeing. For instance, it seems quite hard to know which opportunities for well-being other people in fact have, and which opportunities oneself will obtain by using certain resources. It also seems hard to know what is the *equality level* of opportunity for wellbeing (i.e., the level that serves as a reference point for the egalitarian proviso). Hence, the practicality problem is not a problem solely for mid-libertarianism, but also for left-libertarianism as well as for many other moral theories (Feldman 2006; Zimmerman 2008). What is more, many of these practicality issues stem from empirical questions belonging to empirical sciences rather than normative ethics. Even if these are hard questions to answer, they are not ethical questions.

One might still think that left-libertarianism is more practicable than mid-libertarianism for the reason that it offers the agent *more alternatives* with respect to resource-usage than mid-libertarianism does. Left-libertarianism implies that when an agent has used more external resources than is needed for her equal opportunity for well-being, she has the choice to (i) return these resources to the commons, *or* (ii) redistribute the resources in a way that equalizes opportunities for wellbeing, *or* (iii) spend the revenues from her own excess resource usage on improving the situation of those who are worse off (in terms of opportunities for wellbeing).

However, similar options are offered by mid-libertarianism. Mid-libertarianism gives the agent the choice to (i) return the resources to the commons (i.e., stop using them), *or* (ii) redistribute the resources in a utility-maximizing way, *or* (iii) spend the revenues from such excess resource usage on any utility-maximizing action. As we saw above, mid-libertarianism also lends the option to (iv) use the external resources herself and then perform some other act that produces at least as much utility as a utility-maximizing distribution of those resources would do. Hence, mid-libertarianism is in this sense at least as practicable as left-libertarianism.

As regards (iii), concerning intuitive appeal, it might seem that left-libertarianism has more intuitive appeal (than mid-libertarianism) for the reason that it allows

for fundamental moral rights over external resources. As long as the initial act of appropriation satisfies the proviso, this act generates moral ownership over the involved resources. For instance, if you made sure initially that you did not use more resources when building your house than what needs to be left for others in order for them to have an equal opportunity for wellbeing, then this house would become your private property. That sounds intuitive.

We should recall, however, that even mid-libertarianism allows for some private external property, it is just that it does not endorse *fundamentally moral* external private property. And it is not obvious that this is less plausible than left-libertarianism's endorsement of such fundamentally moral property rights. Consider the boat case (from section 2.2) once again. If I made sure initially that I did not use more resources when building my boat than what needs to be left for others for them to have an equal opportunity for wellbeing, then on left-libertarianism that boat would be my private property. This means that on left-libertarianism I would not have any obligation to use it so as to save the drowning children, neither would you be allowed to use it to save these children. To me, the counter-intuitiveness of this implication carries heavier weight than the intuitiveness of the implication that some fundamentally moral private property rights over external resources is endorsed.

As this unveils, mid-libertarianism can, whilst left-libertarianism cannot, explain why it is typically worse to interfere with (e.g., punching, shooting, stealing) someone's personal resources (e.g., her body) than someone's external resources (e.g., her money). Moreover, mid-libertarianism can explain, whilst left-libertarianism cannot, why those who possess more external resources have a stronger duty to help others than those who have less.

As Vallentyne correctly notes, “[t]he real test of a theory is its overall plausibility – both in the abstract and in application over a broad range of cases” (2009: 7). Settling the battle between left-libertarianism and mid-libertarianism in this respect is beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say that mid-libertarianism is not obviously less plausible than left-libertarianism.

4 Conclusion

This paper has introduced and defended a new libertarian moral theory: mid-libertarianism. This theory combines the libertarian non-aggression principle with a utilitarian proviso for use of external resources. Mid-libertarianism is inspired by the works of modern left-libertarians, but while left-libertarianism implies that external resources belong to everyone in an egalitarian manner, mid-libertarianism implies that they should be used in a utilitarian manner.

The main argument for mid-libertarianism is that its recommendations cohere better with our moral intuitions compared to existing versions of libertarianism. I have argued that mid-libertarianism maintains the main explanatory powers of these theories, at the same time as it manages to avoid their main troubles. I have also argued that it can deal with several other potential objections, and that it is at least not worse than left-libertarianism. In conclusion, mid-libertarianism is a new contestant in the normative ethics debate.

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Understanding Libertarian Morality: The Psychological Dispositions of Self-Identified Libertarians

Ravi Iyer^{1*}, Spassena Koleva¹, Jesse Graham¹, Peter Ditto², Jonathan Haidt³

1 Department of Psychology, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, United States of America, **2** Department of Psychology and Social Behavior, Irvine, California, United States of America, **3** Department of Psychology, Charlottesville, Virginia, United States of America

Abstract

Libertarians are an increasingly prominent ideological group in U.S. politics, yet they have been largely unstudied. Across 16 measures in a large web-based sample that included 11,994 self-identified libertarians, we sought to understand the moral and psychological characteristics of self-described libertarians. Based on an intuitionist view of moral judgment, we focused on the underlying affective and cognitive dispositions that accompany this unique worldview. Compared to self-identified liberals and conservatives, libertarians showed 1) stronger endorsement of individual liberty as their foremost guiding principle, and weaker endorsement of all other moral principles; 2) a relatively cerebral as opposed to emotional cognitive style; and 3) lower interdependence and social relatedness. As predicted by intuitionist theories concerning the origins of moral reasoning, libertarian values showed convergent relationships with libertarian emotional dispositions and social preferences. Our findings add to a growing recognition of the role of personality differences in the organization of political attitudes.

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* E-mail: raviyer@usc.edu

Introduction

“Civilization is the process of setting man free from men.”
- Ayn Rand (1944)

Political psychologists have learned a great deal about the psychological differences between liberals and conservatives [1–4], but very little is known about the psychological characteristics of libertarians, who are sometimes described as being conservative on economic issues (e.g., against government regulation of free markets) but liberal on social issues (e.g., against government intrusion into private matters like sex or drug use). In the United States, libertarians appear to be rising in both numbers [5] and prominence in national politics [6]. The presidential candidacies of Texas Congressman Ron Paul in 2008 and 2012 and the 2009 birth of the “Tea Party” movement have greatly elevated the visibility and importance of libertarian ideas about individual liberty and the importance of limited government. Many “Tea Party” members are actually socially conservative [7], but emphasize ideas about limited government that reflect libertarian principles. In this paper, we document libertarian moral psychology, which, as we show, is distinct from both liberal and conservative moralities. We use this unique group to illustrate how psychological dispositions predispose individuals to endorse particular values and choose coherent ideological identifications,

consistent with current models of moral intuitionism [8], ideological choice [9], and the moralization of preferences [10].

Beyond the Bipolar View of Political Personality

The “culture war” fought out in American public and political life since the 1980s has often been described in binary terms as a conflict between two visions of morality and moral authority [11,12]. On the right, the conservative side has insisted that there is an objective moral truth. Traditional institutions are seen as embodying the wisdom of the ages, and therefore closely reflecting this moral truth. On the left, the liberal side has insisted that moral truth is not fixed for all time, but is a work in progress, to be reinterpreted toward the goal of promoting greater well-being for all [11–13]. Psychologists have been able to measure these differences in moral judgment [3] along with their underlying personality correlates. For example, political conservatism has been found to be associated with greater tolerance of inequality, and lesser tolerance of change [4], greater conscientiousness [1], and greater sensitivity to disgust [14]. Political liberals, on the other hand, tend to be more open than conservatives to new experiences [1] and more empathic [15]. This research has been an important first step in understanding the ideology-personality relation, and the psychological organization of political attitudes. Rozin [16] highlighted the importance of identifying real-world invariance in meaningful parts of life, for which political ideology certainly qualifies.

Yet within research on ideology, libertarianism—with its mix of liberal and conservative sensibilities—has gone largely unstudied.

Libertarian ideology prescribes a unique pattern of moral concerns that cannot be readily classified on the standard left-right dimension, but as with differences between liberals and conservatives, these unique sensibilities should be measurable using existing psychological scales. In this paper, we empirically address the question of what dispositional traits, emotions, and social preferences predict self-identification as libertarian. Based on the stated beliefs of libertarian intellectual leaders, as well as previous research on the social and intuitive origins of moral beliefs [17], we generate three broad expectations about libertarian psychology and evaluate them in a large dataset, across a variety of psychological characteristics. In addition to providing a detailed empirical description of the distinct moral-psychological profile of individuals who self-identify as libertarians in the US context, we examine the relations between their dispositional traits, values, and social preferences allowing us more general insight into the origins of moral judgment, which can then be applied to any group with this distinct psychological profile.

Libertarian Ideology

Modern libertarians are attitudinally diverse, but all types of libertarianism trace their origins back to the enlightenment thinkers of the 17th and 18th century who argued that states, laws, and governments exist for the benefit of the people. The *individual* is the unit of value, and the liberty of the individual is the essential precondition for human flourishing. John Locke wrote: “the great and chief end, therefore, of men’s uniting into commonwealths and putting themselves under government is the preservation of their property” ([18] - Para 123). Locke had an expansive notion of property, which included men’s “lives, liberties, and estates.” His ideas were later paraphrased into one of the most famous phrases in the Declaration of Independence: “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

Libertarianism has historically rejected the idea that the needs of one person impose a moral duty upon others. This is one of the major points on which liberals and libertarians diverged in the 20th century. Libertarianism stayed close to Locke’s and Mill’s notions of liberty as freedom from interference, which the philosopher Isaiah Berlin [19] later called “negative liberty.” But beginning in the progressive era of the late 19th century, the American left began to adopt European ideas about the conditions and entitlements that people need to make the most of their liberty. Government action came to be seen as essential for ensuring “positive liberty” by providing the social conditions – such as education, health care, and financial security – that give people the freedom to pursue their own happiness.

Seen in this light it becomes clear why American libertarians are sometimes called “classical liberals,” and in Europe, the term liberal is often used in the same way that “classical liberal” is used in the United States. It also becomes clear why libertarian thought is now associated with anti-government and anti-progressive movements. Libertarianism provides an ideological narrative whereby the opposition to high taxes and big government is not just an “economic” position: it is a *moral* position as well. This narrative provides the basis for principled opposition to a government seen as unfair (because it takes from the productive and gives to the unproductive), tyrannical (because it violates the negative liberty of some people to promote the positive liberty of others), and wasteful (because governments rarely achieve the efficiencies generated by the competition of private firms).

The Psychological Roots of the Libertarian Ideology

The most obvious psychological characteristic of libertarian ideology is the value placed on negative liberty as an overriding

moral principle, as can be seen in this quote concerning a law outlawing online gambling, from U.S. Congressman Ron Paul [20], the most libertarian contender in recent times for the nomination of a major political party:

The most basic principle to being a free American is the notion that we as individuals are responsible for our own lives and decisions. We do not have the right to rob our neighbors to make up for our mistakes, neither does our neighbor have any right to tell us how to live, so long as we aren’t infringing on their rights.... There are those that feel online gambling is morally wrong and financially irresponsible, which I do not argue with, but they also feel that because of this, the government should step in and prevent or punish people for taking part in these activities. This attitude is anathema to the ideas of liberty.

Libertarians appear to have a coherent moral philosophy, which includes a general opposition to forcing any particular moral code upon others. Note that Paul is not saying that gambling is morally acceptable. Rather, he is saying that (negative) liberty has a moral value that supersedes other moral considerations. Libertarians seem willing to reject both liberal concerns for social justice [21] and conservative concerns for respecting existing social structure [22] when those concerns conflict with their superordinate interest in maintaining individual liberty. The goal of our first study is to confirm these observations by directly surveying a broad range of moral values and concerns, and testing whether self-described libertarians place a higher value on liberty and a lower value on other moral concerns, compared to self-described liberals and conservatives.

But what might explain the libertarian focus on liberty to the exclusion of other moral concerns? Recent work in moral psychology suggests that moral attitudes arise, at least in part, from low-level “dispositional traits” [23], emotional reactions [8,24], social function [17], and the moralization of preferences [10]. These moral attitudes have, in turn, been found to be associated with ideological self-identification [3,9].

This work suggests that one explanation for the unique moral profile of libertarians is that they *feel* traditional moral concerns less than do most other people. Tetlock, et al. [25] found that libertarians were less morally outraged by “taboo” moral tradeoffs (e.g., buying and selling body parts for transplantation) than were liberals, conservatives, or socialists. Recent research in moral psychology has emphasized the importance of intuitive and emotional reactions in producing moral judgments that appear, on their face, to be based on principled reasoning [8,24,26]. Might libertarians be more tolerant on issues of private consensual behavior than conservatives because they exhibit lower levels of disgust sensitivity [27]? Might libertarians depart from liberals on social justice issues because they have weaker feelings of empathy [15]? Indeed, libertarian writers have historically been proud of the rational — rather than emotional — roots of their ideology [28]. The possible exception to this rule, of course, is the vigorous reaction libertarians often have to violations of personal freedom. Libertarians’ characteristic pattern of emotional reactions (and lack thereof) may constrain the types of concerns that they moralize, which in turn affects their attraction to libertarian self-identification. We investigate this possibility in Study 2.

Finally, emotional reactions, and the moral principles that derive from them, serve interpersonal functions [17,29], such as navigating the social world [30] and forming groups with others [31]. Libertarians may have a dispositional preference for

independence, perhaps even for solitude, and therefore less use for moral principles that bind them to others. In *The Fountainhead*, Ayn Rand [32] writes about the importance of maintaining one's individuality within social relationships. Do libertarians identify less with the people in their lives, with groups, and with their nations? Do they derive less enjoyment from the company of others? This relative preference for individualism may gradually become moralized into a conscious endorsement of liberty as a moral principle [10], predisposing them to a libertarian self-identification. We investigate these possibilities in Study 3.

The Current Research

In this paper, we let libertarians speak for themselves. We report the results of 16 surveys in which a total of 11,994 self-identified libertarians participated. We show how self-described libertarians differ from self-described liberals and conservatives not just on their moral beliefs, but on a variety of personality measures that, given previous research on the emotional [8,30] and social origins of moral reasoning [17,29,33], help us to understand *why* libertarians may hold their unique pattern of moral beliefs.

Our goal, however, was not just to describe the moral intuitions and dispositional traits of libertarians. Our second goal was to provide further evidence for the dispositional origins of ideology [1,9], the role of intuition in moral attitudes [8], and the role that social functioning plays in moral thinking [17,29,33]. More specifically, we sought to replicate tests of a predictive model of ideological identification [9] that is similar to McAdams' framework of personality. McAdams' [34,35] three-level account of personality posits that the lowest level consists of global, decontextualized "dispositional traits," such as the Big 5 or disgust sensitivity. Level 2 refers to a person's "characteristic adaptations" such as values, goals attachment styles, and defense mechanisms. McAdams' third level consists of "integrative life stories," which are the idiosyncratic stories that people tell themselves about themselves. These stories often weave the level 1 and level 2 constructs into narratives that help people understand and justify their particular moral values. Haidt, Graham, and Joseph [36] modified McAdams' third level for work in political psychology by pointing out that not all of these stories are self-constructed. We do not explicitly examine integrative narratives in this study, but when one gravitates toward an existing political party or ideology, one takes on many of the ideological narratives that have been laboriously constructed over decades by authors such as Ayn Rand (who, not coincidentally, put most of her political philosophy into narrative form in her novels).

To apply this model to the study of libertarians, we first show that libertarians do indeed have a distinct profile of moral concerns (Study 1). We then show that dispositional traits relate to ideological identification, and that this relationship is often mediated by moral intuitions, which can be thought of as a type of characteristic adaptation in McAdams' terminology (Study 2). In Study 3, we show that specific moral concerns relate to distinct styles of social functioning, and that libertarians' unique moral profile relates to their social preferences. Consistent with theories of parallel constraint satisfaction [37], we show that libertarianism can be understood as a set of relationships between a broad number of dispositional traits, social preferences, and moral values.

We begin with three general predictions.

- 1) *Libertarians will value liberty more strongly and consistently than liberals or conservatives, at the expense of other moral concerns.* This expectation is based on the explicit writings of libertarian authors (e.g. the Libertarian party website at lp.org, with the title "The Party of Principle: Minimum Government, Maximum Freedom").
- 2) *Libertarians will rely upon emotion less – and reason more – than will either liberals or conservatives.* This expectation is based upon previous research on the affective origins of moral judgment [8], as well as libertarians' own self-characterizations. For example, one of the main libertarian magazines is called, simply, *Reason*.
- 3) *Libertarians will be more individualistic and less collectivist compared to both liberals and conservatives.* This expectation is based upon previous research concerning the social function of moral judgment [17,29,33]. Libertarians often refer to the "right to be left alone" [38], and show strong reactance toward social or legal pressures to join groups or assume obligations toward others that are not freely chosen [39].

We evaluate these predictions in three studies using large web-based samples and a variety of measures related to morality, cognition, emotion, and social relatedness. Each "study" is actually a collection of separate studies that were conducted via a data collection website (described below), but for presentation purposes, we group them together based on the predictions they address.

Methods

Participants and Sampling Considerations

The analyses presented are based on data from 157,804 participants (45.6% female, median age = 34) who visited YourMorals.org and participated in one or more studies between June 2007 and January 2011. Results replicate within sub-samples collected before and after January 2010, indicating that the findings of this paper were not greatly affected by current events that occurred during data collection. Only participants who were raised in the United States until at least the age of 14 were included in these analyses. YourMorals.org is a data collection platform where, after providing basic demographics, participants are invited to take part in any of 6–8 featured and 30–40 overall studies, each described with a title and a brief one sentence description. Before each study, participants were presented with an IRB approved information sheet, detailing our contact information, participant rights, and study details, to which they were asked to agree. Upon completion of each scale, a graph including the participant's own score in comparison to others is provided. Participants usually find YourMorals.org through publicity about psychological research or by typing keywords related to morality into a search engine. Most participants took one or two surveys, but 37% completed more than two, and 15% completed more than five.

YourMorals.org offers a unique opportunity to examine libertarian morality because, unlike most major surveys (e.g., Gallup, ANES), it allows participants to choose the label "libertarian" as a self-descriptor, rather than forcing them to select a point on the liberal-conservative spectrum. As of January 2011, 11,994 American visitors to YourMorals.org had self-identified as "libertarian". Because our sample is not representative, we do not claim to describe the absolute percentage of libertarians who hold any particular belief or share any particular trait. Rather, our goal is to compare libertarians to liberals and conservatives on a variety of personality traits, in order to examine whether the relationships found between dispositions, values, and social functioning in previous research are also found within self-described libertarians.

Overall Design

Our main dependent variable is political self-identification, which we use to compare ideological groups within each specific study. Upon registration, participants were asked “When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as liberal, moderate, conservative, or something else?” Options available on a drop-down menu included “very liberal,” “liberal,” “slightly liberal,” “moderate/middle of the road,” “slightly conservative,” “conservative,” “very conservative,” “don’t know/not political”, “libertarian,” and “other.” The libertarian option was chosen by 7.6% (N = 11,994) of American visitors; 13.5% (N = 21,278) chose one of the three conservative options, 11.1% (N = 17,541) chose “moderate,” while the majority (61.5%, N = 97,021) chose one of the three liberal options.

Examining libertarians’ responses on social versus economic issues indicated that our participants’ understanding of the term “libertarian” converged with our expectations that they would be fiscally conservative and socially liberal. When asked “how liberal or conservative” they were on “economic issues” on a 1 (very liberal) to 7 (very conservative) scale, libertarians indicated that they were even more conservative (M = 6.10) than conservatives (M = 5.93), and far more conservative than liberals (M = 2.83). When asked the same question about “social issues”, libertarians characterized themselves as much more liberal than self-identified conservatives (M’s = 2.49 vs. 5.16), though not as liberal as liberals themselves (M = 1.66). Self-identified libertarians in our sample also reported specific political attitudes that were consistent with the expected pattern of relative social liberalism. For example, 59% of libertarians felt that “abortion should be generally available to those who want it” compared with 18% of conservatives, and 69% of libertarians felt “same sex couples should be allowed to legally marry” compared with 21% of conservatives (the comparable percentages for self-identified liberals were 84% for abortion and 92% for gay marriage). Parallel analyses using social liberalism combined with fiscal conservatism as a proxy for libertarianism in this sample replicated the main findings of this paper. Analysis of the values of a statistically extracted cluster (see Table 1) also replicates the general pattern found using self-identification. However, we report results for those who self-categorized as libertarian, as we believe that self-categorization is a significant psychological step that corresponds to how libertarianism is used in American political discourse (e.g. the libertarian party is an active third party).

The specific sub-sample that elected to take each study is described along with each measure. The full libertarian sample was mostly white (87.5% of those who answered our ethnicity question), male (79.6%), well educated (79.3% were in college or had earned a college degree), and diverse on age (mean age = 34.88, SD = 13.1). Libertarians were comparable to other participants in terms of education, ethnicity, and age, but were much more likely to be male (79.6%) compared to both liberals (50.6% male) and conservatives (63.0% male). Because of this difference and because many of the distinguishing characteristics of libertarians turn out to be traits on which there are substantial gender differences, we include tables that show the effects separately for males and females.

Due to our large sample sizes and the many differences between liberals and conservatives, virtually all measures produced highly significant contrasts. Because the degree of significance is not as important as the overall pattern of differences, we do not discuss p values in the text, though they are indicated in Tables 2, 3, and 4. Differences are shown as Cohen’s d scores in these tables to allow comparisons of effect sizes across scales and genders. Any time we say that one group scored higher or lower than another group, the

Table 1. Description of Three Groups from Study 1 Cluster Analysis.

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Number in Group	2003	737	354
MFQ-Harm mean	3.65	3.26	2.21
MFQ-Fairness mean	3.67	3.20	2.85
MFQ-ingroup mean	2.09	3.15	1.70
MFQ-Authority mean	2.01	3.35	1.56
MFQ-Purity mean	1.32	3.15	0.65
MFQ-Lifestyle Liberty mean	3.95	3.41	4.67
MFQ-Economic Liberty mean	2.44	3.63	4.24
% Liberal	73.6	17.5	17.5
% Conservative	3.8	44.1	5.6
% Libertarian	6.1	11.7	59.6
% Moderate	8.5	17.2	4.8
% Other/Don't Know/Apolitical	8.0	9.5	12.4

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difference was significant at $p < .01$, and usually at $p < .001$. In describing our effects, we generally follow Cohen’s [40] classification of effect sizes as small/slightly ($d = .10$ to $.39$), medium/moderately ($d = .40$ to $.69$), or large/substantially ($d > .70$), but give the exact d statistic when differences are very small or very large. Rather than describing each measure in a single method section, we provide a short description of each scale and its sample, followed by the results for that scale, and a brief discussion of how the results help us evaluate our three predictions. Finally, after each set of measures, many of which have a great deal of psychological overlap, we include multivariate analyses designed to help the reader synthesize each set of measures presented.

Results and Discussion

Study 1: Describing Libertarian Morality

If any civilization is to survive, it is the morality of altruism that men have to reject.
- Ayn Rand

Our first prediction was that, compared to liberals and conservatives, the morality of libertarians would be characterized by strong endorsement of individual liberty at the expense of other moral considerations. We addressed this question by examining several measures designed to give a broad overview of a person’s values and morals, in particular the Moral Foundations Questionnaire [41], and the Schwartz Value Scale [42], as well as a new measure of endorsement of liberty as a moral principle, introduced here (see Appendix S1). For convergent validity, we also examined several other scales commonly used to measure moral orientations.

Moral Foundations Questionnaire

The Moral Foundations Questionnaire (MFQ) measures the degree to which a person relies on each of five moral foundations: harm/care, fairness/reciprocity, ingroup/loyalty, authority/respect, and purity/sanctity. The scale has two parts. The first measures abstract assessments of moral relevance (e.g., “When you decide whether something is right or wrong, to what extent do you consider whether or not someone suffered emotionally?” for harm)

Table 2. Means and Cohen's d-scores for measures in Study 1.

Scale	Means			Cohen's d-score for Libertarians Compared to Liberals			Cohen's d-score for Libertarians Compared to Conservatives		
	Libertarians	Liberals	Conservatives	Overall	Men	Women	Overall	Men	Women
Moral Foundations Questionnaire									
Harm	2.73	3.68	3.03	-1.15**	-1.07**	-0.94**	-0.34**	-0.23**	-0.35**
Fairness	3.09	3.76	3.02	-0.96**	-0.95**	-0.87**	0.08**	0.13**	0.06
Ingroup	2.25	2.14	3.12	0.13**	0.10**	0.16**	-1.05**	-1.07**	-1.03**
Authority	2.16	2.12	3.32	0.06**	0.04*	0.11**	-1.42**	-1.44**	-1.35**
Purity	1.35	1.37	3.00	-0.02	0.02	0.06	-1.57**	-1.51**	-1.61**
Schwartz Values Scale									
Achievement	4.35	4.25	4.37	0.10*	0.14**	0.00	-0.02	-0.01	-0.08
Benevolence	4.01	4.65	4.53	-0.62**	-0.51**	-0.63**	-0.50**	-0.44**	-0.54**
Conformity	2.86	2.96	4.18	-0.08	-0.03	-0.11	-1.04**	-1.01**	-1.09**
Hedonism	3.97	3.81	3.14	0.11**	0.06	0.12	0.55**	0.60**	0.43**
Power	1.85	1.78	2.29	0.06	0.04	0.02	-0.34**	-0.34**	-0.37**
Security	3.52	3.60	4.30	-0.08	-0.01	-0.08	-0.79**	-0.75**	-0.83**
Self-Direction	5.36	5.13	4.79	0.27**	0.29**	0.24**	0.61**	0.61**	0.61**
Stimulation	3.39	3.42	2.83	-0.02	-0.06	0.00	0.34**	0.33**	0.37**
Tradition	1.73	1.93	3.23	-0.16**	-0.13**	-0.21**	-1.15**	-1.12**	-1.23**
Universalism	3.65	4.84	3.51	-1.06**	-1.03**	-0.88**	0.12**	0.13*	0.26*
Ethics Position Questionnaire									
Idealism	2.78	3.29	2.96	-0.64**	-0.53**	-0.62**	-0.21**	-0.07	-0.38**
Relativism	3.06	3.27	2.49	-0.25**	-0.27**	-0.09	0.58**	0.61**	0.63**
Adapted Good Self Scale									
Moral Traits	2.84	3.24	3.28	-0.73**	-0.71**	-0.60	-0.76**	-0.61*	-1.07**
Pragmatic Traits	3.04	3.03	3.07	0.02	0.00	0.20	-0.06	0.00	-0.10
Liberty Foundation									
Lifestyle Liberty	4.47	3.89	3.51	0.81**	0.80**	0.72**	1.19**	1.16**	1.16**
Economic Liberty	4.27	2.52	3.88	2.56**	2.65**	2.40**	0.52**	0.45**	0.57**

Note:
 * $p < .01$,
 ** $p < .001$ (two tailed).
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Table 3. Means and Cohen's d-scores for scales in Study 2.

Scale	Means			Cohen's d-score for Libertarians Compared to Liberals			Cohen's d-score for Libertarians Compared to Conservatives		
	Libertarians	Liberals	Conservatives	Overall	Men	Women	Overall	Men	Women
Big Five Personality Inventory									
Agreeableness	3.36	3.64	3.60	-0.45 **	-0.38 **	-0.44 **	-0.37 **	-0.27 **	-0.46 **
Conscientiousness	3.39	3.47	3.62	-0.11 **	-0.01	-0.04	-0.33 **	-0.29 **	-0.29 **
Extraversion	2.96	3.12	3.10	-0.19 **	-0.09 **	-0.17 **	-0.16 **	-0.11 **	-0.17 **
Neuroticism	2.69	2.88	2.70	-0.23 **	-0.21 **	0.00	-0.01	0.01	0.16 **
Openness	4.06	4.08	3.75	-0.04	-0.15 **	0.07	0.50 **	0.41 **	0.63 **
Interpersonal Reactivity Index									
Empathic Concern	3.21	3.92	3.57	-0.91 **	-0.81 **	-0.76 **	-0.44 **	-0.33 **	-0.42 **
Fantasy	3.51	3.75	3.46	-0.28 **	-0.22 **	-0.09	0.06	0.05	0.26 *
Personal Distress	2.14	2.41	2.23	-0.36 **	-0.32 **	-0.18	-0.11	-0.04	-0.06
Perspective Taking	3.52	3.69	3.40	-0.24 **	-0.27 **	-0.09	0.15 *	0.17 *	0.23 *
Disgust Scale	1.52	1.63	1.91	-0.20 **	-0.07 *	-0.03	-0.61 **	-0.49 **	-0.68 **
Hong Reactance Scale	3.40	3.15	3.01	0.43 **	0.49 **	0.29 *	0.65 **	0.69 **	0.54 **
Baron-Cohen									
Empathizer	2.71	3.04	2.88	-0.76 **	-0.60 **	-0.65 **	-0.38 **	-0.34 **	-0.32 *
Systemizer	2.89	2.67	2.76	0.49 **	0.22 **	0.41 **	0.31 **	0.15 *	0.42 **
Need for Cognition	4.24	4.15	3.93	0.17 **	0.11	0.13	0.54 **	0.49 **	0.61 **
Moral Dilemma - Utilitarianism									
Overall	-0.60	-1.23	-1.74	0.23 **	0.09	0.17	0.41 **	0.35 **	0.38 **
Impersonal/Less Aversive	0.87	0.26	-0.31	0.20 **	0.04	0.23	0.36 **	0.27 **	0.43 **
Personal/More Aversive	-2.06	-2.73	-3.18	0.22 **	0.12	0.09	0.36 **	0.33 **	0.23
Cognitive Reflection Task	2.06	1.73	1.57	0.31 **	0.18 **	0.15	0.46 **	0.38 **	0.39 **

Note:

* $p \leq .01$,

** $p \leq .001$ (two tailed).

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Table 4. Means and Cohen's d-scores for scales in Study 3.

Scale	Means			Cohen's d-score for Libertarians Compared to Liberals			Cohen's d-score for Libertarians Compared to Conservatives		
	Libertarians	Liberals	Conservatives	Overall	Men	Women	Overall	Men	Women
Individualism-Collectivism Scale									
Collectivism - Horizontal	3.70	4.28	4.16	-0.70 **	-0.64 **	-0.56 **	-0.55 **	-0.50 **	-0.54 **
Collectivism - Vertical	2.96	3.13	3.66	-0.22 **	-0.25 *	-0.08	-0.89 **	-0.83 **	-0.96 **
Individualism - Horizontal	5.11	4.76	4.75	0.61 **	0.67 **	0.40 **	0.59 **	0.60 **	0.50 **
Individualism - Vertical	3.69	3.08	3.66	0.65 **	0.63 **	0.53 **	0.03	-0.01	0.03
Identification with All Humanity Scale									
Identification with Community	2.77	3.07	3.24	-0.36 **	-0.27 **	-0.33 **	-0.55 **	-0.55 **	-0.47 **
Identification with Country	2.94	3.01	3.60	-0.09 *	-0.02	-0.09	-0.85 **	-0.88 **	-0.74 **
Identification with World	2.69	3.41	2.64	-0.84 **	-0.78 **	-0.71 **	0.06	0.14 **	0.01
Different Types of Love Scale									
Love for Family	4.64	4.79	5.02	-0.13	0.02	-0.23	-0.33 **	-0.23	-0.51 **
Love for Friends	4.97	5.24	5.10	-0.27 **	-0.14	-0.28	-0.13	-0.10	-0.14
Love for Generic Others	4.47	5.24	4.75	-0.78 **	-0.69 **	-0.61 **	-0.28 **	-0.25 *	-0.18
Love for Romantic Partner	5.22	5.53	5.53	-0.29 **	-0.27 **	-0.19	-0.30 **	-0.33 **	-0.18

Note:

* $p < .01$,

** $p < .001$ (two tailed).

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and the second measures agreement with more specific moral statements (e.g., “I would call some acts wrong on the grounds that they are unnatural,” for purity). The MFQ has been shown to be reliable and valid, and to predict a variety of moral and political attitudes, independent of political ideology [41]. The MFQ was completed by 97,036 participants (54,068 men; 64,109 liberals, 13,537 conservatives, and 8,539 libertarians). The number of participants given in each section includes only those participants who self-identified as liberal, conservative, or libertarian.

Results. The first five rows of Table 2 show *d* scores indicating how libertarians differed from liberals and conservatives on the MFQ (also see Figure 1). Libertarians were similar to conservatives on the fairness foundation, as both groups scored substantially lower than liberals. However, like liberals, libertarians scored substantially lower on the ingroup, authority, and purity foundations compared to conservatives. Finally, libertarians scored slightly lower than conservatives and substantially lower than liberals on the harm foundation. Convergent results were found using the Moral Foundations Sacredness Scale, which measures endorsement of foundations using a willingness to make tradeoffs.

Interpretation. Our results suggest why libertarians do not feel fully at home in either of the major American political parties. Consistent with our prediction, libertarians were relatively low on all five foundations. Libertarians share with liberals, a distaste for the morality of ingroup, authority, and purity, characteristic of social conservatives, particularly those on the religious right [43]. Like liberals, libertarians can be said to have a two-foundation morality, prioritizing harm and fairness above the other three foundations. But libertarians share with conservatives their moderate scores on these two foundations. They are therefore

likely to be less responsive than liberals to moral appeals from groups who claim to be victimized, oppressed, or treated unfairly. Libertarianism is clearly not just a point on the liberal-conservative continuum; libertarians have a unique pattern of moral concerns, with relatively low reliance on all five foundations.

Schwartz Values Scale

The SVS [42] consists of 58 statements of values. Participants rate the degree to which each value serves “as a guiding principle in his or her life,” using a 9-point scale running from “opposed to my values” to “of supreme importance.” The scale has been used widely in cross-cultural research (Schwartz et al., 2001). It produces composite scores for 10 values, which are shown in Table 2. The SVS was completed by 10,071 participants (5,426 men; 6,518 liberals, 1,278 conservatives, and 1,213 libertarians).

Results. Table 2 shows that libertarians are similar to liberals on most values, scoring moderately higher than conservatives on hedonism and stimulation, and substantially lower than conservatives on conformity, security, and tradition. Libertarians also scored similarly to liberals and slightly lower than conservatives on power. Libertarians departed from liberals and joined conservatives on only one value: universalism, where libertarians were substantially lower than liberals. Libertarians were unique on two values: benevolence, where they scored moderately below the other two groups, and self-direction, where they scored the highest (slightly higher than liberals and moderately higher than conservatives).

Interpretation. Once again, we see that libertarians look somewhat like liberals, but assign lower importance to values related to the welfare or suffering of others—the benevolence value

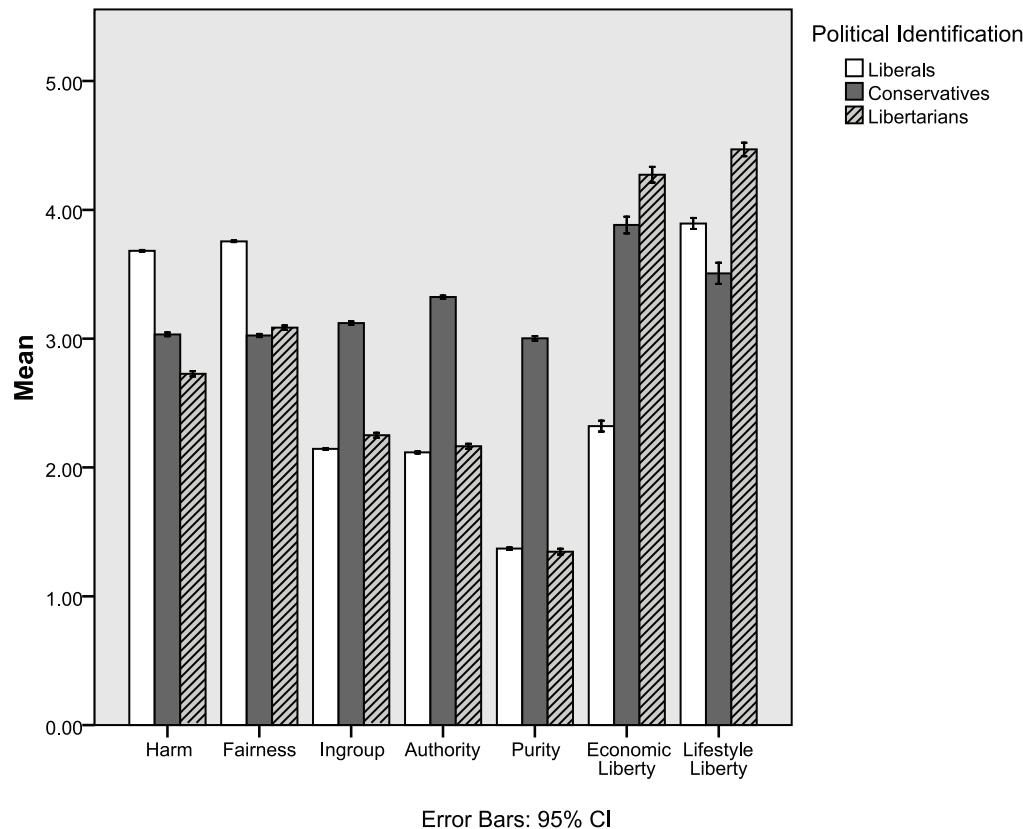


Figure 1. Libertarians have weaker intuitions about most moral concerns, but stronger intuitions about liberty.
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(which Schwartz defines as: “Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact”) and universalism (defined as “Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature”). It is also noteworthy that the highest mean for any Schwartz Value dimension was libertarians’ endorsement of self-direction (defined as “Independent thought and action – choosing, creating, exploring”). Self-Direction was the most strongly endorsed value for all three groups, but for libertarians the difference was quite large compared to the next most endorsed value, achievement ($d = 1.04$). If libertarians have indeed elevated self-direction as their foremost guiding principle, then they may see the needs and claims of others, whether based on liberal or conservative principles, as a threat to their primary value.

Ethics Position Questionnaire

The Ethics Position Questionnaire [44] is composed of two 10-item subscales measuring moral idealism and moral relativism. Idealism reflects the extent to which a concern for the welfare of others is at the heart of an individual’s moral code (e.g. “People should make certain that their actions never intentionally harm another even to a small degree.”). Relativism concerns whether or not an individual believes that moral principles are universal (e.g. “What is ethical varies from one situation and society to another.”). The scale is commonly used in the business ethics literature and has been shown to predict immoral behavior in ethical situations [45]. The Ethics Position Questionnaire was completed by 8,078 participants (4,785 men; 4,991 liberals, 1,240 conservatives, and 1,001 libertarians).

Results. Table 2 shows that libertarians score moderately lower than liberals and slightly lower than conservatives on moral idealism. Libertarians score moderately higher than conservatives ($d = .58$), and similar but lower than liberals ($d = -.25$), on moral relativism.

Interpretation. According to Forsyth’s [44] classification system, individuals who score high in relativism and low on idealism — the pattern found for libertarians — are labeled “subjectivists” who “reject moral rules” and “base moral judgments on personal feelings about the action and the setting.” Subjectivists have been found to be more lenient in judging individuals who violate moral norms [46]. This result is consistent with our findings on the MFQ and Schwartz Values Scale measures, in that libertarians appear to live in a world where traditional moral concerns (e.g., altruism, respect for authority) are not assigned much importance.

Good Self Scale

The Good-Self Assessment [47] is a measure of moral self-relevance, or the degree to which one sees moral, rather than non-moral, traits as part of his/her self-concept. This is a slightly modified version of the original; for the moral traits we replaced sincere and helpful with kind and loyal, and for the non-moral traits we replaced athletic and industrious with intellectual and hardworking. In this measure participants are given a list of 8 moral and 8 non-moral positive traits (each described with two synonymous terms, e.g. “honest or truthful”) and are asked to rate their importance to their self-concept from 1 = not important to 4 = extremely important. This scale was completed by 606 participants (294 men; 367 liberals, 85 conservatives, and 77 libertarians).

Results. Table 2 shows that libertarians scored moderately lower than liberals and substantially lower than conservatives on the self-relevance of moral traits. They did not differ from liberals and conservatives on the importance they ascribed to non-moral

traits. We also examined the non-moral term, “independent”, separately, and found that liberals ($d = -.38$, $p < .01$) and conservatives ($d = -.37$, $p < .05$) scored significantly lower than libertarians.

Interpretation. The results suggest that libertarians are less likely to see moral traits as important to their core self, compared to liberals and conservatives. At the same time they are just as likely as these two groups to base their self-concept around positive non-moral characteristics, such as being funny or outgoing. Notably, libertarians were the only group to report valuing pragmatic, non-moral traits more than moral traits. Libertarians may hesitate to view traits that engender obligations to others (e.g. loyal, generous, sympathetic) as important parts of who they are because such traits imply being altruistic [48].

Lifestyle and Economic/Government Liberty

In the original conception of Moral Foundations Theory, concerns about liberty (or autonomy or freedom) were not measured. But as we began to collect data on libertarians and to hear objections from libertarians that their core value was not well represented, we created questions related to liberty in the style of the Moral Foundations Questionnaire. We generated 11 items about several forms of liberty (see Appendix S1) and collected responses from 3,732 participants (2,105 men; 2,181 liberals, 573 conservatives, and 525 libertarians). Principal component analysis using varimax rotation indicated two clear factors (Eigenvalues of 3.40 and 1.48; next highest was .74). Six items loaded greater than .60 on the first factor, which represented concerns about economic/government liberty (e.g., “People who are successful in business have a right to enjoy their wealth as they see fit”). Three items loaded greater than .60 on the second factor, which can be interpreted as a “lifestyle liberty” factor (e.g., “Everyone should be free to do as they choose, as long as they don’t infringe upon the equal freedom of others.”). We created two subscales from these items (Cronbach’s alpha for economic/government liberty was .81; for lifestyle liberty, .60; the correlation between factors was .27).

Results. Table 2 shows that libertarians scored highest on both kinds of liberty (also see Figure 1). On economic/government liberty, liberals were the outliers, scoring below the midpoint of the scale, two full standard deviations below libertarians ($d = 2.56$). On lifestyle liberty, libertarians scored substantially higher than both liberals ($d = .81$), and conservatives ($d = 1.19$).

Interpretation. Libertarians are not unconcerned about all aspects of morality, as suggested by their scores on the MFQ and several other widely used morality scales. Rather, consistent with their self-descriptions, they care about liberty. Like conservatives, they endorse a world in which people are left alone to enjoy the fruits of their own labor, free from government interference. They also exceed both liberals and conservatives (but are closer to liberals) in endorsing personal or lifestyle liberty.

Do libertarians have a unique moral profile?

We conducted two analyses to answer this question, in addition to the above comparisons. First, we conducted a cluster analysis of participants using Moral Foundations Questionnaire sub-scale scores, to see if we could statistically extract libertarians based on their pattern of responses concerning their values, rather than on their self-identification. Second, we conducted a principal components analysis of the measures included in Study 1 in order to see if the values that libertarians espouse did indeed form a coherent factor.

Cluster Analysis. A hierarchical cluster analysis was conducted on all participants who completed both the basic Moral

Foundations Questionnaire sub-scale scores, as well as the Liberty Foundation scores (N = 3,094), using Ward's Method to calculate the distance between participants. Visual analysis of the resulting dendrogram indicated that a major third cluster split occurs at a significant distance from further divisions, and we therefore classified all participants based on this three-cluster solution. Mean scores and the composition of each group are given in Table 1. Group 1, in which 74% of participants self-identified as liberal, shows a high concern for harm, fairness, and lifestyle liberty. Group 2, in which a plurality (44%) self-identified as conservative, shows a more even distribution of concerns across all moral foundations. Group 3, in which 60% self-identified as libertarian, shows by far the highest concern for lifestyle and economic/government liberty, and the lowest level of concern on the five moral foundations.

Principal Components Analysis. Principal components analysis using all measures from Study 1, except for the Good-Self Scale, was conducted on 374 participants (214 liberals, 31 moderates, 31 conservatives, 72 libertarians, and 26 other/apolitical) who completed these measures. Scree plot analysis [49] indicated a 4 factor solution was appropriate, with only four factors having an eigenvalue greater than one. Four factors were extracted using varimax rotation, which we interpreted as conservative values (e.g. MFQ-purity), other-oriented values (e.g. MFQ-harm), self-oriented values (e.g. Schwartz Values-power), and liberty values (including measures of lifestyle liberty, economic/government liberty, and Schwartz Values-self direction). Table 5 lists all factor loadings greater than .10. Standardized factor scores were computed for each participant and analyzed across political groups (Figure 2), indicating that libertarians are indeed characterized by liberty values, conservatives by conservative values, and liberals by other-oriented values. Convergent results were found with the Good Self Subscales included, with Moral Traits loading on other-oriented values and pragmatic traits loading on self-oriented values, but the sample size (N = 79) is below what is customary in factor analyses.

Interpretation. The above analyses suggest that libertarians indeed hold an empirically distinct set of values, compared to liberals and conservatives. Given that liberty values form an empirically distinct value cluster that has pragmatic utility in differentiating groups and is distinct from other self-oriented concerns such as power and achievement, it is likely that concerns about liberty represent a moral intuition previously unmeasured in Moral Foundations Theory. A cluster analysis of participants yielded a 3-group solution where members of this third group endorsed libertarian values more and liberal/conservative values less, and were also more likely to be libertarian (see Table 1). Principal components analysis yields a distinct "liberty values" factor that meaningfully differentiates individuals. Patterns of endorsement across all four components indicate that libertarians have a moral profile that is clearly distinct from both liberals and conservatives (see Figure 2). Libertarians generally score over a half a standard deviation lower than liberals on variables which compose the "other-oriented values" factor and over a half a standard deviation lower than conservatives on variables which load on the "conservative values" factor (see Table 1). Libertarian scores are similar to those of liberals on "self-oriented values." Finally, libertarians score higher than both liberals and conservatives on "liberty values."

Study 1 Summary: What is Libertarian Morality?

Our results suggest that libertarians are a distinct group that places lower value on morality as typically measured by moral psychologists. This pattern was replicated across a variety of

largely separate samples with moral concerns measured using several different approaches. Our measures were not overtly political in content, and there were few questions about the role of government. Rather, we used measures of general values and moral beliefs, and found that libertarians were consistently less concerned than other groups about the individual-level, other-oriented concerns that most theorists place at the heart of morality: harm, benevolence, and altruism. The contrast here was starkest with liberals, but we also found that libertarians were much less concerned than conservatives with group-level moral issues (e.g. conformity, loyalty, and tradition) that are typically associated with conservative morality [3]. Libertarians viewed commonly measured moral traits, but not pragmatic traits, as less essential to their self-concept.

This is not to say, however, that libertarians are devoid of moral concerns. Contemporary moral psychology has paid little attention to the valuation of negative liberty as a specifically moral concern. Independence may be seen as a pragmatic value [47]. Respecting the autonomy of others may be seen as a way to promote the welfare of individuals [43], consistent with liberal ideas about positive liberty, rather than as an independent moral construct. It is predictable, then, that on such measures libertarians appear amoral (i.e. lacking in the activation of common moral systems). However, our results show that libertarians score substantially higher than liberals and conservatives on measures of both economic and lifestyle liberty, the Schwartz value of Self-Direction, and the centrality of independence to one's core self (measured using the Modified Good Self scale). Libertarians may fear that the moral concerns typically endorsed by liberals or conservatives (as measured by the MFQ) are claims that can be used to trample upon individual rights — libertarians' sacred value (e.g. [48]). If liberty is included as a moral value, libertarians are not amoral. Rather, standard morality scales, including the Moral Foundations Questionnaire, do a poor job of measuring libertarian values.

Therefore, our first prediction was strongly supported: libertarians value liberty more strongly and consistently than liberals or conservatives, at the expense of other moral concerns. We now turn to the question of libertarian dispositions. In particular, might libertarians simply feel the emotional pull of most moral concerns more weakly than other people do? Might libertarians generally be dispositionally more rational and less emotional? Study 2 tests whether these dispositional traits (level 1) may lead libertarians to certain values (level 2) and then to the endorsement of certain ideological narratives (level 3), which tie these values together in the form of an ideology [9].

Study 2: How Do Libertarians Think and Feel?

"Every aspect of Western culture needs a new code of ethics - a rational ethics - as a precondition of rebirth."

- Ayn Rand [50]

In Study 2, we sought to examine cognitive and emotional differences among libertarians, liberals, and conservatives. Psychologists have long theorized that values evolve from the interaction of heritable dispositions, childhood learning, and social-contextual factors [34,51]. We expected the libertarian dispositional profile to converge with the results of Study 1, in which libertarians showed a relative lack of concern for the most common moral considerations. Given the well-documented influence of emotions on moral judgment and behavior [24,52–54], if it turns out that libertarians feel fewer or weaker moral

Table 5. Principle Components Analysis Factor Loadings of Variables in Study 1.

Variable Name	Conservative Values	Other- Oriented Values	Self-Oriented Values	Liberty Values
MFQ Purity	.790		-.176	
Schwartz Values Conformity	.782	.184	.184	
Schwartz Values Tradition	.772	.214		
MFQ Authority	.769	-.239		-.257
MFQ Ingroup	.652	-.176	.119	-.187
Schwartz Values Security	.618	.182	.446	.196
EPQ - Relativism	-.456		.273	
MFQ Harm		.857		
Schwartz Values Universality		.851	.204	
MFQ Fairness	-.110	.771		
EPQ - Idealism	.178	.691	-.104	.121
Schwartz Values Benevolence	.413	.668	.242	.228
MFQ Economic Liberty	.338	-.620	-.106	.568
Schwartz Values Power	.166	-.220	.754	-.251
Schwartz Values Achievement	.167	.153	.735	.102
Schwartz Values Stimulation	-.185	.155	.562	.276
Schwartz Values Hedonism	-.317		.560	.324
MFQ Lifestyle Liberty	-.308			.755
Schwartz Values Self Direction		.197	.432	.696

Note: Factor loadings <|.1| omitted. Factor loadings >|.5| bolded.
doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0042366.t005

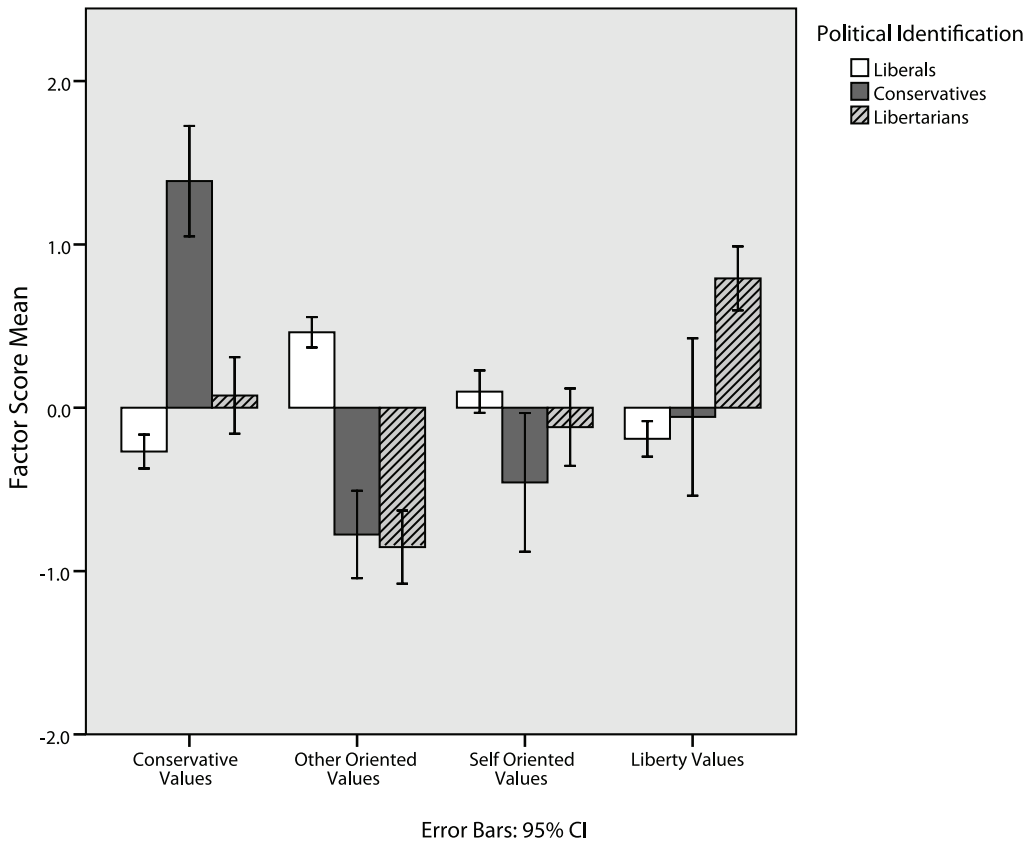


Figure 2. Libertarians are more concerned with liberty values and less concerned with other-oriented and conservative values.
doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0042366.g002

emotions, then it is understandable that their morality would be substantially different from that of liberals and conservatives.

In place of a system of morality deriving from emotion, libertarians have explicitly sought a “rational ethics” [28]. Among the main traits that have been found to distinguish liberals from conservatives are those related to cognitive style. Liberals score higher on traits related to tolerance for ambiguity, need for cognition, and openness to experience [4]. Based on the explicitly intellectual focus of libertarian writing, and on their general lack of concern for tradition and traditional morality, we expected that libertarians would generally resemble liberals on such measures.

These considerations led us to our second prediction: Libertarians will reveal a cognitive style that depends less on emotion— and more on reason— than will either liberals or conservatives. We expected this cognitive style to relate to the distinct moral profile described in Study 1, leading to libertarian self-identification.

Big Five Personality Inventory

The Big Five Personality Inventory [55] is a 44-item measure of five personality traits often said to be the most fundamental traits in personality psychology: openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism. The measure was completed by 29,043 participants (14,091 men; 19,106 liberals, 3,991 conservatives, and 2,615 libertarians).

Results. Table 3 shows that libertarians scored lower than the other two groups on agreeableness, conscientiousness, and extraversion. They scored low (similar to conservatives) on neuroticism, and they scored quite high (similar to liberals) on openness to experience.

Interpretation. The libertarian pattern on the Big 5 complements our findings on their explicit values in Study 1. Libertarians report lower levels of the traits that indicate an orientation toward engaging with and pleasing others (i.e., extraversion and agreeableness). Low scores on agreeableness in particular have been said to indicate a lack of compassion and a critical, skeptical nature [51]. In addition, as in Study 1, we see that libertarians share traits with liberals (high openness to experience) as well as conservatives (low neuroticism).

Interpersonal Reactivity Index

The Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI [56]) is a 28-item measure of empathy, with 7 items covering each of four distinct aspects of empathic responding to others: 1) empathic concern for others, 2) fantasy, 3) personal distress, and 4) perspective-taking. Participants were asked whether certain statements did or did not characterize them very well (e.g. “I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me,” for empathic concern). The IRI was completed by 6,450 participants (3,073 men, 4,103 liberals, 906 conservatives, and 697 libertarians).

Results. Table 3 shows that libertarians scored moderately lower than conservatives and substantially lower than liberals on empathic concern for others (also see Figure 3). Libertarians score slightly lower than liberals and similar to conservatives on personal distress, perspective taking, and fantasy.

Interpretation. According to Davis [56], low levels of empathic concern indicate lower levels of sympathy and concern for unfortunate others, which may underlie libertarians’ lower scores on the harm foundation of the MFQ, and their general rejection of altruism as a moral duty.

Disgust Scale

The Disgust Scale Revised [57,58] measures individual differences in the propensity to feel disgust toward three classes of elicitors: 1) core disgust (animals and body products that pose a

microbial threat, such as rats, vomit, and dirty toilets); 2) animal-reminder disgust (corpses, gore, and other reminders that human bodies are mortal, like animal bodies); and 3) contamination (concerns about coming into physical contact with other people). The measure was completed by 32,738 participants (16,477 men; 23,516 liberals, 3,617 conservatives, and 2,368 libertarians).

Results. Table 3 shows that libertarians scored moderately lower than conservatives and slightly lower than liberals (also see Figure 3). However, the comparison to liberals appears to be driven by the fact that libertarians tend to be male and men tend to have lower levels of disgust sensitivity [57]. Within each gender, libertarians and liberals score similarly on the disgust scale. In contrast, libertarians score moderately lower than conservatives on measures of disgust within both genders (see Table 3) and across all three classes of disgust.

Interpretation. Previous research has shown that liberals are less disgust-sensitive than conservatives [14]. The low level of disgust sensitivity found in libertarians is consistent with previous research about the relationship between disgust and conservative attitudes on social issues, particularly those related to sexuality (e.g. MFQ-Purity in Study 1). Libertarians may not experience the flash of revulsion that drives moral condemnation in many cases of unorthodox behavior [59].

Hong Reactance Scale

The Hong Reactance scale [60] is an 11-item measure of psychological reactance [61]. The scale measures the extent to which people are emotionally resistant to restrictions on their behavioral freedom and to the advice and influence of others. The measure was completed by 3,685 participants (1,777 men, 2,301 liberals, 510 conservatives, and 445 libertarians).

Results. Table 3 shows that libertarians score slightly higher than liberals and moderately higher than conservatives on psychological reactance (also see Figure 3).

Interpretation. The high levels of reactance expressed by libertarians fit well with the value they place on liberty as a moral foundation. It is of course possible that libertarians’ responses to the scale are primarily expressions of their current political beliefs, but it is also possible that people who have the strongest visceral reactions to interference from others are also the people most drawn to the ideals and identity of libertarianism. Reactance may in fact function as a moral emotion that draws individuals toward the ideal of negative liberty. Reactance scores were negatively correlated with measures of empathy (Big Five Agreeableness: $r = -.38$, Baron-Cohen Empathizer: $r = -.32$, IRI Empathic Concern: $r = -.15$; $p < .001$ in all cases) that are most associated with conceptions of positive liberty [18], which perhaps suggests why, in the US, libertarianism is more commonly associated with conservative, as opposed to liberal policies.

Empathizer-Systemizer Scale

The Empathizer-Systemizer scale (adapted from Baron-Cohen [62]) measures the tendency to empathize, defined as “the drive to identify another person’s emotions and thoughts, and to respond to these with an appropriate emotion” and to systemize, or “the drive to analyze the variables in a system, and to derive the underlying rules that govern the behavior of the system.” In short, empathizing is about understanding the social world whereas systemizing is about understanding the world of inanimate objects and nature. We selected 20 items from the full 40-item empathizer scale, and 20 items from the full 75-item systemizer scale to create a single survey that could be completed in less than 10 minutes. Cronbach’s alphas for these measures were .80 (systemizer) and .84 (empathizer). The measure was completed by 8,870 partici-

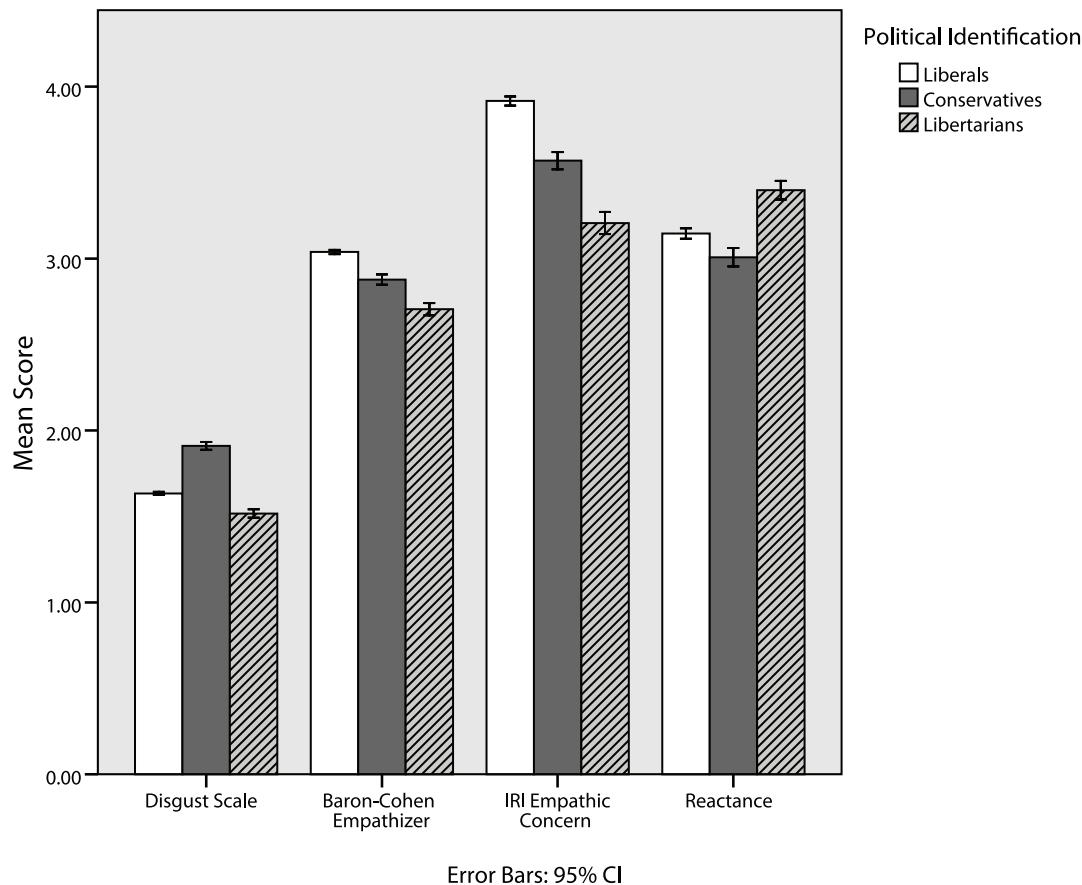


Figure 3. Libertarians report lower emotional responsiveness, but higher levels of psychological reactance.
doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0042366.g003

pants (4,532 men, 6,525 liberals, 877 conservatives, and 637 libertarians).

Results. Table 3 shows that libertarians score the lowest of any group on empathizing, and the highest on systemizing (also see Figures 3 and 4). In fact, libertarians are the only group that scored higher on systemizing than on empathizing. Given that these traits are known to differ between men and women, it is important to examine these effects in each sex separately. Table 3 shows that the same effects hold when looking only at men, and when looking only at women.

Interpretation. Research by Baron-Cohen [62] has shown that relatively high systemizing and low empathizing scores are characteristic of the male brain, with very extreme scores indicating autism. We might say that liberals have the most “feminine” cognitive style, and libertarians have the most “masculine.” These effects hold even when men and women are examined separately, as can be seen in Table 3. Indeed, the “feminizing” of the Democratic party in the 1970s [63] may help explain why libertarians moved increasingly into the Republican party in the 1980s.

Need for Cognition

The Need for Cognition scale [64] is a measure of the extent to which people engage in and enjoy effortful cognitive activities. People with high need for cognition are more likely to form their attitudes by paying close attention to relevant arguments, whereas people with low need for cognition are more likely to rely on peripheral cues, such as how attractive or credible a speaker is.

The measure was completed by 8,035 participants (4,242 men; 5,888 liberals, 760 conservatives, and 657 libertarians).

Results. Table 3 shows that libertarians scored slightly higher than liberals and moderately higher than conservatives on Need for Cognition (also see Figure 4).

Interpretation. This pattern is consistent with the libertarian valuation of logic and reasoning over emotion. Libertarians may enjoy thinking about complex and abstract systems more than other groups, particularly more than conservatives.

Moral Dilemmas

Six moral dilemmas adapted from Greene et. al. [24] were given to each participant. Each dilemma required a choice about whether to take an action to save multiple individuals at the cost of a single individual’s life. Each dilemma was modified so that there was one more aversive version (e.g. “push this stranger off the bridge and onto the tracks below, where his large body will stop the trolley” – called “personal” in Greene et. al., [24]) and one less aversive version (e.g. “hit the switch, which will cause the trolley to proceed to the right”). Participants were randomly assigned to receive one version of each dilemma; each participant received three aversive and three less aversive dilemmas. Below the dilemma text was the question “Is it morally appropriate for you to [do action] in order to [prevent some other danger]?” with a dichotomous No/Yes response option. These questions were followed by the question “How certain are you about your answer?” with a 7-point response scale from “extremely uncertain” to “extremely certain.” Participants’ responses to the 12

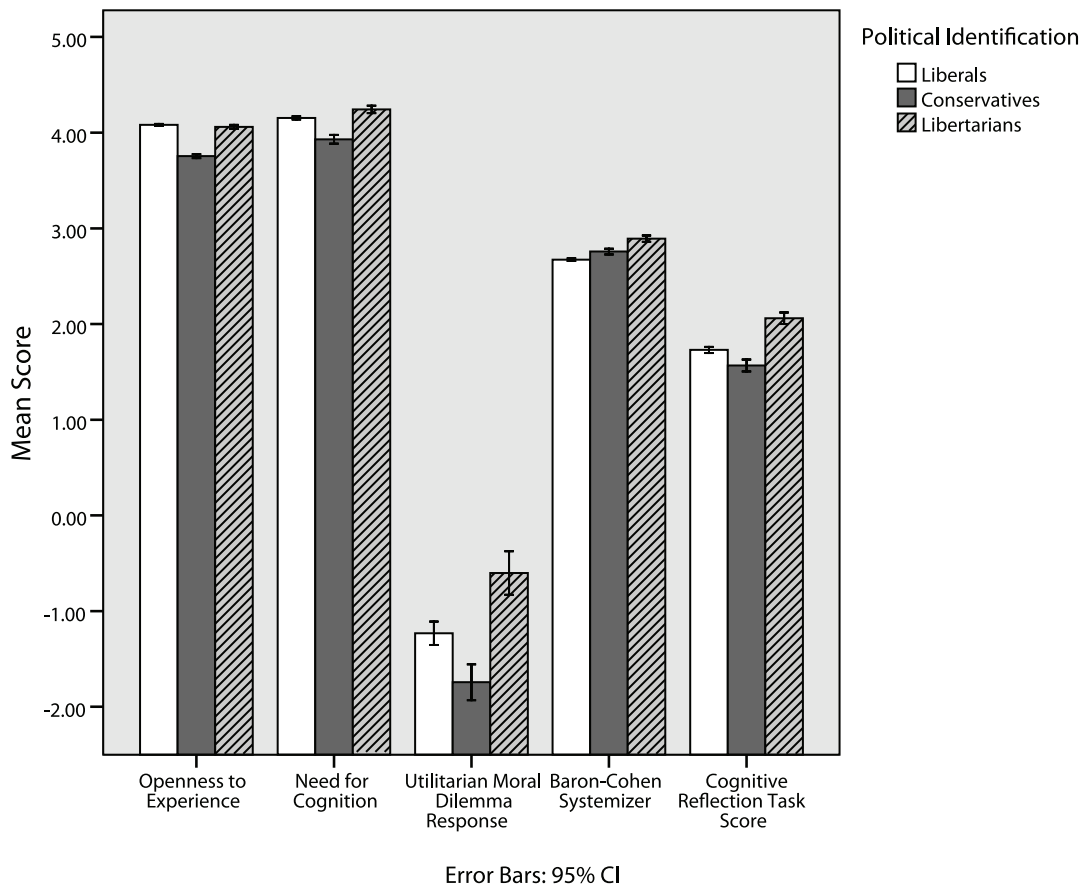


Figure 4. Libertarians exhibit a reason-based cognitive style according to a variety of measures.
doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0042366.g004

dichotomous choice questions were weighted by certainty and then averaged, with higher scores indicating greater willingness to make utilitarian sacrifices. The measure was completed by 4,629 participants (2,615 men; 2,690 liberals, 765 conservatives, and 616 libertarians).

Results. Table 3 shows that libertarians were moderately more utilitarian than conservatives, and slightly more utilitarian than liberals (also see Figure 4). Their judgments were more utilitarian in both the more aversive and less aversive scenarios.

Interpretation. The results from these moral dilemmas, which are devoid of political content, indicate that libertarians are indeed more capable of “rational ethics” where costs and benefits are weighed according to utilitarian principles. Given the body of evidence suggesting that utilitarian judgments in these dilemmas are more likely to be reached via “cold” calculation, and that deontological (rights-based) judgments are more likely to be reached via “hot” affective processes (e.g., [24,65]), our results suggest that libertarians are particularly unemotional in their moral deliberations.

Cognitive Reflection Task

The Cognitive Reflection Task [66] is a set of 3 logic questions that have correct and intuitive answers. Correct answers on these questions is said not just to measure intelligence, but also to measure a person’s ability to suppress an intuitive response in service of the cognitive reasoning required to solve these problems. The measure was completed by 9,721 participants (4,971 men; 7,384 liberals, 1,267 conservatives, and 1,070 libertarians).

Results. Table 3 shows that libertarians find the correct answers to these questions at a slightly higher rate than liberals and moderately higher rate compared to conservatives (also see Figure 4).

Interpretation. The cognitive reflection task provides a behavioral validation of the hypothesis that libertarians have a more reasoned cognitive style. In our dataset, this measure intercorrelates with both Need for Cognition ($r = .30$, $p < .001$) and Baron-Cohen Systemizer ($r = .31$, $p < .001$) scores, with libertarians scoring higher than both liberals and conservatives on all three measures. Taken together, a convergent picture of the rational cognitive style of libertarians emerges (Figure 4).

Do libertarian dispositions lead to libertarian values?

Consistent with McAdams’ personality model [34], previous research has found that dispositions predispose individuals to moralize specific concerns, which in turn constrain ideological choice [9]. We examined a model in which dispositional effects on ideological identification are mediated by value orientations, as measured by the Moral Foundations Questionnaire with questions concerning liberty added. This model has been previously found to be a superior fit to similar data, in comparison to alternative models [9]. Following the model previously used by Lewis & Bates [9], we examined Individualizing (indicated by MFQ-Harm & Fairness) and Binding (indicated by MFQ-ingroup, Authority, & Purity) values as related to disgust sensitivity and empathy, two key dispositional constructs identified in previous research as being related to these respective values [67,68]. We also included the

lone positive dispositional explanation for the libertarian valuation of negative liberty (psychological reactance) to the Study 1 values most endorsed by libertarians (economic/government and lifestyle liberty). The dependent measure was a dichotomous variable, self-identification as libertarian.

Using AMOS 19, three structural equation models were created and compared: 1. a partial mediation model whereby dispositional variables affect libertarian self-identification directly as well as mediated by values (see Figure 5), 2. a full mediation model whereby dispositional variables could only affect libertarian self-identification by influencing values variables (the same model as Figure 5, except that the paths connecting Disgust Sensitivity, Psychological Reactance, and Empathic Concern directly to libertarian self-identification were removed), and 3. an independence model whereby dispositional and values variables separately influence libertarian self-identification (the same model as Figure 5, except that paths connecting Disgust Sensitivity to Binding values, Psychological Reactance to Liberty values, and Empathic Concern to Individualizing values, were all removed). Both the partial mediation (RMSEA = .044, Chi-Squared = 11028.75 (df = 36, $p < .001$), CFI = .94) and full mediation models (RMSEA = .042, Chi-Squared = 11062.75 (df = 39, $p < .001$), CFI = .94) were good fits to the data. Given our large sample size, the change in goodness of fit statistic is likely to be more diagnostic of model fit compared to statistics such as Chi-Squared [69]. Using this criteria, the independence model was a comparatively worse fit to the data (RMSEA = .049, Chi-Squared = 15000.14 (df = 39, $p < .001$), CFI = .92). Parsimony would suggest selecting the full mediation model, and examining the regression weights estimated in the partial mediation model (Figure 5) to compare the direct path to libertarian self-identification versus the mediated paths for Disgust Sensitivity (.02 vs. .29/-.10), Psychological Reactance (-.21 vs. .46/.66), and Empathic Concern (-.02 vs. .61/-.29), suggests that direct effects are relatively small.

We also tested these mediation models using a procedure developed by Baron & Kenny [70], adapted for a dichotomous outcome [71], and the results converged with the results of these SEM analyses in that a significant (Sobel Test, $p < .01$ in each case) percentage of the relationship between dispositions and libertarian self-identification was mediated by values in each path. However, more variance in libertarian self-identification was mediated via the Empathic Concern->Individualizing Values path (56%) and Psychological Reactance-Liberty Values path (76%) compared to the Disgust Sensitivity-Binding Values path (11%). Overall, consistent with the results that Lewis & Bates [9] found using liberals and conservatives, the effect of dispositional variables on libertarian self-identification is largely mediated by related values.

Study 2 Summary: How Do Libertarians Think and Feel?

As predicted, libertarians showed lower levels of emotional responsiveness on standard measures of the moral emotions of disgust and empathy (Figure 3). Multivariate analyses indicate that, consistent with McAdams' personality model and previous research on these moral emotions, these dispositions relate to values, in ways which may predispose some individuals to choose to identify as libertarian. From an intuitionist perspective, libertarians' relative lack of emotional reactions may help explain the generally low levels of moral concern that we found in Study 1 (see also [25]). McCrae and Costa [51] argue that low levels of neuroticism, agreeableness, and extraversion are indicative of an unemotional style. Libertarians were the only group to report a more systematic, rather than empathic, way of understanding the world, a characteristic of men [62] that may explain why libertarianism appeals to men more than women. If morality is driven largely by emotional reactions, and if

libertarians are less emotional on most of the measures we examined, then libertarians should be moved by fewer moral concerns, as was the case in Study 1.

Libertarians did display high scores, however, on one measure of emotional reactivity, the Hong Reactance scale (Figure 3), which was found to lead to libertarian values and ideological identification. This pattern is quite consistent with the pattern of moral evaluations expressed in Study 1 where libertarians' low valuation of traditional moral concerns contrasted sharply with the uniquely high moral value they placed on liberty. Libertarians also reported lower levels of agreeableness, measured using items such as "likes to cooperate with others," and related to psychological reactance [72]. Psychological reactance may provide an intuitionist explanation [8] for the libertarian moralization of liberty.

The use of liberty rhetoric may have different psychological origins in different political groups. Autonomy is posited to be a universal basic human psychological need [73], and thus liberals may be attracted to liberty as a means of improving the psychological welfare of individuals. Similarly, social conservatives may be attracted to liberty as a means toward opposing redistributive taxation policies that challenge the status quo, yet still feel comfortable with the lifestyle liberty constraints that tradition and conformity require (see [22] for an explanation of this inconsistency). In contrast, libertarians may not see liberty as a means, but rather as an end, in and of itself, based on their heightened feelings of psychological reactance. The idea that libertarians are dispositionally more reactant than others when confronted with societal constraints is a potential gut-level explanation for their moralization of liberty. It is also evident in libertarians' fondness for the historical phrase "Don't Tread on Me," which became a slogan of Ron Paul's 2008 presidential campaign and is frequently displayed on signs and flags at rallies for Tea Party supporters.

Consistent with their stated preference for rationality, libertarians seem to enjoy effortful and thoughtful cognitive tasks (Figure 4). In combination with low levels of emotional reactivity, the highly rational nature of libertarians may lead them to a logical, rather than emotional, system of morality, explaining their unique pattern of scores on the moral psychology measures used in Study 1. This logical system of morality may have led libertarians to be able to provide correct, rather than intuitive, answers on the cognitive reflection task, and to make more utilitarian judgments in the moral dilemmas presented to them in Study 2. Libertarians report being relatively open to new experiences and desiring stimulation, yet given the pattern of results from this study, it is likely true that libertarians may prefer intellectually stimulating experiences over emotionally stimulating experiences (e.g. social experiences). We examine this idea further in Study 3.

In conclusion, we found strong support for our second prediction, that libertarians will rely upon emotion less – and reason more – than will either liberals or conservatives. Further, multi-variate models suggest that these emotional differences may lead to certain value orientations which in turn predispose individuals toward libertarian self-identification. In the next section we explore how these value orientations may also have roots in specific patterns of (and attitudes about) social relationships, consistent with theories about the social function of moral reasoning [17,29,30,33].

Study 3: How Do Libertarians Relate to Others?

"To say 'I love you' one must first be able to say the 'I.'"
- Ayn Rand (1943)

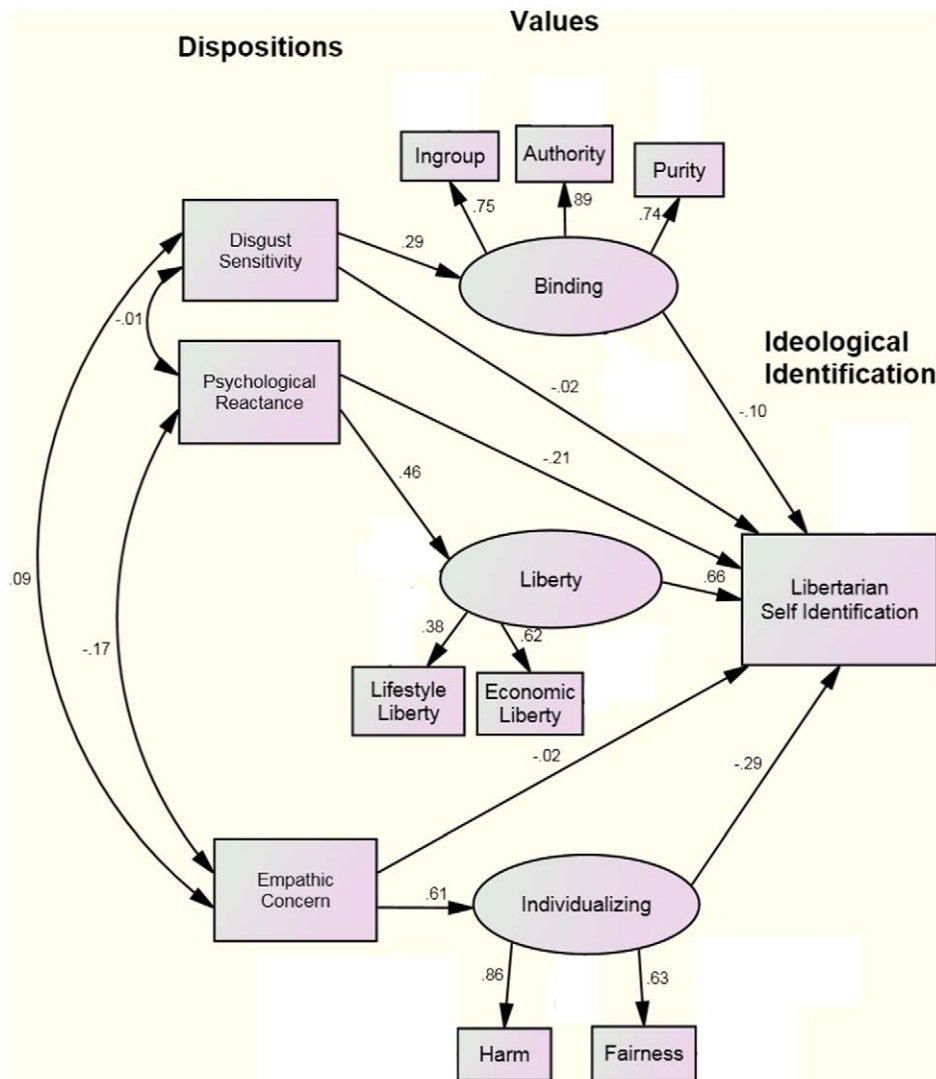


Figure 5. Structural Equation Model showing relationship between libertarian dispositions and values.
 doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0042366.g005

One of the primary purposes of moral concerns such as conformity, tradition, authority, and group-loyalty is to bind individuals together [31]. The same areas of the brain that are essential to normal, implicit, intuitive moral reasoning have also been found to be essential for navigating the human social world [74]. The libertarian endorsement of the liberty principle might be related to their lower levels of agreeableness and higher levels of psychological reactance, but it could also result, in part, from lower levels of extraversion, and a desire to be free of the constraints that relationships often entail. Libertarians may be members of an ultra-social species who prefer less social connection than their liberal and conservative peers.

Study 3 tests the idea that *libertarians will be more individualistic and less collectivist compared to both liberals and conservatives*, suggesting that their moral concern for liberty may represent the conversion of this preference into a value [10]. Moral concerns exist, at least in part, to serve one’s own desire for social connection [33], and it therefore would logically follow that a group that has less desire for social connection would also have fewer moral concerns. To that end we assessed libertarians’ sense of interconnectedness and their love for close others, such as friends, family, and romantic

partners, as well as their attachments to abstract entities like one’s community, country, and the world. We examined whether libertarian patterns of individualism and collectivism do indeed relate to their moral profile, predisposing them toward the libertarian ideology.

Individualism-Collectivism

The Individualism-Collectivism scale [75] is a 32-item scale that measures an individual’s levels of independence vs. interdependence. Individualists tend to emphasize self-reliance, independence and (sometimes) competition. There are two types of individualism: horizontal individualism reflects a belief that people are separate (independent) but equal entities (e.g. “I am a unique individual”), and vertical individualism emphasizes hierarchy and competitiveness between those separate entities (“It is important that I do my job better than others”). Collectivists, on the other hand, tend to emphasize cooperation, and (sometimes) equality. As with individualism, there are two kinds of collectivism, a more egalitarian (horizontal) dimension (e.g. “The well-being of my coworkers is important to me.”) and a more hierarchical (vertical) one (e.g. “Children should be taught to place duty before

pleasure.”). The measure was completed by 2,975 participants (1,468 men; 1,987 liberals, 390 conservatives, and 291 libertarians).

Results. Table 4 shows that libertarians scored lowest on both forms of collectivism, and highest on horizontal individualism, while matching conservatives on their high scores (relative to liberals) on vertical individualism.

Interpretation. Libertarians appear more individualistic and less collectivistic than both liberals and conservatives. The relative preference for individualism occurs in both hierarchical and non-hierarchical circumstances.

Identification with All of Humanity

The Identification with All of Humanity Scale [76] is a 27-item measure of connection to people in one’s community, one’s country, and the world. It asks 9 questions concerning each of these three groups (e.g. “How much would you say you have in common with the following groups?”). The measure was completed by 12,503 participants (7,334 men; 8,219 liberals, 1,667 conservatives, and 1,450 libertarians).

Results. Table 4 shows that libertarians are less identified with their community compared to both liberals and conservatives. They also scored low (just below liberals) on identification with country, which was the dimension that conservatives most strongly endorsed. In addition, they scored low (equal to conservatives) on identification with people all over “the world,” which was the dimension that liberals most strongly endorsed.

Interpretation. Consistent with the libertarian desire for personal liberty, libertarians feel relatively low levels of connection to their community, country, and people globally. This pattern suggests that libertarians are likely to join conservatives in opposing transnational humanitarian undertakings, and they are likely to join with liberals in opposing projects and legislation that are aimed at strengthening national identity.

Different Types of Love scale

The Different Types of Love scale [77] is a 40-item measure of loving feelings toward four different groups. Participants indicate agreement with statements concerning friends (e.g., “The connection I feel to my friends is strengthened by all we have in common”), family (“My Mom and/or Dad’s acts of unconditional love fill me with strong feelings of love”), generic others (“Doing kind things for others is a reward in itself”), and their romantic partner (“I feel love whenever anything reminds me of my partner”); participants are asked to skip all questions that do not apply). Cronbach’s Alpha for each sub-scale of the Different Types of Love scale were .80 (friends), .85 (family), .87 (generic others), & .82 (romantic partners). The measure was completed by 2,776 participants (1,437 men; 1,894 liberals, 325 conservatives, and 310 libertarians).

Results. Table 4 shows that libertarians showed the lowest levels of loving feelings toward others, across all four categories (although the difference with conservatives on love for friends was not significant).

Interpretation. Consistent with the results on the Identification with All of Humanity scale, the libertarian independence from others is associated with weaker loving feelings toward friends, family, romantic partners, and generic others. It is noteworthy that differences between liberals and conservatives were generally small (except toward generic others). Libertarians were the outliers.

Does libertarian individualism relate to libertarian values?

In order to answer this question, we conducted a principal component analysis to determine if these variables could be

grouped into common ‘sociality’ factors and if libertarians do indeed score low on them. Further, we wanted to relate these factors to value clusters from Study 1.

Principal Component Analysis. Principal component analysis using the Individualism-Collectivism Scale, Identification with All Humanity Scale, and Different Types of Love Scale was conducted on 630 participants who completed all three measures. The scree plot [49] indicated a 2 factor solution was appropriate, including a group of broad connection, more universalist oriented variables (e.g. love of friends, identification with the world) which are more typical of liberals, and a group of tight connection, close group oriented variables (e.g. love of family, identification with country) which are more typical of conservatives. Factor loadings for all variables in Study 3 are listed in Table 6. Figure 6, using standardized factor scores extracted for each participant, shows that libertarians have both lower levels of broad social connection and lower levels of tight social connection.

Of these participants, 590 also completed the Moral Foundations Questionnaire. Variables indicative of “Other Oriented Values” correlated positively with the broad social connection factor (MFQ-harm: $r = .60$, $p < .001$, MFQ-fairness: $r = .42$, $p < .001$, MFQ-authority: $r = -.18$, $p < .001$, MFQ-ingroup: $r = -.14$, $p < .01$, MFQ-purity: $r = -.07$, $p = .07$), while variables indicative of “Conservative Values” correlated positively with the tight social connection factor (MFQ-harm: $r = .02$, $p = .61$, MFQ-fairness: $r = .01$, $p = .85$, MFQ-authority: $r = .51$, $p < .001$, MFQ-ingroup: $r = .50$, $p < .001$, MFQ-purity: $r = .44$, $p < .001$).

Interpretation. Factor analyses indicate that the variables in Study 3 can be grouped into measures of tight social connection and measures of broad social connection. Libertarians score lower on both of these factors (Figure 6). If we relate Moral Foundation Questionnaire variables to these factors, we find that the values that typify liberals (MFQ-harm and MFQ-fairness) relate to this first factor, while the values that typify conservatives (MFQ-authority, ingroup, and purity) relate to this second factor. This is evidence for the idea that “moral thinking is for social doing” [33], as the moralities of liberals and conservatives empirically relate to the types of relationships and identifications that they seek. Notably, libertarians report lower valuation of both typically liberal and conservative concerns (Figures 1 and 2) and correspondingly lower connectedness to the groups that typically are connected to either liberals or conservatives (Figure 6).

Study 3 Summary: How Do Libertarians Relate to Others?

As predicted, libertarians in our sample appeared to be strongly individualistic. Compared to liberals and conservatives, they report feeling a weaker sense of connection to their family members, romantic partners, friends, communities, and nations, as well as to humanity at large. While liberals exhibit a horizontal collectivistic orientation and conservatives a vertical collectivistic orientation, libertarians exhibit neither type of collectivism, instead displaying a distinctly individualistic orientation. This relative preference for individualism may have been moralized [10] into the value orientation found in Study 1.

Libertarians’ weaker social interconnectedness is consistent with the idea that they have weaker moral intuitions concerning obligations to and dependence on others (e.g. Moral Foundation Questionnaire scores). If “moral thinking is for social doing” [33], then libertarians lack of social connection naturally means that they have less use for moral thinking. Their distaste for submitting to the needs and desires of others helps explain why libertarians have very different ways of relating to groups, consistent with their lower endorsement of values related to altruism, conformity, and

Table 6. Principle Components Analysis Factor Loadings of Variables in Study 3.

Variable Name	Broad Social Connection	Tight Social Connection
Love of Generic Others	.851	.231
Identification with World	.757	
Horizontal Collectivism	.675	.492
Vertical Individualism	-.663	.370
Identification with Community	.580	.514
Love of Friends	.530	.348
Horizontal Individualism	-.262	-.182
Vertical Collectivism		.725
Love of Family		.606
Identification with Country	.395	.602
Love of Romantic Partner	.353	.405

Note: Factor loadings <|.1| omitted. Factor loadings >|.5| bolded.
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tradition in Study 1, providing convergent evidence for the idea that moral judgment is tightly related to social functioning.

Conclusions

While not all libertarians endorse the views of Ayn Rand, our findings can be summarized by the three quotations we have presented from her work. We began Study 1 with Rand’s exhortation to reject “the morality of altruism,” and we showed

that libertarians do indeed reject this morality, as well as all other moralities based on ideas of obligation to other people, groups, traditions, and authorities. Libertarians scored relatively high on just one moral concern: liberty. The libertarian pattern of response was found to be empirically distinct from the responses of liberals and conservatives, both in our cluster analysis of participants and in our principal components analysis of measures. We found strong support for our first prediction: *Libertarians will value liberty*

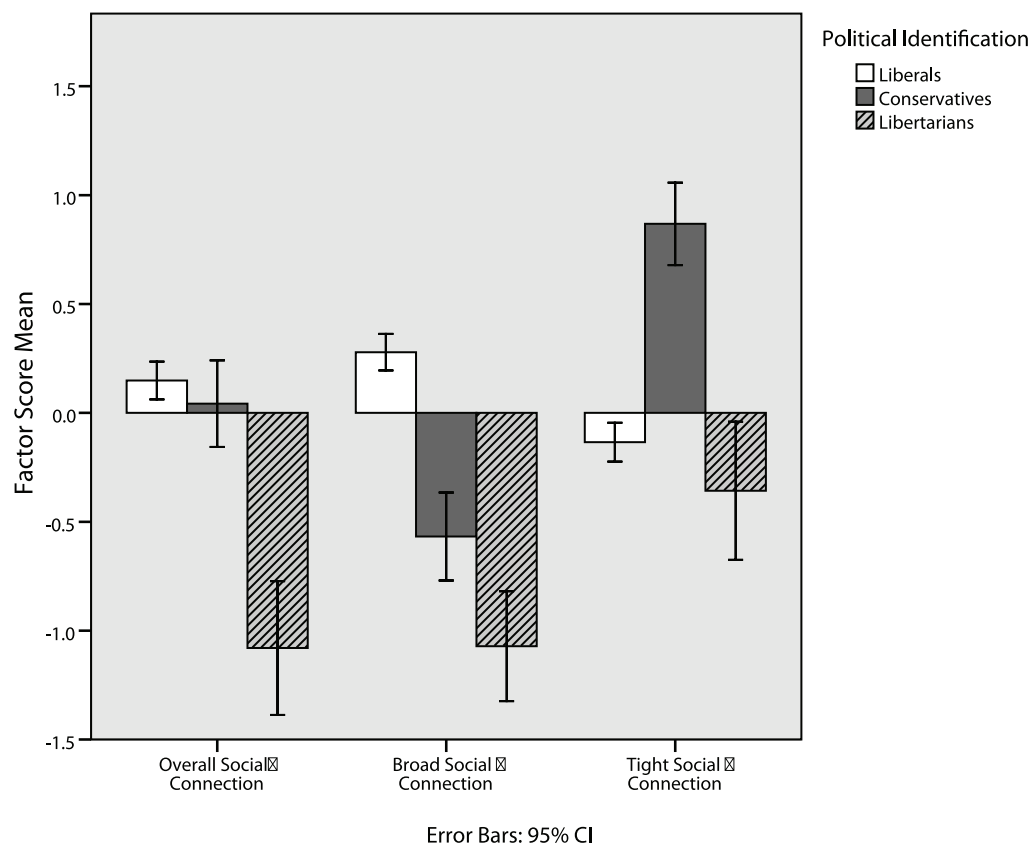


Figure 6. Libertarians are less connected to others, including both broad and tight social connections.
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more strongly and consistently than liberals or conservatives, at the expense of other moral concerns.

We introduced Study 2 with Rand's claim that Western culture can only be reborn when it can be founded on "a rational ethics." Consistent with Rand's writing and psychological research concerning the intuitive origins of moral reasoning [8], we found that libertarians were indeed less emotional (less disgust sensitivity, empathic concern, and neuroticism) than liberals and conservatives. This lack of emotional reactivity may underlie an indifference towards common moral norms, and an attraction to an ideology where these moral codes are absent, libertarianism. The only emotional reaction on which libertarians were not lowest was reactance – the angry reaction to infringements upon one's autonomy – for which libertarians scored higher than both liberals and conservatives. This disposition toward reactance may lead to the moralization of liberty and an attraction to an ideology that exalts liberty above other moral principles – namely, libertarianism.

We also found that libertarians showed a strong preference for and enjoyment of reasoning (higher on utilitarianism, need for cognition, systemizing, and a greater likelihood of answering correctly on the cognitive reflection task). We think it is worth repeating that libertarians were the only one of our three groups for which systemizing scores were higher, in absolute terms, than their empathizing scores, suggesting that libertarians are the only group that may be psychologically prepared for the Randian revolution of "rational ethics." Thus, we found strong support for our second prediction: *Libertarians will rely upon emotion less – and reason more – than will either liberals or conservatives.*

We introduced Study 3 with Rand's condemnation of love that is not based on a strong sense of self. We found that libertarians do indeed have a strong sense of self and the self's prerogatives, and a correspondingly lower sense of attachment to others. They exhibit a high degree individualism, a low degree collectivism, and generally report feeling less bonding with others, less loving for others, and less feelings of a sense of common identity with others. Libertarians have a lower degree of the broad social connection that typifies liberals as well as a lower degree of the tight social connections that typify conservatives. These social preferences were related to their moral attitudes suggesting that libertarians have less functional use for moral concerns. We found strong support for our third prediction: *Libertarians will be more individualistic and less collectivist compared to both liberals and conservatives.*

Personality and Ideology

The current research extends past comparisons between liberals and conservatives to a third ideological group — libertarians. Our findings are consistent with the emerging view that personality plays a crucial role in the formation of ideology. As is the case with liberals and conservatives [3], libertarian ideological identification is characterized by specific moral concerns, a level 2 characteristic adaptation in McAdams' [23] model of personality. But why do people develop differential preferences for specific moral concerns? Both McAdams' more general theory and recent theory specifically concerning the development of moral reasoning [8] posit that these constructs are often related to and constrained by level 1 traits; for example, previous research has shown that people who are dispositionally high on openness to experience are more likely to develop liberal values [1], whereas people who are dispositionally high on disgust sensitivity are more likely to develop conservative values [14]. Further, consistent with widely tested theories of motivated reasoning [26], people are likely to moralize their preferences [10], especially their social preferences, given the interplay between social functioning and moral reasoning [30,33].

The current research not only describes an important ideological group, but also tells a coherent story about how and why some people become libertarians while others become liberals or conservatives. While we cannot establish causality with our correlational data, we can see several cross-level links of the sort described by McAdams and Pals [35] and modeled by Lewis and Bates [9]. People who are dispositionally more (at level 1) open to new experiences and reactant are more likely to find themselves drawn to some classically liberal philosophers (such as John Stuart Mill) and classically liberal values and ideals (such as the superordinate value of individual liberty, at level 2). But if these same people are also highly individualistic and low on empathic concern — if they simply feel the suffering of other people less — then they might feel little emotional attraction to modern liberalism's emphasis on altruism and positive liberty, and turned off by its willingness to compel some citizens to help other citizens (through redistributive tax policies). When they first encounter libertarian philosophy (or read an Ayn Rand novel or hear a Ron Paul speech), they find an ideological narrative (level 3) that resonates with their values and their emerging political likes and dislikes (level 2). They begin identifying themselves as libertarians, which reinforces their moral beliefs. They find it easier to reject statements endorsing altruism (or group loyalty or respect for authority) than they would have before having discovered libertarianism and its rationalist, individualist ethos.

A related way to describe the links between personality and morality is found in Rozin's [10] description of the moralization of preferences. Libertarians' preferences about how to live their lives may have been transformed into a moral value — the value of liberty — in the same way that vegetarians have been found to moralize their eating preferences [78] or non-smokers moralize their aversion to smoke [79]. From a social intuitionist perspective [8], this process is no different from the psychological comfort that liberals attain in moralizing their empathic responses (e.g. [15]) or that social conservatives attain in moralizing their connection to their groups (e.g. [43]). For those who self-identify as libertarian in our sample, their dispositional and motivational profiles all point toward one supreme moral principle: individual liberty.

The current research examined a specific ideological group in the United States, but just as research on other distinctive groups such as patients with brain lesions [30] or psychopaths [80] has been generative for understanding morality more broadly, so too do we hope that the current research is generative for researchers seeking to understand political processes in diverse socio-demographic contexts. The current research, convergent with basic research on the intuitive origins of moral judgment [8], suggests that similar patterns may be found in other groups that favor less government involvement in both social and economic matters, such as the Free Democratic Party of Germany, which advocates reduced economic regulation, greater privacy, and increased rights for homosexuals. Even in countries without a political identity that mirrors American libertarianism, there are likely to be individuals who reject policies driven by empathy for the poor or promotion of tradition, and those individuals may exhibit some of the same dispositional traits that are characteristic of libertarians in the US context, such as a desire for solitude and a preference for rational over emotional experience. However, without the reinforcing characteristics of a narrative that can bring coherence to these dispositions [36], these individuals may not have had adequate opportunity to moralize their preferences [10], and may therefore be more likely to be politically apathetic [81].

Table 7. Cohen’s d-scores by referrer sub-sample.

Scale	Search Engines	Libertarians vs. Liberals			Libertarians vs. Conservatives			
		NY Times	Edge.Org	Direct URL	Search Engines	NY Times	Edge.Org	Direct URL
Moral Foundations Questionnaire								
Harm	-1.07	-1.18	-1.15	-1.00	-0.52	-0.23	-0.15	-0.27
Fairness	-0.91	-0.99	-0.82	-0.79	-0.08	0.17	0.35	0.18
Ingroup	0.01	0.37	0.34	0.10	-1.19	-0.79	-0.97	-1.14
Authority	-0.05	0.33	0.23	0.04	-1.58	-1.17	-1.33	-1.45
Purity	-0.07	0.17	0.05	-0.11	-1.61	-1.40	-1.65	-1.62
Schwartz Values Scale								
Achievement	-0.17	0.02	0.12	0.21	-0.30	-0.12	0.01	0.04
Benevolence	-0.70	-0.59	-0.67	-0.45	-0.80	-0.46	-0.47	-0.39
Conformity	-0.30	-0.05	-0.18	-0.10	-1.35	-1.11	-1.12	-1.15
Hedonism	0.18	0.07	0.04	0.04	0.46	0.62	0.75	0.48
Power	-0.07	0.17	0.02	0.01	-0.50	-0.19	-0.13	-0.45
Security	-0.23	0.00	-0.23	0.03	-1.12	-0.63	-0.91	-0.74
Self-Direction	0.12	0.23	0.31	0.29	0.44	0.65	0.60	0.74
Stimulation	-0.01	0.09	0.04	-0.02	0.34	0.52	0.33	0.36
Tradition	-0.25	-0.10	-0.32	-0.16	-1.52	-1.06	-1.37	-1.23
Universalism	-0.80	-1.02	-1.10	-0.84	0.19	0.31	0.22	0.26
Big Five Personality Inventory								
Agreeableness	-0.62	-0.46	-0.42	-0.41	-0.54	-0.31	-0.24	-0.37
Conscientiousness	-0.04	-0.20	0.01	-0.10	-0.32	-0.44	-0.06	-0.35
Extraversion	-0.22	-0.18	-0.09	-0.13	-0.26	-0.09	-0.09	-0.19
Neuroticism	-0.13	-0.20	-0.26	-0.20	-0.06	0.03	0.16	0.01
Openness	0.06	-0.01	-0.09	0.02	0.80	0.51	0.37	0.57
Baron-Cohen								
Empathizer	-0.56	-0.77	-0.60	-0.80	-0.47	-0.36	-0.29	-0.43
Systemizer	0.47	0.49	0.54	0.43	0.29	0.24	0.47	0.24
Individualism-Collectivism Scale								
Collectivism - Horizontal	-1.36	-0.95	-0.40	-0.53	-1.03	-0.68	-0.05	-0.52
Collectivism - Vertical	-1.07	-0.22	-0.04	-0.26	-1.98	-0.97	-0.55	-1.05
Individualism - Horizontal	0.29	0.68	0.32	0.86	0.49	0.57	0.32	0.84
Individualism - Vertical	0.23	0.50	0.63	0.77	-0.15	-0.09	-0.02	0.08
Identification with All Humanity Scale								
Identification with Community	-0.28	-0.23	-0.25	-0.36	-0.74	-0.26	-0.53	-0.76
Identification with Country	-0.24	0.20	0.14	-0.14	-0.89	-0.40	-0.85	-1.08
Identification with World	-0.55	-0.86	-0.94	-0.67	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.18

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Limitations

This set of studies has two main limitations: our findings rely almost exclusively on self-report measures, and our sample is not representative of the general population. Our reliance on self-report measures is partially mitigated by the fact that we used diverse measures that converge on an extremely consistent picture of libertarianism. The fact that libertarian performance on the Cognitive Reflection Task and their responses to classic moral dilemmas converges with libertarian self-report of their cognitive and emotional style also mitigates some of this concern. Because so little has been written about libertarian psychology, we believe that our very large set of self-report measures is an important first step

in characterizing libertarian psychology upon which more methodologically advanced work can build [16]. We hope that this research will inform future researchers who will undoubtedly investigate the relationships we have found using more experimental, behavioral, implicit, and even neuropsychological methods.

Our use of a volunteer internet sample means that we must be cautious in generalizing our findings to the broader population. However, our results generally replicate across gender (see Tables 2, 3, and 4), as well as sub-samples based on the four most common methods of finding our website (via search engines, the New York Times, Edge.org, or by typing in the URL directly –

See Table 7), indicating that our findings are robust. Since subsample analysis uses implicit browser referrer information that is technically difficult to fake, we can be confident that our results are not the result of any systematic deception by participants. In addition, many of our ancillary findings replicate previous research (e.g. liberals are higher on Openness to Experience [1], and empathy [15], conservatives report higher disgust sensitivity [14]; and greater preference for tradition [4]), which means that our sample likely bears reasonable resemblance to samples used in previous psychological research. Finally, findings based on the yourmorals.org dataset have been successfully replicated in nationally representative U.S. samples (see, for example, Smith & Vaisey, [82], replicating findings about liberal-conservative differences on the Moral Foundations Questionnaire).

Our sample, while far more diverse than most college samples [83], has specific characteristics that reduce the generalizability of this research. The sample tends to be more politically aware, educated, white, and liberal than a representative U.S. sample would be. This reduces the likelihood of confounds due to race or education, but also means that it remains an open question whether the relationships found would hold within a less educated or more racially diverse group. In addition, political and moral differences are likely more salient in the context of our website, meaning that effect sizes may be increased in this setting. The mean values for libertarians in our sample are likely quite different than the mean values for these measures if we were able to examine the population as a whole. However, whereas the mean values derived from our dataset may differ from national averages, the relationships between variables in our dataset have been found to be comparable to nationally representative samples [84].

Our use of a volunteer internet sample gave us at least three benefits in terms of data quality. First, because volunteers are often more educated and motivated, such samples often show less random measurement error, less survey satisficing, and less social desirability bias compared to nationally representative samples [85–87]. Second, unlike many surveys conducted by telephone, we were able to use full and well-validated scales to measure each construct, rather than relying on just one or two items. And third, because nationally representative samples are expensive to procure, they rarely involve more than 2,000 respondents. If self-described libertarians comprise less than 10% of the U.S. population, then nationally representative samples rarely include enough libertarians to make the sort of comparisons we were able to make using our much larger dataset.

While our sample represents a large number of libertarians, it may or may not represent the majority. Notwithstanding our cluster analysis in Study 1, libertarianism may also be studied as a dimension that an individual may endorse to varying degrees rather than as a discrete kind of person, which may be one of the reasons that national surveys typically do not measure identification as libertarian. Self-identification as ‘libertarian’ can change

meaning over time, further complicating the issue. William James [88] felt that he could best study the human experience of religion by studying its extreme forms. Our sample may be taken from one end of the libertarian dimension, specifically those who are willing to take the psychological step of self-identifying specifically as libertarian. Libertarianism may be a dimension that may exist in both liberals and conservatives to varying degrees, as both liberals and conservatives endorse liberty as a moral value in different domains. In learning about this group of individuals, perhaps we can learn something about the forces that push all individuals towards or away from endorsing liberty as a moral end.

Summary

Political and social psychologists often study ideology on a unidimensional liberal-conservative spectrum, but the real world is clearly more complex. As psychologists advance in studying the personality traits associated with liberalism and conservatism, our findings confirm the value of this approach and extend its reach by describing a heretofore-neglected yet politically important group – libertarians. Libertarians have a unique moral-psychological profile, endorsing the principle of liberty as an end and devaluing many of the moral concerns typically endorsed by liberals or conservatives. Although causal conclusions remain beyond our current reach, our findings indicate a robust relationship between libertarian morality, a dispositional lack of emotionality, and a preference for weaker, less-binding social relationships. These findings are consistent with previous research on the dispositional origins of moral judgment. By focusing on one understudied ideological group, the findings provide further evidence concerning the closely intertwined nature of personality, values, and political ideology.

Supporting Information

Appendix S1 Liberty Items. (DOC)

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Author Contributions

Conceived and designed the experiments: RI SK JG PD JH. Performed the experiments: RI SK JG PD JH. Analyzed the data: RI SK JG PD JH. Contributed reagents/materials/analysis tools: RI JG JH. Wrote the paper: RI SK JG PD JH.

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Futilitarianism

A Libertarian Dilemma?

D. J. Ivison

January, 1960

Sydney Libertarians have been attacked on two grounds:

- i. Since they recognise that authoritarian activities are not going to disappear, why do libertarians continue struggling and protesting against them?
- ii. Libertarians claim to oppose policemen, priests, moralists and authoritarians of all sorts, but what are they going to **do** about it? (Where are their bombs?)

Both these criticisms have been advanced against libertarianism recently, and libertarians have found some difficulty in giving a short answer to either question — in fact, some libertarians would reject any attempt at a short answer on the grounds that it would misrepresent a complex position. Nevertheless, I shall outline the form which a short answer might take.

In order to understand how these questions come to be posed, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the social theory of Sydney libertarians. In brief, this social theory is based on a pluralist view of society, on the recognition that any society is composed of a number of ways of going on. These different social activities are never completely reconcilable; there is no lowest common denominator among the ways of going on which would give rise to some consensus of which the state (or some other institution) could be the guardian. Different social groups just do pursue different activities, and these activities often conflict. What does occur are compromises and limited agreements, concessions in return for the implementation of some parts of a policy, and these compromises, concessions and adjustments are sometimes made through the machinery of the state. However, the state is never an impartial arbiter, but a biased referee, a system of social activities which have interests of their own.

Libertarians believe that pluralism is an account of what is the case and that it is utopian to believe that there will ever be an end to the conflict of social interests. The history of society is one of social conflicts; it is unhistorical to believe that history will cease and a millennium dawn — whether the millennium be the Kingdom of God, the classless society, the national interest or any other form of the common good.

Now one form of social conflict is that between authoritarian and libertarian activities, and it is just as utopian, just as unhistorical to believe that this form of conflict will ever disappear as it is to believe that all social conflict will ever cease.

In particular, Sydney libertarians hold that conflict with authoritarianism cannot be overcome by libertarians capturing social power — through the machinery of the state, the general strike, or any social revolution — because the mere fact of being in a position of power leads to interests which are authoritarian rather than libertarian.

I have done no more than outline the general position involved and have ignored the amplifications and qualifications that a full treatment would require, but this brief account of social pluralism may suffice to indicate how the two questions come to be raised — why do libertarians continue to protest if they recognise that they will never eliminate authority, and, if libertarians are opposed to authority, why don't they take some effective action against it?

It has generally been found easier to attempt to answer the second question, usually along the lines of “set a thief to catch a thief.” If libertarians were to organise either to effect reforms within the existing social order or to overthrow it and to create a new order, they would have to become authoritarian. They only remain libertarian while they eschew moralism, while they refrain from telling people that what is good for libertarians is good for the whole world, while they remain pluralists and recognise that other social groups have interests different from those of libertarianism. The libertarian way of going on is by means of hypothetical imperatives: if you are interested in anarchism, atheism and free love, then come and listen to us; if you are interested in security, certainty and authority, then libertarianism is not your cup of tea.

The answer to the first question, I think, lies in the same direction. Just as libertarianism involves anarchism, atheism and free love, so libertarianism involves conflict with authoritarianism, just because it is libertarianism and not something else. It is a social fact that the interests of libertarians and authoritarians do conflict, and this is “why” the opposition between the two exists.

This kind of answer may appear to be dangerously close to circularity — why are libertarians libertarian? Because they are libertarian. But the apparent circularity arises only when the complexity and diversity of libertarianism are ignored. Both questions ask the same thing: why do libertarians both oppose authority and accept the fact of its continued existence? The answer can only be found in other features of libertarianism, by showing the connections between these other features and the opposition to, along with the acceptance of the continued existence of authority.

I have tried to show how the acceptance of the continued existence of authoritarianism derives from the pluralism of libertarianism, as well as from its non-moralistic way of going on. The opposition to authoritarianism, besides deriving from the “anarchism, atheism and free love” of libertarians, is connected with their social pluralism, for to expound consistently a pluralist theory of society is to reject the monist and solidarist views of the authoritarians (how can you accept their claim that what is good for the nation is good for you if the truth is that there is no national good, no interest common to all the many social activities which exist in that geographic region?) and in rejecting these views as illusions, one may come to inquire into the motives of the authoritarians.¹

Because libertarianism is the way of life that it is, it finds itself in conflict with authoritarianism, with no hope of ever eliminating authoritarianism from the social scene.

¹ Such an inquiry may, of course, lead one to side with the authoritarians in an attempt to win power or profit (e.g., Pareto). It is the combination of social pluralism with other views, such as anarchism and atheism, that makes for the distinctive libertarian position.

It is from this sort of analysis that libertarians have adopted such slogans as “anarchism without ends,” “pessimistic anarchists” and “permanent protest” to describe libertarianism and libertarians.

D. J. I.

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D. J. Ivison
Futilitarianism
A Libertarian Dilemma?
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Ayn Rand and the perversion of libertarianism

Lance Klafeta

The political controversy of the late 19th century was: whether socialists (all those who believed in the individual's right to possess what he or she produced) should engage in the political process, seize control of the state, and use the state apparatus to achieve liberation; or, whether a worker's state was inherently contradictory, counter revolutionary, and would only lead to the creation of a new ruling class whose interests would still clash with those of the ruled that the state should be abolished allowing for no transitional stage of any kind during which power may have the chance to reconsolidate itself.

The situation has recreated itself with amazing similarity almost exactly a century later.

Non-libertarian parties the world over (those who see authoritarian centralization the bulwark of civilization) are bankrupt, economically and intellectually. The only viable intellectual current today falls under that ambiguous term — 'libertarian'.

Today there exist beneath this umbrella as many splinter groups as there were a hundred years ago under the umbrella of socialism. Two distinct trends, a right and a left if you will, are clearly discernible.

One group, clearly the largest with a hierarchical organization modeled on the other political parties, believes, like most Marxists, in constitutional parliamentary republican democracy.

They believe that the state is a necessary guarantor of individual safety and the product of the individual's labor, and in gradual progress toward a free society through participation in the political process.

The other group, much smaller and far more splintered, reject the state as necessarily a tool of class domination and exploitation.

This group believes that what Bakunin said a hundred years ago is as true today, "If you took the most ardent revolutionary, vested him in absolute power, within a year he would be worse than the Czar himself."

The first group is in all fairness a direct inheritor of the ideals of the American Revolution. In modern times, however, it has only two roots: (1) the Austrian school of economics represented by Ludwig Von Mises; (2) the philosophy of Ayn Rand.

Von Mises never considered the libertarians. He answered the Marxists and the Keynesians and defended laissez-faire capitalism at a time when no one else would. His justification for capitalism was empirical — the greatest good for the greatest number.

Ayn Rand, however, attempted to offer a moral justification of capitalism by substituting the word ‘capitalism’ for the libertarian meaning of the word ‘socialism’. She then attributed all of the ills of capitalism to government interference with the market and all of the world’s wealth to the minds of the men whom the world considered the robber barons.

The contrast between Ayn Rand’s ‘Objectivism’ and libertarianism is deeper than mere substitution of terminology, however. Several of her propositions or axioms place her clearly outside of the libertarian tradition.

Her justification of the state is derived from a Hobbesian state of nature theory:

“...a society without an organized government would be at the mercy of the first criminal who came along and who would precipitate it into chaos and gang warfare...” [The Virtue of Selfishness, 152; pb 112]

“If a society provided no organized protection against force, it would compel every citizen to go about armed, to turn his home into a fortress, to shoot any strangers approaching his door — or to join a protective gang of citizens who would fight other gangs, formed for the same purpose, and thus bring about the degeneration of society into the chaos of gang rule, i.e., rule by brute force, into perpetual warfare of prehistoric savages.” [Ibid., 146; pb 108]

Ayn Rand’s belief in the inherent depravity of human nature which renders us forever incapable of living without rulers and not descending to the level of ‘savages’, clearly places her outside of the libertarian tradition which views human nature as essentially good, capable of indefinite improvement through the experience of freedom and the exercise of reason.

Her knowledge of anthropology is as embarrassing as her understanding of history. For example, in regards to her conception of who are the savages, she describes America as, “...a superlative material achievement in the midst of an untouched wilderness, against the resistance of savage tribes.” [For The New Intellectual, 58; pb 50]

To Rand, the essential characteristic of the state is that it possesses a monopoly on the use of retaliatory force. How does she justify this monopoly or national sovereignty? She accepts it as a given, something not requiring a justification, and demands that an-archy, the negation of the proposition, justify itself.

Her concept of national sovereignty is then something transcendental, existing separate and apart from individuals. and beyond the right of the individual to accept or reject according to his or her own reason.

These propositions clearly place Ayn Rand’s philosophy closer to Hobbes, Hegel, and Marx, than to libertarianism.

The state, according to Miss Rand, must hold a monopoly on the enforcement of contracts and the settling of disputes between individuals, at least whenever this arbitration is not accepted by both sides voluntarily. She fails to consider that the enforcement of contracts by the state fundamentally alters the nature of free agreements. Agreements are made on terms which otherwise might not be, because they are justiciable.

The terms of “free agreements” under law are titled in favor of lenders over debtors, landlords over tenants, employers over employees, in a way which would not exist in a “free market.” This leveraging of power is not ‘objective’ at all. Depending purely on legal convention, creditors may have debtors imprisoned, tenants may be evicted without notice and their effects confiscated,

one human being may own another or the land on which another lives and works, all to varying degrees.

To understand Ayn Rand's psychology it is helpful to know her background. She was born to a wealthy St. Petersburg family in 1905. The position of her family in Czarist society must have been considerable. At a time when the lives of most Russians had changed little since feudalism, her family was wealthy enough to afford a French Governess and take regular vacations to the Crimea.

It should be noted that wealth in Czarist society was almost wholly a measure of one's favor with the government. There were few if any Horatio Alger stories about individuals who lifted themselves out of serfdom without the patronage of the Czar.

At the age of twelve, she must have been very upset when those nasty workers took over her father's business. Her family fled St. Petersburg for the Crimea and the protection of the White Army.

This experience rendered her forever incapable of seeing land reform or any struggle of oppressed and exploited people as anything more than hatred for the good and lust for the unearned.

She shared with Marx the bourgeois ideology that only a few people were capable of running things. The masses ought to be happy to have a job working for bosses. Any suggestion that an enterprise could be run by the employees without having someone in charge was to her absurd.

She shared with Godwin and Kropotkin the belief that the individual is born tabula rasa — a blank slate, and all human knowledge is derived from sense experience. She then proceeded, however, to completely dismiss environment and socialization as the determining factor in the development of character.

People were to her good or evil, brilliant or indolent, depending solely on their volition. People should be judged by their actions with equal severity regardless of their condition. Though she insisted that the United States was not and never had been a completely free country, she granted no such thing as extenuating circumstances when judging an individual and had no qualms upholding the power of the state to inflict capital punishment.

A far more sinister legacy of Ayn Rand to libertarianism is that of a moralizing autocrat who gathered about her an inner circle which she ironically called, "The collective."

Outwardly, this collective professed egoism and individuality. They were to be the vanguard of an intellectual renaissance. The price of admission to this group, however, was slavish conformity of one's life and professed philosophy to Ayn Rand's whims and eccentricities. For example, she did not like men who wore facial hair or listened to Mozart, and if you didn't give them up you were unfit for Rand's inner circle.

This is particularly sinister if one considers that Karl Marx, believed by millions to be the very symbol of liberation, was also an autocrat who, though professed to be the ultimate champion of democracy, resorted to extraordinary means to maintain control of the International Workingmen's Association. He even moved its headquarters to New York to exclude the libertarian influence.

Today Ayn Rand is gone, but like Marx a century ago, hers is the primary influence on the largest libertarian organization existing. Even the pledge which all Libertarian Party members must sign is taken directly from her admonition, "I hereby certify that I do not believe in or advocate the initiation of force as a means of achieving political or social goals."

In spite of their pledge to non-violence, many libertarians are frustrated with election laws and media censorship. An argument which circulates among libertarians of the right is that, if

they were more threatening, the government may take steps to accommodate them as it did the black civil rights movement.

Ayn Rand's writings are not entirely consistent on the point of non-violence either. In *The Fountainhead*, Howard Roark resorts to the use of dynamite. In *Atlas Shrugged*, Ragnar Daneskjold engages in piracy on the high seas and even shells a factory which has been nationalized. In a clandestine rescue mission, Dagny Taggart shoots a guard who stood in the way of her desired end.

In the event of economic upheaval, ruined by unemployment and inflation, tenants and home owners may refuse to make rent and mortgage payments. The unemployed may seize vacant land and begin to farm, and factory workers may realize they can run things without stock holders.

It would not be at all surprising if there were to emerge within the libertarian right, groups committed to direct action and counter revolutionary violence, even a coup d'état.

Imagine a charismatic and autocratic personality at the center of such a group and you have the Objectivist Lenin.

Like the Marxists and right libertarians, Lenin and the Objectivists are professed republican democrats. Lenin and the Bolsheviks promised that if given power, they would immediately convoke a constituent assembly. When they realized, however, they would not hold a majority in such an assembly they turned against the idea of such an assembly.

Can anyone doubt that the cultist mentality which characterizes most of Miss Rand's followers could lead to the creation of a group of self appointed avengers of the capitalist class? That they would suppress strikes, demonstrations, and factory take overs? That they would not execute people for crimes against the libertarian state?

Ayn Rand believed in a republican form of government with a cleverly constructed constitution which would deny the majority of the power to infringe on the rights of a minority as she conceived them. If the majority supported a general strike against rents and mortgages and supported the factory takeovers, would not the clandestinely organized Objectivist libertarian party be tempted to dispense with democracy in order to enforce what they conceived of as the rights of the dispossessed bourgeoisie?

In all fairness it must be admitted that Ayn Rand herself would never sanction such actions, but the same argument is made everyday by western Marxists that Marx would probably not have sanctioned many of Lenin's actions and would certainly not take credit for the Soviet Union.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks won power by promising, "Land to the peasants!" "Factories to the workers!" When they took power, however, they immediately set about liquidating the factory committees and nationalizing the land. They crushed work place democracy by installing armed guards in the factories, and even returned former owners to their positions as employees of the worker's state.

Leon Trotsky stopped the practice of soldiers electing their officers from their ranks and even restored former Czarist officers to their ranks in the Red Army.

When the Russian Revolution began few people clearly understood the gulf which separated the state socialists from the libertarians. Many dedicated libertarians like Alexander Berkman, rallied to the Bolshevik cause, willing to give them the benefit of the doubt in hopes that seizing state power would only be a transitional stage toward the development of the stateless/classless society.

Many sincere lovers of liberty now flock to the standard of the Libertarian Party, as they did the Bolsheviks, completely ignorant of the history of the last century. As Santayana said: “Those who forget the mistakes of the past are doomed to repeat them.”

What should be done? It should be obvious that government enforcement of private contracts is not libertarian any more than is taking state power to set people free. Libertarianism is and always will mean socialism — the self emancipation of working people.

Libertarians must stop courting the Republican right and return to their intellectual roots. By standing outside of the political process we deny the state legitimacy, and like the state torturers in *Atlas Shrugged*, they will come and beg for libertarians to take over.

Remembering the experience of the Spanish libertarians, and heeding the advice of John Galt, libertarians must refuse state power even when begged. The state can never be a tool of liberation. Only its complete and utter collapse will allow for the emergence of non-statist institutions, libertarian coops, communes, and free markets, to flourish and displace the political state once and for all.

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Lance Klafeta

Ayn Rand and the perversion of libertarianism

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Reclaiming Liberty and Libertarianism

Leeds Solidarity Federation

23rd October 2020

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The words ‘liberty’ and ‘libertarian’ have become increasingly — and in my view wrongly — associated with the Right over the last few decades, especially in the Anglosphere with which I am most familiar. Ever since the writer and renowned crypto-fascist dickhead, Murray Rothbard, symbolically “captured” the terms from the Left in the 1960s, our view of them as a society has become increasingly tainted. It has been misused, not just by a fringe of American pseudo-intellectuals, but also by people in the highest echelons of neoliberal state power.

The true origins of the term ‘libertarian’ are communistic to their very core — it was coined by the anarcho-communist Joseph Déjacque as early as the 1850s to refer to his own views. Déjacque saw in communism the liberty that comes from having one’s needs provided for. And indeed, ‘liberty’ also ought to be a proud part of the broader Left’s vocabulary, equal only to ‘solidarity’ in importance. As such, we as anarchists ought to start calling ourselves libertarians again (without the need for further descriptors such as ‘socialist’ required) and reclaim the word completely from the Right.

The capitalist misuse of liberty

To the average person, even the more politically aware, ‘libertarianism’ invokes ideas of individualism, free markets and self-sufficiency — especially in a rugged, socially Darwinist sense. In less charitable terms, it has become associated with the ‘freedom’ to trample on others, as well as an objective ‘right’ to property and resources acquired and maintained through force (often that of the state they claim to oppose). Indeed, argue with any self-proclaimed ‘anarcho-capitalist’ and you will rapidly realise how disconnected they are from the extreme violence necessary to maintain the ‘property rights’ they fetishise. They will never admit that anything is unfairly distributed. They just prefer not to talk about it if they can avoid it. Property to the ‘libertarian’ capitalist simply ‘is’. It just exists, and that is that. We cannot question from where its legitimacy is derived, and we cannot interrogate the role of state violence in protecting it. We must simply respect others’ ‘freedom’ to hold onto it.

This is where class struggle anarchists (and anyone else with more than a teaspoon of common sense) can easily begin to see holes in the ‘libertarian’ capitalist way of thinking, and realise that it is nothing but a series of comforting falsehoods to a group mostly made up of society’s worst oppressors (it tends to appeal mostly to upper/middle class white men). Property, at its heart, exists as it does now solely with the legitimacy of the state. Even in ‘free-market’ neoliberal societies, private property is ruthlessly protected by state force, first and foremost. If any normal person asserts their right to rebel against injustice through property damage, these ‘libertarians’ side with not just property, but the state — entirely out of instinct. Again, we see their apparent commitment to freedom unmasked as a comfort to soothe their unease with their own oppressive tendencies.

‘Libertarians’ also fail to notice or acknowledge the obvious regarding corporate tyranny: your boss is not your friend, nor can they ever be because of their social and economic roles. The boss in a workplace functions on a small scale as a dictator might on a national scale; they have the right to hire and fire (often at a whim), thus being invested with the power to remove someone’s livelihood at short notice. With this leverage, they can tell you to stand up, sit down, accept reductions in wages, or do things you aren’t comfortable doing. The idea that any truly ‘free’

society could ever tolerate such a phenomenon is completely laughable, and demonstrates how shallow their commitment to freedom actually is.

The view of the capitalist ‘libertarian’ presented so far is a very American one, although it is of course a very Americanised subculture online even outside the US. However, this does not mean that ‘libertarian’ capitalism has not been culturally influential among people who still admit to a belief in the state. Indeed, its influences on neoliberalism are apparent. For example, Sajid Javid, the former British Chancellor of the Exchequer, was known for lovingly reading his wife passages of Ayn Rand — she was another pseudo-intellectual who appropriated the language of freedom, most notably to justify the wealth of the wealthy. Interesting methods of flirtation aside, we have seen politicians as prominent as Boris Johnson using the UK’s (and by extension, the US’) supposed commitment to freedom and individualism as justification for lax rules around coronavirus. Johnson’s bumbling has historic roots in Thatcher and Reagan’s own misuse of ‘liberty’ — both of whom employed the concept to justify imperialist state terror like that of Pinochet in Latin America. Bush and Blair used it to justify the invasion of Iraq. The ‘unfreedom’ that their imperialism was pitched against were simply whatever they happened to oppose at the time, with no real deeper meaning. When we look at the results of it all, it goes without saying that no-one came out of it any freer than they were before.

Neither group have much to say about the injustice of inherited inequality, either. Through inheritance, people end up with more freedom (i.e. through greater wealth and thus spending power), merely because of who their parents are. You would also be hard pressed to find a neoliberal or a ‘libertarian’ capitalist with any kind of coherent anti-racist (i.e. anti-colonial) politics. A presidential candidate for the ‘Libertarian’ Party of America was even repeatedly abused online for showing even a moderate (albeit loose) commitment to the Black Lives Matter cause. The reason they have so little to say on it is because they simply cherry-pick the people for whose freedom they fight — that of the wealthy and privileged, whether they are of the wealthy themselves, or simply pathetically aspire to it.

American-style ‘libertarians’ are clowns at best and dangerous at worst. And we ought to note that many soon become fascists because of the flimsiness of their commitment to freedom and anti-state principles. But worldwide, neoliberal politicians make genuinely significant decisions about our lives under the pretense of ‘liberty’. They use it to justify the false ‘right’ of your boss to oppress you at home and the false ‘liberation’ by the soldier abroad, as they expand and protect Western corporate interests. Both the statist neoliberal and the loosely ‘anti-state’ capitalist pose a significant challenge to the Left because of their malicious misuse of our language, and both need to be engaged with head-on if we are ever to succeed in our aims.

Liberty and the Left

So what is true libertarianism — or indeed what *should* it be? The short answer is that it should be the Left. From the first stirrings of the trade union movement in the 1800s, the most important aim of the Left has been liberty. Whether it was Karl Marx or Joseph Déjacque, Peter Kropotkin or even Vladimir Lenin, their ultimate goal was a communist society where all needs would be provided for. Thus, because when all our needs are provided for — and we are thus able to do as we want — there cannot be a better word for this state of affairs than “liberty”.

In order for such a society to be brought about, we therefore need to put liberty at the heart of our thinking and our actions. As I mentioned at the beginning, this will only be achieved through a synthesis with solidarity. The mistake of the individualist (capitalist or otherwise), who refuses to view society as a collective, is to forget the value of solidarity. Because in solidarity, we act selflessly to benefit the collective — not least because we often receive an eventual reward from it anyway. Excessive individualism rots away our ability to unite around common traits and prevents us from fully understanding the altruism necessary to live contentedly: contrary to popular assertion, we would, and should, get a kick out of helping other people.

Conversely, it is a mistake of those ‘collectivists’ who disapprove of liberty (which they associate only with liberalism or childish idealism), to emphasise the collective above all else. This isn’t because the collective is not of the utmost importance, but because it can be easily hijacked when everyone’s voices are not given equal importance in the process of making decisions. In other words, an collectivist mindset without freedom can only lead to new forms of oppression, because the concept of the collective becomes too alienated from the individual. Suddenly its interests always mysteriously align with those of the new ruling elite — according, at least, to the ruling elite. By refusing to champion liberty as a virtue, you lose the democratic and conciliatory processes that make solidarity and collectivism so useful to participate within in the first place.

Thus, we need to understand that liberty and solidarity complement one another in our end goal of communism (due to the collective’s ability to relieve the individual’s burden) — but we must keep both in our methods too. We cannot submit ourselves to domination by small cliques of people, as we see among communists who seemingly take their characterisation of ‘unfreedom’ by the neoliberal state as a badge of pride. Nor can we submit to disorganisation, as we see among the (admittedly small) number of anarchists who take their characterisation as ‘messy and useless’ by the neoliberal state as an endorsement to be so. No, we need a movement with *organisation*. But it must be *self*-organisation by the collective, and not discipline enforced by an arbitrary, anointed minority.

So, because our goal is the liberty of communism, and because our actions should be imbued with this liberty found only through love and solidarity, we should call ourselves libertarians again. No rightwing pseudo-intellectual should chastise us for doing so, because no capitalist society today can truly claim to be ‘liberated’ — and this has been the case for over 200 years. Nor should any boot-licking excuse for a Leftist do so either, because the joy of liberty is ultimately what we ought to be fighting for in the first place. It is therefore our right as the primary resistance to state and capitalist domination to take these words back.

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Libertarianism and Liberalism

Kevin Carson

March 2008

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Libertarianism and Liberalism: What Went Wrong

Since the general theme of this blog is an anti-authoritarian entente – or even coalition – of diverse liberal and libertarian elements, one question that comes to mind is: “What are the most objectionable features of both establishment libertarianism, and establishment liberalism, from the standpoint of achieving such a coalition?”

1. Mainstream libertarianism

The problem with mainstream libertarianism is its almost total departure from its radical roots. Early classical liberalism was a revolutionary doctrine, which declared war on the most entrenched class interests of its day. Even the most mainstream of classical liberals (like Adam Smith, James Mill and David Ricardo) displayed considerable hostility to the landed oligarchy and the politically connected mercantilists who dominated Britain in the early nineteenth century. And the classical liberal movement included, as well, a large radical wing represented by thinkers like Thomas Hodgskin, who saw the new capitalist system as a bastard fusion of partially free markets and industrialism with the old feudal class system. For Hodgskin, the new industrial capitalists were amalgamating with the old landed aristocracy to form a new ruling class. The capitalist system that was coming into existence was not a free market, but a new class system in which capitalists controlled the state and used it to enforce special privileges for themselves, in exactly the same way that the landed interests had controlled the state for their own interests under the Old Regime.

The significance of this radicalism increases when you bear in mind that Hodgskin’s radical wing of classical liberalism overlapped heavily with the early socialist movement, back when a major part of the workers’ movement still aimed simply at abolishing the special privileges of landlords and capitalists and building a market economy based on workers’ cooperatives.

The radical wing of the classical liberal movement did not by any means disappear, even when classical liberalism as a whole shifted rightward. It survived in the American individualist anarchism of Warren, Tucker and Spooner, and in the various offshoots of Henry George (e.g. Albert Nock and Ralph Borsodi), among other places. Nevertheless, it was relegated to the margin of the larger classical liberal movement.

For the overall movement, the transition came toward the middle of the nineteenth century, when the industrial capitalists had supplanted the landed elites as the dominant class in Britain. At this point, the main body of classical liberalism shifted its emphasis from an attack on entrenched privilege of the great land-owning classes and mercantilists, to a defense of the interests of industrial capitalists.

With the political triumph of the Third Estate, the mainstream of classical political economy—the generation after Ricardo and Mill—made the switch to what Marx called “vulgar political economy,” and took up the role of hired ideological prizefighters for capitalist interests.

From a revolutionary ideology aimed at breaking down the powers of feudal and mercantilist ruling classes, mainstream libertarianism has evolved into a reflexive apology for the institutions today most nearly resembling a feudal ruling class: the giant corporations.

A useful illustration of the shift is the contrasting positions of the early and late Herbert Spencer. The early Spencer was a disciple of Thomas Hodgskin, who attacked the artificial property rights of the landed elites and regarded the rents collected by the great landowners as a

species of taxation. The later Spencer (although still a more complex thinker than these remarks might suggest) was described by Benjamin Tucker:

It seems as if he had forgotten the teachings of his earlier writings, and had become a champion of the capitalistic class. It will be noticed that in these later articles, amid his multitudinous illustrations (of which he is as prodigal as ever) of the evils of legislation, he in every instance cites some law passed, ostensibly at least, to protect labor, alleviate suffering, or promote the people's welfare. He demonstrates beyond dispute the lamentable failure in this direction. But never once does he call attention to the far more deadly and deep-seated evils growing out of the innumerable laws creating privilege and sustaining monopoly. You must not protect the weak against the strong, he seems to say, but freely supply all the weapons needed by the strong to oppress the weak. He is greatly shocked that the rich should be directly taxed to support the poor, but that the poor should be indirectly taxed and bled to make the rich richer does not outrage his delicate sensibilities in the least. Poverty is increased by the poor laws, says Mr. Spencer. Granted; but what about the rich laws that caused and still cause the poverty to which the poor laws add? That is by far the more important question; yet Mr. Spencer tries to blink it out of sight.

In other words, as *Cool Hand Luke* would say, "Them pore ole bosses need all the help they can get."

2. Establishment liberalism,

Establishment liberalism, on the other hand, is all too true to its roots. Its origins lie at the turn of the twentieth century.

After the Civil War, American society was transformed by giant, centralized, hierarchical organizations: the large corporation and the large government agency. To these was eventually added the large charitable foundation and the university. All these large organizations shared a common organizational style, and a common managerial culture. Progressivism, which was the direct ancestor of twentieth century liberalism, was the ideology of the professional and managerial New Middle Classes that ran these large organizations. Especially as exemplified by Herbert Croly and his associates in the New Republic circle and the National Civic Federation, Progressivism sought to organize and manage society as a whole by the same principles that governed the large organization. The managerial revolution carried out by the New Middle Class, in the large corporation, was in its essence an attempt to apply the engineer's approach (standardizing and rationalizing tools, processes, and systems) to the organization of society as a whole. And these Weberian/Taylorist ideas of scientific management and bureaucratic rationality, first applied in the large corporation, quickly spread not only to all large organizations, but to the dominant political culture. The tendency in all aspects of life was to treat policy as a matter of expertise rather than politics: to remove as many questions as possible from the realm of public debate to the realm of administration by "properly qualified authorities." As a New Republic editorial put it, "the business of politics has become too complex to be left to the pretentious misunderstandings of the benevolent amateur." At the same time, the individual was transformed from the independent and self-governing yeoman of the Jeffersonian ideal, to the client of professional

bureaucracies. He became a “human resource” who took orders from the Taylorist managers at work to whom he had alienated his craft skills, went hat in hand to the “helping professionals” to whom he had alienated his common sense, and expressed his “individuality” entirely in the realm of private consumption.

Conclusion.

So what do we need? Libertarianism needs to move back to its radical roots. The elements of the libertarian movement that favor genuinely free markets as a matter of principle, as opposed to defending corporate interests under the guise of phony “free market” rhetoric, need to separate the sheep from the goats.

Liberalism, on the other hand, needs to move away from its managerialist roots (“The body of Leviathan and the head of a social worker,” in Joseph Stromberg’s memorable phrase) and become more genuinely left-wing. It needs to embrace direct democracy, self-management, and decentralism.

I think there is a huge, unmet demand in this country for a third alternative in politics. Right now, mainstream American politics consists of a Daddy Party and a Mommy Party. The Daddy Party, the Banana Republicans, want to turn this country into one giant dioxin-soaked corporate sweatshop, while acting as Pecker Police and making sure nobody catches a glimpse of Janet Jackson’s tit. The Mommy Party, personified by a 900-foot-tall nanny in kevlar vest and gas mask, has as its slogan “Momma don’t allow! Momma don’t allow!”

We need an alternative that appeals to everyone who finds both of the above distasteful. The third agenda would be something along the lines of the “Common Sense II” pamphlet put out by the *People’s Bicentennial Commission* thirty years ago, which promoted local self-government and cooperative economics. Its centerpiece would be reducing the power of both big government and big business, and devolving power to human scale political and economic organizations subject to direct democratic control. The overriding principle would be to eliminate privilege, and to eliminate all the ways that government currently stacks the deck in favor of the rich and big business, and then get out of the way as much as possible. Let workers keep the share of our product that’s currently consumed by useless eaters (landlords, usurers, bureaucrats, and licensed monopolists), and then do with it as we will.

Liberalism: What’s Going Right

In “Libertarianism and Liberalism: What Went Wrong,” I tried to describe some of the features of conventional libertarianism and conventional liberalism that inhibit an anti-authoritarian coalition between them. In this post, I’d like to mention some promising trends within liberalism that offer hope for common ground with libertarians.

At the most modest level, I’ve been encouraged in some ways by Obama’s insurgency against Clinton, who personifies the most objectionable features of establishment liberalism. Obama’s preference for working with the market mechanism instead of through the administrative state (purportedly resulting from the influence of Austan Goolsbee on his economics staff), seems on the whole to be a positive sign.

Of course Obama and Goolsbee are a mixed bag. The positive note is tempered somewhat by Goolsbee’s part in the NAFTA flap. Assuming there’s some fire behind that smoke, his fondness

for NAFTA suggests he conflates “markets” way too much with the existing corporate system. His idea of “democratizing markets,” as Daniel Koffler describes it in the link above, relies heavily on subsidies to higher education, which sounds too much like both the New Labour and New Democratic approach: Accepting corporate domination and meritocracy as given, and using education as a social engineering tool to turn everyone into managers. The danger is that Goolsbee’s affinity for “markets” will translate, not into taking big business off the government teat, but into simply splitting the difference with the Reagan/Thatcher version of banana republicanism – in other words, the DLC model of kinder and gentler neoliberalism.

I also confess to being a bit sick of Obama’s whole Oprah/New Age/”Law of Success” shtik about everybody just getting along, and transcending partisan differences, and all that happy crappy. I might be in a bit more conciliatory mood after the bleeding heads of every billionaire and Fortune 500 CEO in America are mounted on pikes along Wall Street. We’ll just have to wait and see. As for Oprah’s recycled version of the old “name it and claim it” gospel, I care a lot less about whether the board rooms “look like the rest of America,” than about the power those boardrooms exercise in the first place.

Still, there’s the possibility that with Obama’s more genuinely left-wing (as opposed to liberal) voting record, and the influence of Goolsbee’s market-friendliness, he might just manage to combine them in a novel way that promotes egalitarian goals outside the conventional liberal box. The combination of pro-market and left-leaning rhetoric, taken at face value, offers at least a hope of the kind of thing Jesse Walker mentioned (“How to be a Half-Decent Democrat”) as a way for Democrats to attract libertarian votes,

Don’t be a slave to the bureaucracy. Look, I don’t expect you to turn into a libertarian. But there are ways to achieve progressive goals without expanding the federal government, and if you’re willing to entertain enough of those ideas, you’ll be more appealing than a “free-market” president who makes LBJ look thrifty. You could talk about the harm done by agriculture subsidies, by occupational licensing, by eminent domain, by the insane tangle of patent law. And no, I don’t expect you to call for abolishing the welfare state – but maybe you’d like to replace those top-heavy bureaucracies with a negative income tax?

Consistently applied, what this suggests is essentially the geolibertarian approach of replacing the administrative and regulatory state with Pigovian taxation of negative externalities and economic rents, and replacing the welfare state bureaucracy with a basic income funded by taxation of rents and externalities.

Although Obama’s departures from establishment liberalism are modest at best, the same tendencies show themselves much more strongly elsewhere within the traditional liberal camp.

RFK, Jr. is a good example. He refers to markets in a positive way, but (unlike Obama and Goolsbee) sharply distinguishes the free market from corporate capitalism. In fact he *demonizes* the corporate economy in terms of free market principles,

You show me a polluter and I’ll show you a subsidy. I’ll show you a fat cat using political clout to escape the discipline of the free market and load his production costs onto the backs of the public.

... Free markets, when allowed to function, properly value raw materials and encourage producers to eliminate waste – pollution – by reducing, reusing, and recycling...

The truth is, I don't even think of myself as an environmentalist anymore. I consider myself a free-marketeer.

Corporate capitalists don't want free markets, they want dependable profits, and their surest route is to crush the competition by controlling the government.

Let's not forget that we taxpayers give away \$65 billion every year in subsidies to big oil, and more than \$35 billion a year in subsidies to western welfare cowboys. Those subsidies helped create the billionaires who financed the right-wing revolution on Capitol Hill and put George W. Bush in the White House.

Even better, Dean Baker has explained how the conventional "liberal" vs. "conservative" scripting on economic issues gets everything exactly backward:

Political debates in the United States are routinely framed as a battle between conservatives who favor market outcomes, whatever they may be, against liberals who prefer government intervention to ensure that families have decent standards-of-living. This description of the two poles is inaccurate...

It is not surprising that conservatives would fashion their agenda in a way that makes it more palatable to the bulk of the population, most of whom are not wealthy and therefore do not benefit from policies that distribute income upward. However, it is surprising that so many liberals and progressives, who oppose conservative policies, eagerly accept the conservatives' framing of the national debate over economic and social policy. This is comparable to playing a football game where one side gets to determine the defense that the other side will play. This would be a huge advantage in a football game, and it is a huge advantage in politics. As long as liberals allow conservatives to write the script from which liberals argue, they will be at a major disadvantage in policy debates and politics. The conservative framing of issues is so deeply embedded that it has been widely accepted by ostensibly neutral actors, such as policy professionals or the news media that report on national politics. For example, news reports routinely refer to bilateral trade agreements, such as NAFTA or CAFTA, as "free trade" agreements. This is in spite of the fact that one of the main purposes of these agreements is to increase patent protection in developing countries, effectively increasing the length and force of government-imposed monopolies. Whether or not increasing patent protection is desirable policy, it clearly is not "free trade." It is clever policy for proponents of these agreements to label them as "free trade" agreements..., but that is not an excuse for neutral commentators to accept this definition...

Unfortunately, the state of the current debate on economic policy is even worse from the standpoint of progressives. Not only have the conservatives been successful in getting the media and the experts to accept their framing and language, they have been largely successful in getting their liberal opponents to accept this framing and language, as well. In the case of trade policy, opponents of NAFTA-type trade deals usually have to explain how they would ordinarily support "free trade," but not this particular deal. Virtually no one in the public debate stands up and says that these trade deals have nothing to do with free trade....

Testify!

Libertarianism: What's Going Right

In “Libertarianism and Liberalism: What Went Wrong,” I gave my opinion of what was wrong with both mainstream libertarianism and mainstream liberalism (“wrong” in the sense to presenting an obstacle to an anti-authoritarian coalition of liberals and libertarians). In my last post, “Liberalism: What’s Going Right,” I discussed some reasons for hope within movement liberalism: some individuals who show signs of thinking outside the box when it comes to abandoning the worst features of the liberal establishment and finding common ground with free market libertarians. Now I’d like to do the same thing on the libertarian side.

The following are tendencies and subgroups within the larger free market libertarian movement, loosely defined, that largely steer clear of “vulgar libertarianism” (i.e., pro-corporate apologetics under the cover of phony “free market” rhetoric) and present some basis for a possible entente not only with liberalism but with the broader left. I may write additional, more detailed posts later on some of these groups, but my purpose here is just to summarize them.

1. *Classical Individualist Anarchism*

The movement with which I identify most closely as a libertarian, also probably the least important from the standpoint of actual influence, is the *classical individualist anarchism* of Josiah Warren, Lysander Spooner, Benjamin Tucker and the *Liberty* circle. I call us “classical” to distinguish us from modern, left-leaning followers of Murray Rothbard who also claim the individualist anarchist label—not because the latter are not entitled either to that label or to our good fellowship, but because there are substantive differences and we need some verbal distinction to reflect them. The central difference is that we classical individualist anarchists still view our free market libertarianism as a form of socialism, and have views on rent and profit that are closer to those of Tucker’s Boston anarchists than to the Austrianism of Rothbard. Modern adherents of this nineteenth century radicalism include Shawn Wilbur, Joe Peacott, Joel Schlosberg, Matt Jenny, and Crispin Sartwell (although I’ve probably missed a few). R.A. Wilson, recently departed, promoted this version of anarchism in *The Illuminatus! Trilogy* (for example here).

On a related note, Larry Gambone of the *Voluntary Cooperation Movement* is heavily influenced by the mutualism of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and Robert Owen, the direct European ancestors of American individualism. Gambone played a large role in introducing Proudhon’s thought to modern North American anarchists (see his pamphlet “Proudhon and Anarchism”). He and Dick Martin, both in British Columbia, are the primary editors of *Any Time Now*.

2. *Left-Rothbardianism*

The *left-Rothbardians* trace their origins to Murray Rothbard’s project, in the late ’60s and early ’70s, of an alliance with the New Left against the corporate state. Rothbard and other right-wing libertarians contributed to the New Left journal *Ramparts* (home of David Horowitz, before he became an odious neocon) and William Appleman Williams’ revisionist history study group *Studies on the Left*. Rothbard’s journal *Left and Right*, and the early volumes of *Libertarian Forum*, were largely preoccupied with the New Left alliance.

Rothbard himself abandoned the project as hopeless after a few years, and moved rightward. But his close associate Karl Hess went on (for a while) to develop much closer ties of affinity to the left, participating in a community technology project in the Adams-Morgan neighborhood of Washington DC and even joining the Wobblies. And another Rothbard associate, Samuel Edward Konkin III, founded the Movement of the Libertarian Left as a vehicle for continuing Rothbard's Old Right/New Left project. Konkin's central contribution to what he called "Agorism," the *New Libertarian Manifesto* (warning: pdf), is available at Agorisim.Info (with a lot of other Konkin pamphlets as well). The current *Alliance of the Libertarian Left* and *Blogosphere of the Libertarian Left* include many of those who have preserved and continued this left-Rothbardian line of thought.

3. Geolibertarianism

Geolibertarianism, or *Georgism*, is large; it contains multitudes. Founded (of course) by Henry George, it amounts to an whole libertarian movement of its own, with variants ranging pretty far to the left and right: from Albert Jay Nock, Frank Chodorov and Fred Foldvary on the right, to Ralph Borsodi and Michael Hudson on the left.

Georgism and individualist anarchism are both unlike mainstream contemporary libertarianism in that they remain much closer in spirit to the classical liberalism of Paine, Smith and Ricardo. Both retain the classical political economists' understanding, abandoned by the main line of marginalist economics, that "land is different" from other factors of production because, as Will Rogers said, "They ain't making any more of it."

The central idea is that land isn't governed by the normal market mechanism that regulates the price of reproducible goods, by driving it toward production cost. The more social wealth increases, the more people and dollars are bidding up the fixed supply of land, so that rents continue to rise relative to wages and more and more wealth disappears down the landlords' rathole. The Georgist remedy is to eliminate all taxes on labor and capital, and put a "single tax" on the site value of land, so as to make unearned scarcity rent the main source of tax revenue. The effect is for the land currently being held out of use for speculative purposes to be put to use by human labor, and for rents to fall relative to wages.

The most left-leaning version of Georgism is the geolibertarian agenda I mentioned in my earlier post: taxing land value, resource extraction, and carbon emissions and other externalities, funding a guaranteed minimum income out of this rent collected by society, and then allowing progressive ends to be promoted entirely by the price incentives resulting from these policies, in a totally unregulated market. The idea is that in a society where workers have the bargaining power that comes with unlimited access to cheap land and a social dividend of ten or fifteen thousand bucks per capita, labor regulations will be superfluous. And in a society where pollution is heavily taxed and the price of fossil fuels reflects high severance fees, the same is true of pollution laws. And so on, and so on.

I'm not a Georgist, for reasons that would require way too much digression to go into now. But George's thought, in all its manifestations, has been an immensely positive leavening force on both left and right, bringing out the best aspects of both communities. On the left, it softens the tendency to rely on the bureaucratic state, and promotes in its place an egalitarianism that works through the removal of privilege and the perfection of market mechanisms. On the right, it counteracts the instinctive tendency to rally to the defense of the rich and corporate interests.

Each of these movements, in its own way, offers some potential as a basis for common action with the left against the increasing authoritarian police state, and against the corporate-state nexus that dominates the economy.

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Vulgar Libertarianism at the NYT

And the Usual Suspects are Ticked Pink

Kevin Carson

June 12, 2006

Courtesy of Joel Schlosberg and P.M. Lawrence. Nicolas D. Kristof at the *New York Times* has recycled the “best available alternative” cliché in defense of sweatshops, and George Reisman’s as giddy as a schoolgirl.

I’ve repeatedly attempted to show just how bankrupt the “best available alternative” apology is, starting with Vulgar Libertarianism Watch Part I. But I recently stumbled across another example in Naomi Klein’s *No Logo*. She quotes Raymondo Nagrampa, the administrator of a “free trade” zone in the Philippines (a sort of industrial park for sweatshops):

They feel more comfortable just working in the factory line, for, after all, this is a marked improvement from the farm work that they’ve been accustomed to, where they were exposed to the sun. To them, for the lowly province rural worker, working inside an enclosed factory is better off than being outside.

Klein, in interviews with sweatshop workers, met with universal outrage at Nagrampa’s remarks:

“It’s not human!” said Rosalie, a teenager whose job is installing the “backlights” in IBM computer screens. “Our rights are being trampled and Mr. Nagrampa says that because he has not experienced working in a factory and the conditions inside.”

Salvador, in his *90210* T-shirt, was beside himself: “Mr. Nagrampa earns a lot of money and he has an air-conditioned room and his own car, so of course he would say that we prefer this work—it is beneficial to him, but not to us... Working on the farm is difficult, yes, but there we have our family and friends and instead of always eating dried fish, we have fresh food to eat.”

Many other rural workers told me that they would have stayed home if they could, but the choice was made for them: most of their families had lost their farms, displaced by golf courses, botched land-reform laws and more export processing zones...

...“If we had land we would just stay there to cultivate the land for our needs,” Raquel, a teenage girl from one of the garment factories, told me. “But we are landless, so

we have no choice but to work in the economic zone even though it is very hard and the situation here is very unfair..”

In other words, exactly what the masters and owners of mankind have known ever since they figured out we could be milked like cattle for our surplus production: it's a lot easier to get “good help” when the producing classes are deprived of independent access to the means of production.

A few months ago, I got into a debate with some anonymous, historically illiterate cretin (aka “Guest”) in a forum at flag.blackened.net, who said that Third Worlders choose sweatshop labor because they prefer it to “chasing a water buffalo up and down a rice paddy all day.” When I argued the contrary—that the demonstrated preference has generally been to work one's own land whenever the choice was available—the idiot got demagogic about the “elitism” of “left-wing intellectuals” who think they know better than Third World peasants what they really want. Perhaps Guest should talk to some of those people Naomi Klein talked to. And then buy Mr. Nagrampa a beer; they seem to have a lot in common.

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Libertarianism: Bogus Anarchy

Peter Sabatini

1994–1995

A distinct mainstream movement specific to the United States, Libertarianism had its inception during the 1960s. In 1971 it formed into a political party and went on to make a strong showing in several elections.¹

Libertarianism is at times referred to as “anarchism,” and certain of its adherents call themselves “anarchists,” e.g., the economist James Buchanan.² More significant, the work of US individualist anarchists (Benjamin Tucker et al.) is cited by some Libertarians.³ Accordingly, it may rightly be asked whether Libertarianism is in fact anarchism. Exactly what is the relationship between the two? To properly decide the question requires a synopsis of anarchist history.

The chronology of anarchism within the United States corresponds to what transpired in Europe and other locations. An organized anarchist movement imbued with a revolutionary collectivist, then communist, orientation came to fruition in the late 1870s. At that time, Chicago was a primary center of anarchist activity within the USA, due in part to its large immigrant population.⁴ (Chicago was also where the Haymarket affair occurred in 1886. An unknown assailant threw a bomb as police broke up a public protest demonstration. Many radicals were arrested,

¹ David DeLeon, *The American As Anarchist: Reflections On Indigenous Radicalism* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University, 1978), p. 147; Jay Kinney;

“What’s Left? Revisiting The Revolution”, in Stewart Brand, ed., *The Next Whole Earth Catalog* (Sausalito, CA: Point, 1980), p. 393;

David Miller, *Anarchism* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1984), p. 4. By itself, the fact that Libertarianism formed a political party and has attempted to attain power through the electoral system seriously undermines its claim to be anarchism.

² James M. Buchanan, “A Contractarian Perspective On Anarchy”, in J. Roland Pennock and John W. Chapman, eds., *Anarchism: NOMOS XIX* (New York: New York University, 1978), p. 29. Libertarianism is also referred to as “anarcho-capitalism” and “philosophical anarchism.” The word “libertarian” was used by French anarchists in the 1890s as a synonym for “anarchist.” Consequently, some contemporary anarchists refer to themselves and/or anarchy as “libertarian.” But here there is no implied connection to Libertarianism. Michael P. Smith, *The Libertarians And Education* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983), pp. 2, 3.

³ David Friedman, *The Machinery Of Freedom: Guide To Radical Capitalism*, Second Edition (La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1989), pp. 37, 113; Murray Rothbard, *For A New Liberty: The Libertarian Manifesto* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1978), pp. 51–52.

⁴ Bruce Nelson, *Beyond The Martyrs: A Social History of Chicago’s Anarchists, 1870–1900* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, 1988), pp. 4, 15, 25; Laurence Veysey,

The Communal Experience: Anarchist and Mystical Counter-Cultures in America (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 35.

and several hanged on the flimsiest of evidence.) Despite off and on political repression, the US anarchist movement continued in an expansive mode until the mid-1890s, when it then began to flounder. By 1900, anarchy was visibly in decline.⁵

But like its counterpart in Europe, anarchism's marginalization in the United States was temporarily slowed by the arrival of syndicalism. North American syndicalism appeared 1904–1905 in the form of a militant unionism known as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Anarchists entered the IWW along with revolutionary socialists. The alliance did not last long.⁶ Internal squabbles soon split the IWW, and for a time there existed anarchist and socialist versions. Finally, with involvement of the US in WWI, the anarchist IWW, and anarchism in general, dropped from the public domain.⁷

Anarchy in the USA consisted not only of the Bakunin-collectivist/syndicalist and Kropotkin-communist strains, but also the Proudhon-mutualist/individualist variant associated most closely with Benjamin Tucker. Individualist anarchy actually had a longer history of duration within the United States than the other two, but not only because Proudhon preceded Bakunin and Kropotkin. There were other individualist anarchists before Tucker who had ties to various radical movements which predate Proudhon. Within the United States of early to mid-19th century, there appeared an array of communal and “utopian” counterculture groups (including the so-called free love movement). William Godwin's anarchism exerted an ideological influence on some of this, but more so the socialism of Robert Owen and Charles Fourier.⁸ After success of his British venture, Owen himself established a cooperative community within the United States at New Harmony, Indiana during 1825. One member of this commune was Josiah Warren (1798–1874), considered to be the first individualist anarchist.⁹ After New Harmony failed Warren shifted his ideological loyalties from socialism to anarchism (which was no great leap, given that Owen's socialism had been predicated on Godwin's anarchism).¹⁰

Then he founded his own commune (“Modern Times”) and propounded an individualist doctrine which nicely dovetailed with Proudhon's mutualism arriving from abroad.¹¹ Warren's activities attracted a number of converts, some of whom helped to further develop American mutualism. The most important of these were Ezra Heywood (1829–1893), William B. Greene (1819–1878), and Lysander Spooner (1808–1887). The advent of the Civil War put an end to much of

⁵ Ibid., p. 35.

⁶ Sima Lieberman, *Labor Movements And Labor Thought: Spain, France, Germany, and the United States* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1986), p. 247.

Dorothy Gallagher, *All The Right Enemies: The Life and Murder of Carlo Tresca* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, 1988), pp. 60–61.

⁷ James Joll, *The Anarchists*. Second Edition (London: Methuen, 1979), pp. 201–203; Miller, pp. 134–135;

Terry M. Perlin, *Anarchist-Communism In America, 1890–1914* (Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1970), p. 294.

⁸ John C. Spurlock, *Free Love: Marriage and Middle-Class Radicalism in America, 1825–1860* (New York: New York University, 1988), pp. 28, 62.

⁹ James J. Martin, *Men Against The State: The Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in America 1827–1908* (New York: Libertarian Book Club, 1957), pp. 14, 17;

William O. Reichert, *Partisans Of Freedom: A Study in American Anarchism* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University, 1976), p. 66.

¹⁰ G.D.H. Cole, *Socialist Thought: The Forerunners 1789–1859* (London: Macmillan, 1953), pp. 87–88.

¹¹ Martin, p. 97.

the utopian movement and its communal living experiments. Individualist anarchism was itself reduced to an agitprop journalistic enterprise of some measurable popularity.¹²

And in this form it found its most eloquent voice with Benjamin Tucker and his magazine *Liberty*. Tucker had been acquainted with Heywood and other individualist anarchists, and he subsequently converted to mutualism.¹³ Thereafter he served as the movement's chief polemist and guiding hand.

The Proudhonist anarchy that Tucker represented was largely superseded in Europe by revolutionary collectivism and anarcho-communism. The same changeover occurred in the US, although mainly among subgroups of working class immigrants who were settling in urban areas. For these recent immigrants caught up in tenuous circumstances within the vortex of emerging corporate capitalism, a revolutionary anarchy had greater relevancy than go slow mutualism. On the other hand, individualist anarchism also persisted within the United States because it had the support of a different (more established, middle class, and formally educated) audience that represented the earlier stream of indigenous North American radicalism reflecting this region's unique, and rapidly fading, decentralized economic development. Although individualist and communist anarchy are fundamentally one and the same doctrine, their respective supporters still ended up at loggerheads over tactical differences.¹⁴ But in any event, the clash between the two variants was ultimately resolved by factors beyond their control. Just as anarcho-communism entered a political twilight zone in the 1890s, American mutualism did likewise. Tucker's bookstore operation burned down in 1908, and this not only terminated publication of *Liberty*, but also what remained of the individualist anarchism "movement." The aggregate of support upon which this thread of thought had depended was already in dissipation.¹⁵ Individualist anarchy after 1900 receded rapidly to the radical outback.

What then does any of this have to do with Libertarianism? In effect, nothing, aside from a few unsupported claims. Libertarianism is not anarchism, but actually a form of liberalism. It does, however, have a point of origin that is traceable to the same juncture as anarchism's marginalization. So in this limited sense there is a shared commonality. To be more precise, the rapid industrialization that occurred within the United States after the Civil War went hand in glove with a sizable expansion of the American state.¹⁶ At the turn of the century, local entrepreneurial (proprietorship/partnership) business was overshadowed in short order by transnational corporate capitalism.¹⁷ The catastrophic transformation of US society that followed in the wake of corporate capitalism fueled not only left wing radicalism (anarchism and socialism), but also some prominent right wing opposition from dissident elements anchored within liberalism. The various stratum comprising the capitalist class responded differentially to these transpiring events as a function of their respective position of benefit. Small business that remained as such came to

¹² Veysey, pp. 35, 36.

¹³ Edward K. Spann, *Brotherly Tomorrows: Movements for a Cooperative Society in America 1820–1920* (New York: Columbia University, 1989), p. 146.

¹⁴ For example, see the vitriolic exchange between Kropotkin and Tucker. Peter Kropotkin, *Modern Science And Anarchism*, Second Edition (London: Freedom Press, 1923), pp. 70–71. Benjamin R. Tucker, *Instead Of A Book, By A Man Too Busy To Write One* (New York: Haskell House, 1969), pp. 388–389.

¹⁵ Martin, pp. 258–259.

¹⁶ See, Stephen Skowronek, *Building A New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1982).

¹⁷ See, Olivier Zunz, *Making America Corporate 1870–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990).

greatly resent the economic advantage corporate capitalism secured to itself, and the sweeping changes the latter imposed on the presumed ground rules of bourgeois competition.¹⁸

Nevertheless, because capitalism is liberalism's *raison d'être*, small business operators had little choice but to blame the state for their financial woes, otherwise they moved themselves to another ideological camp (anti-capitalism). Hence, the enlarged state was imputed as the primary cause for capitalism's "aberration" into its monopoly form, and thus it became the scapegoat for small business complaint. Such sentiments are found vented within a small body of literature extending from this time, e.g., Albert Jay Nock's *Our Enemy, The State* (1935); what may now rightly be called proto-Libertarianism.¹⁹

As a self-identified ideological movement, however, Libertarianism took more definite shape from the 1940s onward through the writings of novelist Ayn Rand. The exaltation of liberal individualism and minimal state *laissez-faire* capitalism that permeates Rand's fictional work as a chronic theme attracted a cult following within the United States. To further accommodate supporters, Rand fashioned her own popular philosophy ("Objectivism") and a membership organization. Many of those who would later form the nucleus of Libertarianism came out of Objectivism, including two of its chief theoreticians, John Hospers and Murray Rothbard.²⁰ Another conduit into Libertarianism carried a breakaway faction from William F. Buckley's college youth club, the Edmund Burke-style conservative Young Americans For Freedom.²¹ More academic input arrived from the Austrian school of neoclassical economics promulgated by F.A. Hayek and Ludwig von Mises (of which the economist Rothbard subscribes).²² All these marginal streams intermingled during the mid to late 1960s, and finally settled out as Libertarianism in the early 1970s.²³

It is no coincidence that Libertarianism solidified and conspicuously appeared on the scene just after the United States entered an economic downturn (at the same time Keynesian economics was discredited and neoclassical theory staged a comeback). The world-wide retrenchment of capitalism that began in the late 1960s broke the ideological strangle hold of a particular variant of (Locke-Rousseau) liberalism, thereby allowing the public airing of other (Locke-Burke) strains representing disaffected elements within the capitalist class, including small business interests. Libertarianism was one aspect of this New Right offensive. It appeared to be something *sui generis*. Libertarianism provided a simplistic status quo explanation to an anxious middle class threatened by the unfathomed malaise of capitalism and growing societal deterioration, i.e., blame the state. And this prevalent grasping at straws attitude accounts for the success of Robert Nozick's popularization of Libertarianism, *Anarchy, State, And Utopia* (1974). It rode the crest of

¹⁸ David M. Gordon, *Richard Edwards and Michael Reich, Segmented Work, Divided Workers: The Historical Transformation of Labor in the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1982), pp. 109, 110.

¹⁹ Albert Jay Nock, *Our Enemy, The State* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1935).

Peter Marshall, *Demanding The Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (London: HarperCollins, 1992), p. 560. Veysey, p. 36.

²⁰ John Hospers, *Libertarianism: A Political Philosophy for Tomorrow* (Los Angeles: Nash Publishing, 1971), p. 466.

Ted Goertzel, *Turncoats And True Believers: The Dynamics of Political Belief and Disillusionment* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1992), pp. 141, 263.

²¹ DeLeon, pp. 119–123; Micheal G. Newbrough, *Individualist Anarchism In American Political Thought* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1975), p. 216.

²² Murray Rothbard is the "academic vice president" of the Ludwig von Mises Institute at Auburn, Alabama, and contributing editor to its publication, *The Free Market*. Llewellyn H. Rockwell Jr., ed., *The Free Market* 11(7–8), July-August 1993, 1–8.

²³ Newbrough, p. 217.

this polemic rift within liberalism. The book was deemed controversial, even extreme, by establishment liberals (and social democrats long pacified by the welfare state), who, secure in power for decades, were now under sustained attack by their own right wing. Yet at bedrock, Nozick's treatise was nothing more than old wine in a new bottle, an updating of John Locke.²⁴

Libertarianism is not anarchism. Some Libertarians readily admit this. For example, Ayn Rand, the radical egoist, expressly disavows the communal individuality of Stirner in favor of liberalism's stark individualism.²⁵ Plus Robert Nozick makes pointed reference to the US individualist anarchists, and summarily dismisses them.²⁶ This explicit rejection of anarchism is evidence of the basic liberalist ideology that Libertarians hold dear. But more specifically, within the movement itself there exist factional interests.²⁷ There are Libertarians who emphasize lifestyle issues and civil liberties (an amplification of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*). They want the state out of their "private" lives, e.g., in drug use and sexual activity. Others are chiefly concerned with economics. They champion *laissez-faire* "free-market" neoclassical economics, and fault the state for corrupting "natural" capitalism. Although both groups despise the state intensely, neither wants to completely do away with it. This minimal state position, sufficient by itself to debar Libertarianism from classification as anarchism, is embraced by Rand, Buchanan, Hospers, and Nozick.²⁸ More revealing, however, is why Libertarians retain the state. What they always insist on maintaining are the state's coercive apparatuses of law, police, and military.²⁹ The reason flows directly from their view of human nature, which is a hallmark of liberalism, not anarchism. That is, Libertarianism ascribes social problems within society (crime, poverty, etc.) to an inherent disposition of humans (re: why Locke argues people leave the "state of nature"), hence the constant need for "impartial" force supplied by the state. Human corruption and degeneracy stemming from structural externalities as a function of power is never admitted because Libertarianism, like liberalism, fully supports capitalism. It does not object to its power, centralization, economic inequality, hierarchy, and authority. The "liberty" to exploit labor and amass property unencumbered by the state is the quintessence of capitalism, and the credo of Libertarianism née liberalism, all of which is the utter negation of anarchism.

Lastly to be addressed is the apparent anomaly of Murray Rothbard. Within Libertarianism, Rothbard represents a minority perspective that actually argues for the total elimination of the state. However Rothbard's claim as an anarchist is quickly voided when it is shown that he only wants an end to the public state. In its place he allows countless private states, with each person supplying their own police force, army, and law, or else purchasing these services from capitalist vendors.³⁰ Rothbard has no problem whatsoever with the amassing of wealth, therefore those with more capital will inevitably have greater coercive force at their disposal, just as they do

²⁴ John Gray, *Liberalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1986), pp. xi, 41; J.G. Merquior, *Liberalism: Old and New* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991), p. 138.

²⁵ Ayn Rand and Nathaniel Branden, *The Virtue of Selfishness: A New Concept of Egoism* (New York: Signet Books, 1964), p. 135.

²⁶ Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State, And Utopia* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), p. 276.

Also see, Tibor Machan, "Libertarianism: The Principle of Liberty", in George W. Carey, ed., *Freedom And Virtue: The Conservative/Libertarian Debate* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America and The Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 1984), pp. 40–41.

²⁷ Goertzel, p. 262.

²⁸ Gray, p. 42; Hospers, p. 417; Nozick, p. 276; Rand and Branden, pp. 112, 113.

²⁹ Hospers, p. 419; Nozick, p. ix; Rand and Branden, p. 112.

³⁰ Murray N. Rothbard, "Society Without A State", in Pennock and Chapman, eds., p. 192.

now. Additionally, in those rare moments when Rothbard (or any other Libertarian) does draw upon individualist anarchism, he is always highly selective about what he pulls out. Most of the doctrine's core principles, being decidedly anti-Libertarianism, are conveniently ignored, and so what remains is shrill anti-statism conjoined to a vacuous freedom in hackneyed defense of capitalism. In sum, the "anarchy" of Libertarianism reduces to a liberal fraud. David Wieck's critique of Rothbard, applicable to Libertarianism in general, will close this discussion.

"Out of the history of anarchist thought and action Rothbard has pulled forth a single thread, the thread of individualism, and defines that individualism in a way alien even to the spirit of a Max Stirner or a Benjamin Tucker, whose heritage I presume he would claim — to say nothing of how alien is his way to the spirit of Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Malatesta, and the historically anonymous persons who through their thoughts and action have tried to give anarchism a living meaning. Out of this thread Rothbard manufactures one more bourgeois ideology."³¹

³¹ David Wieck, "Anarchist Justice", in Pennock and Chapman, eds., pp. 227–228.

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Peter Sabatini
Libertarianism: Bogus Anarchy
1994–1995

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Capitalism, Right Libertarianism and the problem of “externalities?”

Gary Elkin

Right libertarians have great difficulty in dealing with the problem of “externalities”: that is, harmful environmental effects (e.g. pollution, global warming, ozone depletion, destruction of wildlife habitat) not counted as “costs of production” in standard methods of accounting. Such costs must be born by everyone in the society who is affected by them, and not only by the capitalists who produce them; hence it is possible for capitalist to ignore such effects when planning future production. But this means that such effects *will* be ignored, since competition forces firms to cut as many costs as possible and concentrate on short-term profits.

Right libertarians typically address the problem of externalities by calling for public education which will raise people’s awareness of ecological problems to the point where there will be enough demand for environment-friendly technologies and products that they will be profitable.

This argument, however, ignores two crucially important facts: (1) that environment-friendly technologies and products *by themselves* are not enough to avert ecological disaster so long as capitalism retains its need for high growth rates (which it will retain because this need is inherent in the system); and (2) that in a right-libertarian world in which private property is protected by a “night-watchman State” or private security forces, a wealthy capitalist elite will still control education, as it does now — and this because education is an essential indoctrination tool of the capitalist elite, needed to promote capitalist values and train a large population of future wage-slaves in proper habits of obedience to authority. For this reason, capitalists cannot afford to lose control of the educational system, no matter how much it costs them to maintain competitive schools. And this means that such schools will not teach students what is really necessary to avoid ecological disaster: namely, the dismantling of capitalism itself.

Another ecological problem that right libertarians cannot deal with satisfactorily is that capitalist firms *must* be committed to short-term profitability rather than long-term environmental responsibility in order to survive economically in the competitive market .

Here’s an example: Suppose there are 3 automobile companies, X, Y, and Z, which are competitive (not conspiring to fix prices) and which exist in a right-libertarian society where there is no democratic community control over the economy. Then suppose that company X invests in the project of developing a non-polluting car within ten years. At the same time its competitors, Y and Z, will be putting their resources into increasing profits and market share in the coming

days and months and over the next year. During that period, company X will be out of luck, for it will not be able to attract enough capital from investors to carry out its plans, since investment will flock to the companies that are most immediately profitable.

The right libertarian may respond by arguing that business leaders are as able to see long-term negative environmental effects as the rest of us. But this is to misunderstand the nature of the objection. It is not that business leaders *as individuals* are any less able to see what's happening to the environment. It is that if they want to keep their jobs they have to do what the system requires, which is to concentrate on what is most profitable in the short term. Thus if the president of company X has a mystical experience of oneness with nature and starts diverting profits into pollution control while the presidents of Y and Z continue with business as usual, the stockholders of company X will get a new president who is willing to focus on short-term profits like Y and Z.

In general, then, if one company tries to devote resources to develop products or processes that will save the environment, they will simply be undercut by other companies which are not doing so, and hence they won't be competitive in the market. In other words, capitalism has a built-in bias toward short-term gain, and this bias — along with a built-in need for rapid growth — means the planet will continue its free-fall toward ecological disaster so long as capitalism remains in place.

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Gary Elkin
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Anarcho-capitalism

Anarcho-capitalism is a political philosophy and economic theory that advocates the elimination of centralized states in favor of a system of private property enforced by private agencies, free markets and the right-libertarian interpretation of self-ownership, which extends the concept to include control of private property as part of the self. In the absence of statute, anarcho-capitalists ("ancaps" for short)^[1] hold that society tends to contractually self-regulate and civilize through participation in the free market which they describe as a voluntary society.^{[2][3][4]} In a theoretical anarcho-capitalist society, the system of private property would still exist and be enforced by private defense agencies and insurance companies selected by customers which would operate competitively in a market and fulfill the roles of courts and the police.^{[4][5][6]} Anarcho-capitalists claim that various theorists have espoused philosophies similar to anarcho-capitalism.^[7] However, anarcho-capitalism was developed in the 20th century and the first person to use the term *anarcho-capitalism* was Murray Rothbard.^[8] Rothbard synthesized elements from the Austrian School, classical liberalism and 19th-century American individualist anarchists and mutualists Lysander Spooner and Benjamin Tucker while rejecting their labor theory of value and the anti-capitalist and socialist norms they derived from it.^{[9][10][11]} Rothbard's anarcho-capitalist society would operate under a mutually agreed-upon "legal code which would be generally accepted, and which the courts would pledge themselves to follow".^[12] This legal code would recognize contracts, private property, self-ownership and tort law in keeping with the non-aggression principle.^{[12][13]}

Anarcho-capitalists are distinguished from anarchists and minarchists. The latter advocate a night-watchman state limited to protecting individuals from aggression and enforcing private property.^[14] On the other hand, anarchists support personal property (defined in terms of possession and use, i.e. mutualist usufruct)^{[15][16]} and oppose capital concentration, interest, monopoly; private ownership of productive property such as the means of production (capital, land and the means of labor), profit, rent, usury and wage slavery, which is viewed as inherent to capitalism, is not rejected by anarcho-capitalists.^{[17][18]} Anarchism's emphasis on anti-capitalism, egalitarianism and for the extension of community and individuality sets it apart from anarcho-capitalism and other types of economic libertarianism.^{[19][20][21][22][23]} Anarcho-capitalists are seen as fraudulent and an oxymoron by all anarchist schools of thought, which reject the notion of capitalism, hierarchies and private property.^{[24][25][26][27][28][29]} The anti-capitalism of classical anarchism has remained prominent within contemporary anarchism, including individualist anarchism.^[30]

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Philosophy

The two principal moral approaches to anarcho-capitalism differ in regard to whether anarcho-capitalist society is justified on deontological or consequentialist ethics, or both. Natural-law anarcho-capitalism as advocated by Murray Rothbard holds that a universal system of rights can be derived from natural law (not to be confused with law of the jungle). Other anarcho-capitalists do not rely upon the idea of natural rights and present economic justifications for a free-market capitalist society. This latter approach has been offered by David D. Friedman in *The Machinery of Freedom*.^[31] Unlike other anarcho-capitalists, most notably Rothbard, Friedman has never tried to deny the theoretical cogency of the neoclassical literature on "market failure", but he openly applies the theory to both market and government institutions to compare the net result, nor has he been inclined to attack economic efficiency as a normative benchmark.^[32]

John Kossanke sees such a debate as irrelevant. Kossanke believes that in the absence of statutory law the non-aggression principle is "naturally" enforced because individuals are automatically held accountable for their actions via tort and contract law. Kossanke also argues that communities of sovereign individuals naturally expel aggressors in the same way that ethical business practices are allegedly naturally required among competing businesses that are subject to what he describes as the "discipline of the



Murray Rothbard (1926–1995), who coined the word *anarcho-capitalism*

marketplace". For Kosanke, the only thing that needs to be debated is the nature of the contractual mechanism that abolishes the state, or prevents it from coming into existence where new communities form.^[33]

According to Patrik Schumacher, the political ideology and programme of Anarcho-capitalism envisages the radicalisation of the neoliberal "roll back of the state", and calls for the extension of "entrepreneurial freedom" and "competitive market rationality" to the point where the scope for private enterprise is all-encompassing and "leaves no space for state action whatsoever".^[34]

On the state

Anarcho-capitalists opposition to the state is reflected in their goal of keeping but privatizing all functions of the state.^{[34][35][36]} They see capitalism and the "free market" as the basis for a free and prosperous society. Murray Rothbard, who is credited with coining the term *anarcho-capitalism*,^{[37][38]} stated that the difference between free-market capitalism and state capitalism is the difference between "peaceful, voluntary exchange" and a collusive partnership between business and government that uses coercion to subvert the free market.^[39]

Rothbard argued that all government services, including defense, are inefficient because they lack a market-based pricing mechanism regulated by "the voluntary decisions of consumers purchasing services that fulfill their highest-priority needs" and by investors seeking the most profitable enterprises to invest in.^{[40]:1051} Many anarcho-capitalists also argue that private defense and court agencies would have to have a good reputation in order to stay in business. Furthermore, Linda and Morris Tannehill believe that no coercive monopoly of force can arise on a truly free market and that a government's citizenry can not desert them in favor of a competent protection and defense agency.^[41]

David D. Friedman says that he is not an absolutist rights theorist, but he is also "not a utilitarian". However, Friedman believes that "utilitarian arguments are usually the best way to defend libertarian views".^[42] Peter Leeson argues that "the case for anarchy derives its strength from empirical evidence, not theory".^[43] Hans-Hermann Hoppe uses "argumentation ethics" for his foundation of anarcho-capitalism^[44] which is closer to Rothbard's natural law approach.

Non-aggression principle

Although anarcho-capitalists are against centralized states, they hold that all people would naturally share and agree to a specific moral theory.^[49] While the Friedmanian formulation of anarcho-capitalism is robust to the presence of violence and in fact assumes some degree of violence will occur,^[50] anarcho-capitalism as formulated by Rothbard and others holds strongly to the central libertarian nonaggression axiom,^[49] sometimes non-aggression principle. Rothbard wrote:

The basic axiom of libertarian political theory holds that every man is a self owner, having absolute jurisdiction over his own body. In effect, this means that no one else may justly invade, or aggress against, another's person. It follows then that each person justly owns whatever previously unowned resources he appropriates or "mixes his labor with". From these twin axioms – self-ownership and "homesteading" – stem the justification for the entire system of property rights titles in a

Rothbard used the term *anarcho-capitalism* to distinguish his philosophy from anarchism that opposes private property^[45] as well as to distinguish it from individualist anarchism.^[46] Other terms sometimes used by proponents of the philosophy include:

- Individualist anarchism^{[47][48]}
- Natural order^[7]
- Ordered anarchy^[7]

free-market society. This system establishes the right of every man to his own person, the right of donation, of bequest (and, concomitantly, the right to receive the bequest or inheritance), and the right of contractual exchange of property titles.^[13]

- Private-law society^[7]
- Private-property anarchy^[7]
- Radical capitalism^[7]

Rothbard's defense of the self-ownership principle stems from what he believed to be his falsification of all other alternatives, namely that either a group of people can own another group of people, or that no single person has full ownership over one's self. Rothbard dismisses these two cases on the basis that they cannot result in a universal ethic, i.e. a just natural law that can govern all people, independent of place and time. The only alternative that remains to Rothbard is self-ownership which he believes is both axiomatic and universal.^[51]

In general, the non-aggression axiom is described by Rothbard as a prohibition against the initiation of force, or the threat of force, against persons (in which he includes direct violence, assault and murder) or property (in which he includes fraud, burglary, theft and taxation).^{[52]:24–25} The initiation of force is usually referred to as aggression or coercion. The difference between anarcho-capitalists and other libertarians is largely one of the degree to which they take this axiom. Minarchist libertarians such as libertarian political parties would retain the state in some smaller and less invasive form, retaining at the very least public police, courts and military. However, others might give further allowance for other government programs. In contrast, Rothbard rejects any level of "state intervention", defining the state as a coercive monopoly and as the only entity in human society that derives its income from what he refers to as "legal aggression", an entity that inherently violates the central axiom of libertarianism.^[51]

Some anarcho-capitalists such as Rothbard accept the non-aggression axiom on an intrinsic moral or natural law basis. It is in terms of the non-aggression principle that Rothbard defined his interpretation of anarchism, "a system which provides no legal sanction for such aggression ['against person and property]"; and wrote that "what anarchism proposes to do, then, is to abolish the State, i.e. to abolish the regularized institution of aggressive coercion".^[53] In an interview published in the American libertarian journal *The New Banner*, Rothbard stated that "capitalism is the fullest expression of anarchism, and anarchism is the fullest expression of capitalism".^[54]

Property

Private property

Anarcho-capitalists postulate the privatization of everything, including cities with all their infrastructures, public spaces, streets and urban management systems.^{[34][55]}

Central to Rothbardian anarcho-capitalism are the concepts of self-ownership and original appropriation that combines personal and private property. Rothbard wrote:

Everyone is the proper owner of his own physical body as well as of all places and nature-given goods that he occupies and puts to use by means of his body, provided only that no one else has already occupied or used the same places and goods before him. This ownership of "originally appropriated" places and goods by a person implies his right to use and transform these places and goods in any way he sees fit, provided only that he does not change thereby uninvitedly the physical integrity of places and goods originally appropriated by another person. In particular, once a place or good has been first appropriated by, in John Locke's

phrase, 'mixing one's labor' with it, ownership in such places and goods can be acquired only by means of a voluntary – contractual – transfer of its property title from a previous to a later owner.^[56]

Rothbard however rejected the Lockean proviso, and followed the rule of "first come, first served", without any consideration how much resources are left for other individuals, which opposed John Locke's beliefs.^{[57][58]}

Anarcho-capitalists advocate private ownership of the means of production and the allocation of the product of labor created by workers within the context of wage labour and the free market – that is through decisions made by property and capital owners, regardless of what an individual needs or does not need.^[59] Original appropriation allows an individual to claim any never-before used resources, including land and by improving or otherwise using it, own it with the same "absolute right" as their own body, and retaining those rights forever, regardless if the resource is still being used by them. According to Rothbard, property can only come about through labor, therefore original appropriation of land is not legitimate by merely claiming it or building a fence around it—it is only by using land and by mixing one's labor with it that original appropriation is legitimized: "Any attempt to claim a new resource that someone does not use would have to be considered invasive of the property right of whoever the first user will turn out to be". Rothbard argued that the resource need not continue to be used in order for it to be the person's property as "for once his labor is mixed with the natural resource, it remains his owned land. His labor has been irretrievably mixed with the land, and the land is therefore his or his assigns' in perpetuity".^{[60]:170}

As a practical matter, anarcho-capitalists say that in terms of the ownership of land there are few, if any, parcels of land left on Earth whose ownership was not at some point in time obtained in violation of the homestead principle "through seizure by the state or put in private hands with the assistance of the state". Rothbard wrote:

It is not enough to call simply for defense of "the rights of private property"; there must be an adequate theory of justice in property rights, else any property that some State once decreed to be "private" must now be defended by libertarians, no matter how unjust the procedure or how mischievous its consequences.^[46]

In *Justice and Property Right*, Rothbard wrote that "any identifiable owner (the original victim of theft or his heir) must be accorded his property".^{[61][62]} In the case of slavery, Rothbard claimed that in many cases "the old plantations and the heirs and descendants of the former slaves can be identified, and the reparations can become highly specific indeed". Rothbard believed slaves rightfully own any land they were forced to work on under the homestead principle. If property is held by the state, Rothbard advocated its confiscation and "return to the private sector",^[63] writing that "any property in the hands of the State is in the hands of thieves, and should be liberated as quickly as possible".^[64] Rothbard proposed that state universities be seized by the students and faculty under the homestead principle. Rothbard also supported expropriation of nominally "private property" if it is the result of state-initiated force such as businesses who receive grants and subsidies.^[65] Rothbard further proposed that businesses who receive at least 50% of their funding from the state be confiscated by the workers,^{[66][67]} writing: "What we libertarians object to, then, is not government *per se* but crime, what we object to is unjust or criminal property titles; what we are for is not 'private' property *per se* but just, innocent, non-criminal private property".^[64]

Similarly, Karl Hess wrote that "libertarianism wants to advance principles of property but that it in no way wishes to defend, willy nilly, all property which now is called private ... Much of that property is stolen. Much is of dubious title. All of it is deeply intertwined with an immoral, coercive state system".^[68]

By accepting an axiomatic definition of private property and property rights, anarcho-capitalists deny the legitimacy of a state on principle. Hans-Hermann Hoppe argues:

For, apart from ruling out as unjustified all activities such as murder, homicide, rape, trespass, robbery, burglary, theft, and fraud, the ethics of private property is also incompatible with the existence of a state defined as an agency that possesses a compulsory territorial monopoly of ultimate decision-making (jurisdiction) and/or the right to tax.^[56]

Anarchists view capitalism as an inherently authoritarian and hierarchical system and seek the abolishment of private property.^[69] There is disagreement between anarchists and anarcho-capitalists^[70] as the former generally rejects anarcho-capitalism as a form of anarchism and considers *anarcho-capitalism* an oxymoron^{[71][72][73]} while the latter holds that the abolishment of private property would require expropriation which is "counterproductive to order" and would require a state in their opinion.^[33]

Common property

As opposed to anarchists,^[74] most anarcho-capitalists reject the commons.^[75] However, some of them propose that non-state public or community property can also exist in an anarcho-capitalist society.^[75] For anarcho-capitalists, what is important is that it is "acquired" and transferred without help or hindrance from what they call the "compulsory state". Deontological anarcho-capitalists believe that the only just and most economically beneficial way to acquire property is through voluntary trade, gift, or labor-based original appropriation, rather than through aggression or fraud.^[76]

Anarcho-capitalists state that there could be cases where common property may develop in a Lockean natural rights framework. Anarcho-capitalists make the example of a number of private businesses which may arise in an area, each owning the land and buildings that they use, but they argue that the paths between them become cleared and trodden incrementally through customer and commercial movement. These thoroughfares may become valuable to the community, but according to them ownership cannot be attributed to any single person and original appropriation does not apply because many contributed the labor necessary to create them. In order to prevent it from falling to the "tragedy of the commons", anarcho-capitalists suggest transitioning from common to private property, wherein an individual would make a homesteading claim based on disuse, acquire title by assent of the community consensus, form a corporation with other involved parties, or other means.^[75]

Some vast areas, except the scarce resources they contain, such as the air, rivers, oceans, the Moon and orbital paths are considered by anarcho-capitalists as largely unownable by individuals and consider them to be property common to all. However, they see challenges stemming from this idea such as whether an individual might claim fishing rights in the area of a major shipping lane and thereby forbid passage through it.^[75] In contrast, Hoppe's work on anarcho-capitalist theory is based on the assumption that all property is privately held, "including all streets, rivers, airports, and harbors" which forms the foundation of his views on immigration.^[75]

Contractual society

The society envisioned by anarcho-capitalists has been called the "contractual society" which Rothbard described as "a society based purely on voluntary action, entirely unhampered by violence or threats of violence"^{[60]:84} The system relies on contracts between individuals as the legal framework which would be enforced by private police and security forces as well as private arbitrations.^{[77][78][79]}

Rothbard argues that limited liability for corporations could also exist through contract, arguing that "[c]orporations are not at all monopolistic privileges; they are free associations of individuals pooling their capital. On the purely free market, those men would simply announce to their creditors that their liability is limited to the capital specifically invested in the corporation".^{[40]:1144} However, corporations created in this way would not be able to replicate the limit on liabilities arising non-contractually such as liability in tort for environmental disasters or personal injury which corporations currently enjoy. Rothbard acknowledges that "limited liability for torts is the illegitimate conferring of a special privilege".^{[40]:1144}

There are limits to the right to contract under some interpretations of anarcho-capitalism. Rothbard believes that the right to contract is based in inalienable rights^[51] and because of this any contract that implicitly violates those rights can be voided at will, preventing a person from permanently selling himself or herself into unindentured slavery. However, Rothbard justifies the practice of child selling.^{[80][81]} Other interpretations conclude that banning such contracts would in itself be an unacceptably invasive interference in the right to contract.^[82]

Included in the right of contract is "the right to contract oneself out for employment by others". While anarchists criticize wage labour describing it as wage slavery, anarcho-capitalists view it as a consensual contract.^[83] Some anarcho-capitalists prefer to see self-employment prevail over wage labor. David D. Friedman has expressed preference for a society where "almost everyone is self-employed" and "instead of corporations there are large groups of entrepreneurs related by trade, not authority. Each sells not his time, but what his time produces".^[83]

Law and order and the use of violence

Different anarcho-capitalists propose different forms of anarcho-capitalism and one area of disagreement is in the area of law. In *The Market for Liberty*, Morris and Linda Tannehill object to any statutory law whatsoever. They argue that all one has to do is ask if one is aggressing against another in order to decide if an act is right or wrong.^[84] However, while also supporting a "natural prohibition" on force and fraud, Rothbard supports the establishment of a mutually agreed-upon centralized libertarian legal code which private courts would pledge to follow, as he presumes a high degree of convergence amongst individuals about what constitutes natural justice.^[85]

Unlike both the Tannehills and Rothbard who see an ideological commonality of ethics and morality as a requirement, David D. Friedman proposes that "the systems of law will be produced for profit on the open market, just as books and bras are produced today. There could be competition among different brands of law, just as there is competition among different brands of cars".^[86] Friedman says whether this would lead to a libertarian society "remains to be proven". He says it is a possibility that very unlibertarian laws may result, such as laws against drugs, but he thinks this would be rare. He reasons that "if the value of a law to its supporters is less than its cost to its victims, that law ... will not survive in an anarcho-capitalist society".^[87]

Anarcho-capitalists only accept collective defense of individual liberty (i.e. courts, military or police forces) insofar as such groups are formed and paid for on an explicitly voluntary basis. However, their complaint is not just that the state's defensive services are funded by taxation, but that the state assumes it is the only legitimate practitioner of physical force—that is, they believe it forcibly prevents the private sector from providing comprehensive security, such as a police, judicial and prison systems to protect individuals from aggressors. Anarcho-capitalists believe that there is nothing morally superior about the state which would grant it, but not private individuals, a right to use physical force to restrain aggressors. If competition in security provision were allowed to exist, prices would also be lower and services would be better according to anarcho-capitalists. According to Molinari: "Under a regime of liberty, the natural organization of the security industry would not be different from that of other industries".^[88] Proponents believe that private

systems of justice and defense already exist, naturally forming where the market is allowed to "compensate for the failure of the state", namely private arbitration, security guards, neighborhood watch groups and so on.^{[89][90][91][32]} These private courts and police are sometimes referred to generically as private defense agencies (PDAs). The defense of those unable to pay for such protection might be financed by charitable organizations relying on voluntary donation rather than by state institutions relying on taxation, or by cooperative self-help by groups of individuals.^{[52]:223} Edward Stringham argues that private adjudication of disputes could enable the market to internalize externalities and provide services that customers desire.^{[92][93]}

In the context of revolution, Rothbard stated that the American Revolutionary War was the only war involving the United States that could be justified.^[94] Some anarcho-capitalists such as Rothbard feel that violent revolution is counter-productive and prefer voluntary forms of economic secession to the extent possible.^[95] Like classical liberalism and unlike anarcho-pacifism, anarcho-capitalism permits the use of force as long as it is in the defense of persons or property. The permissible extent of this defensive use of force is an arguable point among anarcho-capitalists. Retributive justice, meaning retaliatory force, is often a component of the contracts imagined for an anarcho-capitalist society. According to Matthew O'Keefe, some anarcho-capitalists believe prisons or indentured servitude would be justifiable institutions to deal with those who violate anarcho-capitalist property relations while others believe exile or forced restitution are sufficient.^[96]



The death of general Joseph Warren at the Battle of Bunker Hill during the American Revolutionary War, a war which anarcho-capitalists such as Murray Rothbard admired and believed it was the only American war that could be justified

Bruce L. Benson argues that legal codes may impose punitive damages for intentional torts in the interest of deterring crime. Benson gives the example of a thief who breaks into a house by picking a lock. Even if caught before taking anything, Benson argues that the thief would still owe the victim for violating the sanctity of his property rights. Benson opines that despite the lack of objectively measurable losses in such cases, "standardized rules that are generally perceived to be fair by members of the community would, in all likelihood, be established through precedent, allowing judgments to specify payments that are reasonably appropriate for most criminal offenses".^[97]

Morris and Linda Tannehill raise a similar example, saying that a bank robber who had an attack of conscience and returned the money would still owe reparations for endangering the employees' and customers' lives and safety, in addition to the costs of the defense agency answering the teller's call for help. However, they believe that the robber's loss of reputation would be even more damaging. They suggest that specialized companies would list aggressors so that anyone wishing to do business with a man could first check his record, provided they trust the veracity of the companies' records. They further theorise that the bank robber would find insurance companies listing him as a very poor risk and other firms would be reluctant to enter into contracts with him.^[98]

Influences

Murray Rothbard has listed different ideologies of which his interpretations, he said, have influenced anarcho-capitalism.^{[9][10]} This includes his interpretation of anarchism, and more precisely individualist anarchism; classical liberalism and the Austrian School of economic thought. Scholars additionally associate anarcho-capitalism with neo-classical liberalism, radical neoliberalism and right-libertarianism.^{[19][99][100]}

Anarchism

In both its social and individualist forms, anarchism is usually considered an anti-capitalist^{[26][30]} and radical left-wing or far-left^{[103][104][105]} movement that promotes libertarian socialist economic theories such as collectivism, communism, individualism, mutualism and syndicalism.^[106] Because anarchism is usually described alongside libertarian Marxism as the libertarian wing of the socialist movement and as having a historical association with anti-capitalism and socialism, anarchists believe that capitalism is incompatible with social and economic equality and therefore do not recognize anarcho-capitalism as an anarchist school of thought.^{[19][99][100]} In particular, anarchists argue that capitalist transactions are not voluntary and that maintaining the class structure of a capitalist society requires coercion which is incompatible with an anarchist society.^{[31][107]} The usage of libertarian is also in dispute.^[108] While both anarchists and anarcho-capitalists have used it, libertarian was synonymous with anarchist until the mid-20th century, when anarcho-capitalist theory developed.^{[99][109]}



The black and gold flag, a symbol of anarchism (black) and capitalism (gold) which according to Murray Rothbard was first flown in 1963 in Colorado^[101] and is also used by the Swedish *AnarkoKapitalistisk Front*.^[102]

Anarcho-capitalists are distinguished from the dominant anarchist tradition by their relation to property and capital. While both anarchism and anarcho-capitalism share general antipathy towards power by government authority, the latter exempts power wielded through free-market capitalism. Anarchists, including egoists such as Max Stirner, have supported the protection of an individual's freedom from powers of both government and private property owners.^[110] In contrast, while condemning governmental encroachment on personal liberties, anarcho-capitalists support freedoms based on private property rights. Anarcho-capitalist theorist Murray Rothbard argued that protesters should rent a street for protest from its owners. The abolition of public amenities is a common theme in some anarcho-capitalist writings.^[111]

As anarcho-capitalism puts laissez-faire economics before economic equality, it is commonly viewed as incompatible with the anti-capitalist and egalitarian tradition of anarchism. Although anarcho-capitalist theory implies the abolition of the state in favour of a fully laissez-faire economy,^[112] it lies outside the tradition of anarchism.^{[19][20][21][22][23]} While using the language of anarchism,^[113] anarcho-capitalism only shares anarchism's antipathy towards the state^[112] and not anarchism's antipathy towards hierarchy as theorists expect from anarcho-capitalist economic power relations.^[113] It follows a different paradigm from anarchism and has a fundamentally different approach and goals.^[113] In spite of the *anarcho-* in its title,^[113] anarcho-capitalism is more closely affiliated with capitalism and right-libertarianism than with anarchism.^{[19][20][21][22][23]} Some within this laissez-faire tradition reject the designation of *anarcho-capitalism*, believing that capitalism may either refer to the laissez-faire market they support or the government-regulated system that they oppose.^[114]

Rothbard claimed that anarcho-capitalism is the only true form of anarchism—the only form of anarchism that could possibly exist in reality as he maintained that any other form presupposes an authoritarian enforcement of political ideology such as "redistribution of private property" which he attributed to anarchism.^[115] According to this argument, the capitalist free market is "the natural situation" that would result from people being free from state authority and entails the establishment of all voluntary associations in society such as cooperatives, non-profit organizations, businesses and so on. Moreover, anarcho-capitalists as well as classical liberal minarchists argue that the application of anarchist ideals as advocated by what they term "left-wing anarchists" would require an authoritarian body of some sort to impose it. Based on their understanding and interpretation of anarchism, in order to forcefully prevent people from accumulating capital, which they believe is a goal of anarchists, there would necessarily be a redistributive organization of some sort which would have the authority to in essence exact a tax and re-allocate the

resulting resources to a larger group of people. They conclude that this theoretical body would inherently have political power and would be nothing short of a state. The difference between such an arrangement and an anarcho-capitalist system is what anarcho-capitalists see as the voluntary nature of organization within anarcho-capitalism contrasted with a "centralized ideology" and a "paired enforcement mechanism" which they believe would be necessary under what they describe as a "coercively" egalitarian-anarchist system.^[31]

Despite their name, anarcho-capitalists are generally seen by anarchists, who reject the notion of capitalism, hierarchies and private property,^{[24][28][29]} as fraudulent and an oxymoron.^{[25][27]} Albert Meltzer argued that anarcho-capitalism simply cannot be anarchism because capitalism and the state are inextricably interlinked and because capitalism exhibits domineering hierarchical structures such as that between an employer and an employee.^[116] Anna Morgenstern approaches this topic from the opposite perspective, arguing that anarcho-capitalists are not really capitalists because "mass concentration of capital is impossible" without the state.^[117] According to Jeremy Jennings, "[i]t is hard not to conclude that these ideas", referring to anarcho-capitalism, argued to have "roots deep in classical liberalism" more so than in anarchism, "are described as anarchist only on the basis of a misunderstanding of what anarchism is". For Jennings, "anarchism does not stand for the untrammelled freedom of the individual (as the 'anarcho-capitalists' appear to believe) but, as we have already seen, for the extension of individuality and community".^[118] Similarly, Barbara Goodwin, Emeritus Professor of Politics at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, argues that anarcho-capitalism's "true place is in the group of right-wing libertarians", not in anarchism.^[119] Nonetheless, some right-libertarian scholars like Michael Huemer, who identify with the ideology, describe anarcho-capitalism as a "variety of anarchism".^[120] British author Andrew Heywood also believes that "individualist anarchism overlaps with libertarianism and is usually linked to a strong belief in the market as a self-regulating mechanism, most obviously manifest in the form of anarcho-capitalism".^[121]

While both anarchism and anarcho-capitalism are in opposition to the state, it is a necessary but not sufficient condition because anarchists and anarcho-capitalists interpret state-rejection differently.^{[122][123][124][125]} Austrian school economist David Prychitko, in the context of anarcho-capitalism says that "while society without a state is necessary for full-fledged anarchy, it is nevertheless insufficient".^[125] According to Ruth Kinna, anarcho-capitalists are anti-statists who draw more on right-wing liberal theory and the Austrian School than anarchist traditions. Kinna writes that "[i]n order to highlight the clear distinction between the two positions", anarchists describe anarcho-capitalists as "propertarians".^[35] Anarcho-capitalism is usually seen as part of the New Right.^{[126][127]}

Classical liberalism

In his essay *The Production of Security*, Gustave de Molinari argued that "[n]o government should have the right to prevent another government from going into competition with it, or to require consumers of security to come exclusively to it for this commodity". Molinari and this new type of anti-state liberal grounded their reasoning on liberal ideals and classical economics. Historian and libertarian Ralph Raico argues that what these liberal philosophers "had come up with was a form of individualist anarchism, or, as it would be called today, anarcho-capitalism or market anarchism".^[128] Unlike the liberalism of John Locke which saw the state as evolving from society, the anti-state liberals saw a fundamental conflict between the voluntary interactions of people, i.e. society; and the institutions of force, i.e. the state. This society vs. state idea was expressed in various ways such as natural society vs. artificial society, liberty vs. authority, society of contract vs. society of authority and industrial society vs. militant society, just to name a few.^[88] The anti-state liberal tradition in Europe and the United States continued after Molinari in the early writings of Herbert Spencer as well as in thinkers such as Paul Émile de Puydt and Auberon Herbert.^[7]

Ruth Kinna writes that *anarcho-capitalism* is a term coined by Murray Rothbard to describe "a commitment to unregulated private property and laissez-faire economics, prioritizing the liberty-rights of individuals, unfettered by government regulation, to accumulate, consume and determine the patterns of their lives as they see fit". According to Kinna, anarcho-capitalists "will sometimes label themselves market anarchists because they recognize the negative connotations of 'capitalism'. But the literatures of anarcho-capitalism draw on classical liberal theory, particularly the Austrian School – Friedrich von Hayek and Ludwig von Mises – rather than recognizable anarchist traditions. Ayn Rand's laissez-faire, anti-government, corporate philosophy – Objectivism – is sometimes associated with anarcho-capitalism".^[35] Other scholars similarly associate anarcho-capitalism with anti-state classical liberalism, neo-classical liberalism, radical neoliberalism and right-libertarianism.^{[19][99][100][129]}

Individualist anarchism



Lysander Spooner, an American individualist anarchist and anti-capitalist mutualist, who is claimed to have influenced anarcho-capitalism

Murray Rothbard, a student of Ludwig von Mises, stated that he was influenced by the work of the 19th-century American individualist anarchists.^[130] In the winter of 1949, Rothbard decided to reject minimal state *laissez-faire* and embrace his interpretation of individualist anarchism.^[131] In 1965, Rothbard wrote that "Lysander Spooner and Benjamin R. Tucker were unsurpassed as political philosophers and nothing is more needed today than a revival and development of the largely forgotten legacy they left to political philosophy".^[132] However, Rothbard thought that they had a faulty understanding of economics as the 19th century individualist anarchists had a labor theory of value as influenced by the classical economists and was a student of Austrian School economics which does not agree with the labor theory of value.^[9] Rothbard sought to meld 19th-century American individualist anarchists' advocacy of economic individualism and free markets with the principles of Austrian School economics, arguing that "[t]here is, in the body of thought known as 'Austrian economics', a scientific explanation of the workings of the free market (and of the consequences of government intervention in that market) which individualist anarchists could easily incorporate into their political and social Weltanschauung".^[133] Rothbard held that the economic consequences of the political system they advocate

would not result in an economy with people being paid in proportion to labor amounts, nor would profit and interest disappear as they expected. Tucker thought that unregulated banking and money issuance would cause increases in the money supply so that interest rates would drop to zero or near to it.^[132] Peter Marshall states that "anarcho-capitalism overlooks the egalitarian implications of traditional individualist anarchists like Spooner and Tucker".^[19]

In "The Spooner-Tucker Doctrine: An Economist's View", Rothbard explained his disagreements. Rothbard disagreed with Tucker that it would cause the money supply to increase because he believed that the money supply in a free market would be self-regulating. If it were not, then Rothbard argued inflation would occur so it is not necessarily desirable to increase the money supply in the first place. Rothbard claimed that Tucker was wrong to think that interest would disappear regardless because he believed people in general do not wish to lend their money to others without compensation, so there is no reason why this would change just because banking was unregulated.^[132] Tucker held a labor theory of value and thought that in a free market people would be paid in proportion to how much labor they exerted and that exploitation or usury was taking place if they were not. As Tucker explained in *State Socialism and Anarchism*, his theory was that unregulated banking would cause more money to be available and that this would allow proliferation of new businesses which would in turn raise demand for labor.^[134] This led Tucker to believe that the labor theory of value would be vindicated and equal amounts of labor would

receive equal pay. As an Austrian School economist, Rothbard did not agree with the labor theory and believed that prices of goods and services are proportional to marginal utility rather than to labor amounts in the free market. As opposed to Tucker he did not think that there was anything exploitative about people receiving an income according to how much "buyers of their services value their labor" or what that labor produces.^[132]

Without the labor theory of value,^[47] some argue that 19th-century individualist anarchists approximate the modern movement of anarcho-capitalism,^{[9][10][11]} although this has been contested^[23] or rejected.^{[135][136][137][138]} As economic theory changed, the popularity of the labor theory of classical economics was superseded by the subjective theory of value of neoclassical economics and Rothbard combined Mises' Austrian School of economics with the absolutist views of human rights and rejection of the state he had absorbed from studying the individualist American anarchists of the 19th century such as Tucker and Spooner.^[139] In the mid-1950s, Rothbard wrote "Are Libertarians 'Anarchists'?", concerned with differentiating himself from communist and socialistic economic views of anarchists, including the individualist anarchists of the 19th century, concluding that "we are *not* anarchists and that those who call us anarchists are not on firm etymological ground, and are being completely unhistorical. On the other hand, it is clear that we are not anarchists either: we do not believe in establishing a tyrannical central authority that will coerce the noninvasive as well as the invasive. Perhaps, then, we could call ourselves by a new name: *nonarchist*."^[135] Joe Peacott, an American individualist anarchist in the mutualist tradition, criticizes anarcho-capitalists for trying to hegemonize the individualist anarchism label and make appear as if all individualist anarchists are in favor of capitalism.^[137] Peacott states that "individualists, both past and present, agree with the communist anarchists that present-day capitalism is based on economic coercion, not on voluntary contract. Rent and interest are mainstays of modern capitalism, and are protected and enforced by the state. Without these two unjust institutions, capitalism could not exist".^[140]



Benjamin Tucker, another individualist anarchist, who identified as a socialist and his individualist anarchism as anarchistic socialism versus state socialism, said to have influenced anarcho-capitalism

Anarchist activists and scholars do not consider anarcho-capitalism as a part of the anarchist movement because anarchism has historically been an anti-capitalist movement and see it as incompatible with capitalist forms.^{[19][99][100][141][142]} Although some regard anarcho-capitalism as a form of individualist anarchism,^{[9][10][11]} many others disagree or contest the existence of an individualist–socialist divide because individualist anarchism is largely libertarian socialist.^{[23][143]} In coming to terms that anarchism identified with socialism, Rothbard wrote that individualist anarchism is different from anarcho-capitalism and other capitalist theories due to the individualist anarchists retaining the labor theory of value and socialist doctrines.^[135] Similarly, many writers deny that anarcho-capitalism is a form of anarchism or that capitalism is compatible with anarchism.^{[19][20][21][22][23]}

The Palgrave Handbook of Anarchism writes that "[a]s Benjamin Franks rightly points out, individualisms that defend or reinforce hierarchical forms such as the economic-power relations of anarcho-capitalism are incompatible with practices of social anarchism based on developing immanent goods which contest such as inequalities". Laurence Davis cautiously asks "[I]s anarcho-capitalism really a form of anarchism or instead a wholly different ideological paradigm whose adherents have attempted to expropriate the language of anarchism for their own anti-anarchist ends?" Davis cites Iain McKay, "whom Franks cites as an authority to support his contention that 'academic analysis has followed activist currents in rejecting the view that anarcho-capitalism has anything to do with social anarchism'", as arguing "quite emphatically on the very pages cited by Franks that anarcho-capitalism is by no means a type of anarchism". McKay writes that "[i]t is important to stress that anarchist opposition to the so-called capitalist 'anarchists' does *not* reflect

some kind of debate within anarchism, as many of these types like to pretend, but a debate between anarchism and its old enemy capitalism. ... Equally, given that anarchists and 'anarcho'-capitalists have fundamentally *different* analyses and goals it is hardly 'sectarian' to point this out".^[113]

Davis writes that "Franks asserts without supporting evidence that most major forms of individualist anarchism have been largely anarcho-capitalist in content, and concludes from this premise that most forms of individualism are incompatible with anarchism". Davis argues that "the conclusion is unsustainable because the premise is false, depending as it does for any validity it might have on the further assumption that anarcho-capitalism is indeed a form of anarchism. If we reject this view, then we must also reject the individual anarchist versus the communal anarchist 'chasm' style of argument that follows from it".^[113] Davis maintains that "the ideological core of anarchism is the belief that society can and should be organised without hierarchy and domination. Historically, anarchists have struggles against a wide range of regimes of domination, from capitalism, the state system, patriarchy, heterosexism, and the domination of nature to colonialism, the war system, slavery, fascism, white supremacy, and certain forms of organised religion". According to Davis, "[w]hile these visions range from the predominantly individualistic to the predominantly communitarian, features common to virtually all include an emphasis on self-management and self-regulatory methods of organisation, voluntary association, decentralised society, based on the principle of free association, in which people will manage and govern themselves".^[113] Finally, Davis includes a footnote stating that "[i]ndividualist anarchism may plausibly be re regarded as a form of both socialism and anarchism. Whether the individualist anarchists were *consistent* anarchists (and socialists) is another question entirely. ... McKay comments as follows: 'any individualist anarchism which support wage labour is *inconsistent* anarchism. It *can* easily be made *consistent* anarchism by applying its own principles consistently [*sic?*]. In contrast 'anarcho'-capitalism rejects so many of the basic, underlying, principles of anarchism ... that it cannot be made consistent with the ideals of anarchism".^[113]

Historical precedents

Several right-libertarians have discussed historical precedents of what they believe were examples of anarcho-capitalism.^{[144][145][146][52][147]}

Free cities of medieval Europe

Economist and libertarian scholar Bryan Caplan considers the free cities of medieval Europe as examples of "anarchist" or "nearly anarchistic" societies,^[144] further arguing:

One case that has inspired both sorts of anarchists is that of the free cities of medieval Europe. The first weak link in the chain of feudalism, these free cities became Europe's centers of economic development, trade, art, and culture. They provided a haven for runaway serfs, who could often legally gain their freedom if they avoided re-capture for a year and a day. And they offer many examples of how people can form mutual-aid associations for protection, insurance, and community. Of course, left-anarchists and anarcho-capitalists take a somewhat different perspective on the free cities: the former emphasize the communitarian and egalitarian concerns of the free cities, while the latter point to the relatively unregulated nature of their markets and the wide range of services (often including defense, security, and legal services) which were provided privately or semi-privately.^[144]

Medieval Iceland

According to the libertarian theorist David D. Friedman, "[m]edieval Icelandic institutions have several peculiar and interesting characteristics; they might almost have been invented by a mad economist to test the lengths to which market systems could supplant government in its most fundamental functions".^[145] While not directly labeling it anarcho-capitalist, Friedman argues that the legal system of the Icelandic Commonwealth comes close to being a real-world anarcho-capitalist legal system.^[148] Although noting that there was a single legal system, Friedman argues that enforcement of law was entirely private and highly capitalist, providing some evidence of how such a society would function. Friedman further wrote that "[e]ven where the Icelandic legal system recognized an essentially 'public' offense, it dealt with it by giving some individual (in some cases chosen by lot from those affected) the right to pursue the case and collect the resulting fine, thus fitting it into an essentially private system".^[145]



19th century interpretation of the Althing in the Icelandic Commonwealth which authors such as David D. Friedman believe to have some features of anarcho-capitalist society

American Old West

According to Terry L. Anderson and P. J. Hill, the Old West in the United States in the period of 1830 to 1900 was similar to anarcho-capitalism in that "private agencies provided the necessary basis for an orderly society in which property was protected and conflicts were resolved" and that the common popular perception that the Old West was chaotic with little respect for property rights is incorrect.^[149] Since squatters had no claim to western lands under federal law, extra-legal organizations formed to fill the void. Benson explains:

The land clubs and claim associations each adopted their own written contract setting out the laws that provided the means for defining and protecting property rights in the land. They established procedures for registration of land claims, as well as for protection of those claims against outsiders, and for adjudication of internal disputes that arose. The reciprocal arrangements for protection would be maintained only if a member complied with the association's rules and its court's rulings. Anyone who refused would be ostracized. Boycott by a land club meant that an individual had no protection against aggression other than what he could provide himself.^[150]

According to Anderson, "[d]efining anarcho-capitalist to mean minimal government with property rights developed from the bottom up, the western frontier was anarcho-capitalistic. People on the frontier invented institutions that fit the resource constraints they faced".^[151]

Gaelic Ireland

In his work *For a New Liberty*, Murray Rothbard has claimed ancient Gaelic Ireland as an example of nearly anarcho-capitalist society.^[52] In his depiction, citing the work of Professor Joseph Peden,^[152] the basic political unit of ancient Ireland was the tuath, which is portrayed as "a body of persons voluntarily united for socially beneficial purposes" with its territorial claim being limited to "the sum total of the landed

properties of its members".^[52] Civil disputes were settled by private arbiters called "brehons" and the compensation to be paid to the wronged party was insured through voluntary surety relationships. Commenting on the "kings" of tuaths,^[52] Rothbard stated:

The king was elected by the tuath from within a royal kin-group (the derbfine), which carried the hereditary priestly function. Politically, however, the king had strictly limited functions: he was the military leader of the tuath, and he presided over the tuath assemblies. But he could only conduct war or peace negotiations as agent of the assemblies; and he was in no sense sovereign and had no rights of administering justice over tuath members. He could not legislate, and when he himself was party to a lawsuit, he had to submit his case to an independent judicial arbiter.^[52]

Law merchant, admiralty law and early common law

Some libertarians have cited law merchant, admiralty law and early common law as examples of anarcho-capitalism.^{[153][154][155]}

In his work *Power and Market*,^[40] Rothbard stated:

The law merchant, admiralty law, and much of the common law began to be developed by privately competitive judges, who were sought out by litigants for their expertise in understanding the legal areas involved. The fairs of Champagne and the great marts of international trade in the Middle Ages enjoyed freely competitive courts, and people could patronize those that they deemed most accurate and efficient.^{[40]:1051}

Somalia from 1991 to 2006

Economist Alex Tabarrok claimed that Somalia in its stateless period provided a "unique test of the theory of anarchy", in some aspects near of that espoused by anarcho-capitalists David D. Friedman and Murray Rothbard.^[147] Nonetheless, both anarchists and some anarcho-capitalists argue that Somalia was not an anarchist society.^{[156][157]}

Criticism

State, justice and defense

Anarchists such as Brian Morris argue that anarcho-capitalism does not in fact get rid of the state. He says that anarcho-capitalists "simply replaced the state with private security firms, and can hardly be described as anarchists as the term is normally understood".^[158] In "Libertarianism: Bogus Anarchy", anarchist Peter Sabatini notes:

Within Libertarianism, Rothbard represents a minority perspective that actually argues for the total elimination of the state. However Rothbard's claim as an anarchist is quickly voided when it is shown that he only wants an end to the public state. In its place he allows countless private states, with each person supplying their own police force, army, and law, or else purchasing

these services from capitalist vendors. ... Rothbard sees nothing at all wrong with the amassing of wealth, therefore those with more capital will inevitably have greater coercive force at their disposal, just as they do now.^[159]

Similarly, Bob Black argues that an anarcho-capitalist wants to "abolish the state to his own satisfaction by calling it something else". He states that they do not denounce what the state does, they just "object to who's doing it".^[160] It has also been argued that anarcho-capitalism dissolves into city states.^[161] Randall G. Holcombe argues that anarcho-capitalism turns justice into a commodity as private defense and court firms would favour those who pay more for their services.^[162] He argues that defense agencies could form cartels and oppress people without fear of competition.^[162] Philosopher Albert Meltzer argued that since anarcho-capitalism promotes the idea of private armies, it actually supports a "limited State". He contends that it "is only possible to conceive of Anarchism which is free, communistic and offering no economic necessity for repression of countering it".^[163]

Robert Nozick argues that a competitive legal system would evolve toward a monopoly government—even without violating individuals rights in the process.^[164] In *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, Nozick argues that an anarcho-capitalist society would inevitably transform into a minarchist state through the eventual emergence of a monopolistic private defense and judicial agency that no longer faces competition. He argues that anarcho-capitalism results in an unstable system that would not endure in the real world. While anarcho-capitalists such as Roy Childs and Murray Rothbard have rejected Nozick's arguments,^[165] John Jefferson actually advocates Nozick's argument and states that such events would best operate in *laissez-faire*.^[166] Paul Birch argues that legal disputes involving several jurisdictions and different legal systems will be too complex and costly, therefore the largest private protection business in a territory will develop into a natural monopoly.^[161] Robert Ellickson presented a Hayekian case against anarcho-capitalism, calling it a "pipe-dream" and stating that anarcho-capitalists "by imagining a stable system of competing private associations, ignore both the inevitability of territorial monopolists in governance, and the importance of institutions to constrain those monopolists' abuses".^[167]

Rights and freedom

Negative and positive rights are rights that oblige either action (positive rights) or inaction (negative rights). Anarcho-capitalists believe that negative rights should be recognized as legitimate, but positive rights should be rejected as an intrusion. Some critics reject the distinction between positive and negative rights.^[168] Peter Marshall also states that the anarcho-capitalist definition of freedom is entirely negative and that it cannot guarantee the positive freedom of individual autonomy and independence.^[19]

About anarcho-capitalism, Noam Chomsky says:

Anarcho-capitalism, in my opinion, is a doctrinal system which, if ever implemented, would lead to forms of tyranny and oppression that have few counterparts in human history. There isn't the slightest possibility that its (in my view, horrendous) ideas would be implemented, because they would quickly destroy any society that made this colossal error. The idea of "free contract" between the potentate and his starving subject is a sick joke, perhaps worth some moments in an academic seminar exploring the consequences of (in my view, absurd) ideas, but nowhere else.^[169]

Economics and property

Anarchists argue that certain capitalist transactions are not voluntary and that maintaining the class structure of a capitalist society requires coercion which violates anarchist principles.^{[170][171][172][173]} Anthropologist David Graeber noted his skepticism about anarcho-capitalism along the same lines, arguing:

To be honest I'm pretty skeptical about the idea of anarcho-capitalism. If a-caps imagine a world divided into property-holding employers and property-less wage laborers, but with no systematic coercive mechanisms[;] well, I just can't see how it would work. You always see a-caps saying "if I want to hire someone to pick my tomatoes, how are you going to stop me without using coercion?" Notice how you never see anyone say "if I want to hire myself out to pick someone else's tomatoes, how are you going to stop me?" Historically nobody ever did wage labor like that if they had pretty much [any] other option.^[174]

Some critics argue that the anarcho-capitalist concept of voluntary choice ignores constraints due to both human and non-human factors such as the need for food and shelter as well as active restriction of both used and unused resources by those enforcing property claims.^[175] If a person requires employment in order to feed and house himself, the employer–employee relationship could be considered involuntary. Another criticism is that employment is involuntary because the economic system that makes it necessary for some individuals to serve others is supported by the enforcement of coercive private property relations.^[175] Some philosophies view any ownership claims on land and natural resources as immoral and illegitimate.^[176] Objectivist philosopher Harry Binswanger criticizes anarcho-capitalism by arguing that "capitalism requires government", questioning who or what would enforce treaties and contracts.^[177]

Julian Assange rejects anarcho-capitalism as a "misnomer", denying the perceived "virtues" of capitalism and the possibility of any substantive connection between anti-statism, capitalism and emancipatory praxis.^{[178][179]}

Some right-libertarian critics of anarcho-capitalism who support the full privatization of capital such as geolibertarians argue that land and the raw materials of nature remain a distinct factor of production and cannot be justly converted to private property because they are not products of human labor. Some socialists, including market anarchists and mutualists, adamantly oppose absentee ownership. Anarcho-capitalists have strong abandonment criteria, namely that one maintains ownership until one agrees to trade or gift it. Anti-state critics of this view posit comparatively weak abandonment criteria, arguing that one loses ownership when one stops personally occupying and using it as well as the idea of perpetually binding original appropriation is anathema to traditional schools of anarchism.^[161]

Literature

Nonfiction

The following is a partial list of notable nonfiction works discussing anarcho-capitalism.

- Murray Rothbard, founder of anarcho-capitalism:
 - *Man, Economy, and State*
 - *Power and Market*
 - *The Ethics of Liberty*
 - *For a New Liberty*
- David D. Friedman, *The Machinery of Freedom*
- Michael Huemer, *The Problem of Political Authority*

- Linda and Morris Tannehill, *The Market for Liberty*
- Hans-Hermann Hoppe, *Anarcho-Capitalism: An Annotated Bibliography* (<http://archive.lewrockwell.com/hoppe/hoppe5.html>)
 - *The Economics and Ethics of Private Property*
 - *A Theory of Socialism and Capitalism*
 - *Democracy: The God That Failed*
- Bruce L. Benson, *The Enterprise of Law: Justice Without The State*
 - *To Serve and Protect: Privatization and Community in Criminal Justice*
- Auberon Herbert, *The Right and Wrong of Compulsion by the State* (<https://archive.org/details/rightandwrongco01herbgoog/page/n9>)
- Albert Jay Nock, *Our Enemy, the State*, Franz Oppenheimer's thesis applied to early United States history
- Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics*
- George H. Smith, "Justice Entrepreneurship in a Free Market (https://www.mises.org/journal/sjls/3_4/3_4_4.pdf)"
- Edward P. Stringham, *Anarchy and the Law: The Political Economy of Choice* (<https://ssrn.com/abstract=1768172>)
- Gerard Casey, *Libertarian Anarchy: Against the State*

See also

- | | |
|--|---|
| ▪ Agorism | ▪ Issues in anarchism |
| ▪ Anarchapulco | ▪ The Libertarian Forum |
| ▪ Anarcho-capitalism and minarchism | ▪ Left-wing market anarchism |
| ▪ Consequentialist libertarianism | ▪ Natural-rights libertarianism |
| ▪ Counter-economics | ▪ Privatization in criminal justice |
| ▪ Creative disruption | ▪ Propertarianism |
| ▪ Crypto-anarchism | ▪ Stateless society |
| ▪ Dark Enlightenment | ▪ Voluntaryism |
| ▪ Definition of anarchism and libertarianism | |

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4. Peter Marshall. "The New Right and Anarcho-capitalism" (<http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/dward/newrightanarchocap.html>). Retrieved 2 July 2020.
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External links

- Anarcho-capitalist FAQ (<http://www.ozarkia.net/bill/anarchism/faq.html>)
 - LewRockwell.com (<https://web.archive.org/web/20150618044952/http://archive.lewrockwell.com/>) – website run by Lew Rockwell
 - Mises Institute (<https://www.mises.org/>) – research and educational center of classical liberalism, including anarcho-capitalism, Austrian School of economics and American libertarian political theory
 - Property and Freedom Society (<http://propertyandfreedom.org/>) – international anarcho-capitalist society
 - Strike The Root (<http://www.strike-the-root.com/>) – anarcho-capitalist website featuring essays, news and a forum
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Anarcho-communism

Anarcho-communism,^{[1][2][3][4]} also known as **anarchist communism**,^[a] is a political philosophy and anarchist school of thought which advocates the abolition of the state, capitalism, wage labour, social hierarchies^[17] and private property (while retaining respect for personal property, along with collectively-owned items, goods and services)^[18] in favor of common ownership of the means of production^{[19][20]} and direct democracy as well as a horizontal network of workers' councils with production and consumption based on the guiding principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs".^{[21][22]} Some forms of anarcho-communism such as insurrectionary anarchism are strongly influenced by egoism and radical individualism, believing anarcho-communism to be the best social system for the realization of individual freedom.^{[23][24][25][26]} Most anarcho-communists view anarcho-communism as a way of reconciling the opposition between the individual and society.^{[27][28][29][30][31]}

Anarcho-communism developed out of radical socialist currents after the French Revolution,^{[32][33]} but it was first formulated as such in the Italian section of the First International.^[34] The theoretical work of Peter Kropotkin took importance later as it expanded and developed pro-organizationalist and insurrectionary anti-organizationalist sections.^[35] To date, the best-known examples of anarcho-communist societies (i.e. established around the ideas as they exist today and achieving worldwide attention and knowledge in the historical canon) are the anarchist territories during the Spanish Revolution^[36] and the Free Territory during the Russian Revolution, where anarchists such as Nestor Makhno worked to create and defend anarcho-communism through the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine. During the Russian Civil War, anarchists in Ukraine rose up against both the Red and White army establishing the Free Territory, with the main ideology being anarcho-communism and anarcho-collectivism based on Peter Kropotkin's works establishing an autonomous zone over most of Ukraine, from 1918 to 1921. Beating back both White and Red Army, before later being attacked and invaded by the Bolsheviks in 1921.^[37]

In 1929, anarcho-communism was implemented in Korea by the Korean Anarchist Federation in Manchuria (KAFM) and the Korean Anarcho-Communist Federation (KACF), with help from anarchist general and independence activist Kim Chwa-chin, lasting until 1931, when Imperial Japan assassinated Kim and invaded from the south, while the Chinese Nationalists invaded from the north, resulting in the creation of Manchukuo, a puppet state of the Empire of Japan. Through the efforts and influence of the Spanish anarchists during the Spanish Revolution within the Spanish Civil War starting in 1936, anarcho-communism existed in most of Aragon, parts of the Levante and Andalusia as well as in the stronghold of anarchist Catalonia before being crushed in 1939 by the combined forces of the Francoist Nationalists (the regime that won the war), Nationalist allies such as Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini and even Spanish Communist Party repression (backed by the Soviet Union) as well as economic and armaments blockades from the capitalist states and the Spanish Republic itself governed by the Republicans.^[38]

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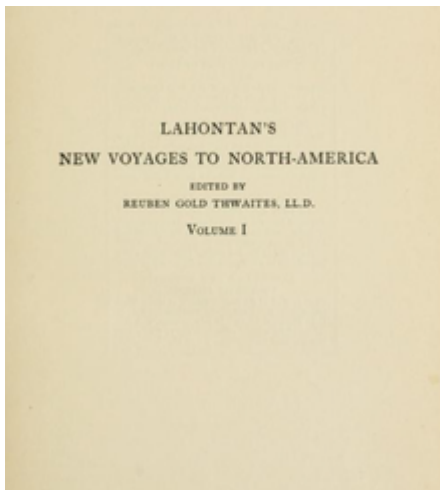
History

Early precursors

Anarcho-communist currents appeared during the English Civil War and the French Revolution of the 17th and 18th centuries, respectively. Gerrard Winstanley, who was part of the radical Diggers movement in England, wrote in his 1649 pamphlet *The New Law of Righteousness* that there "shall be no buying or selling, no fairs nor markets, but the whole earth shall be a common treasury for every man" and "there shall be none Lord over others, but every one shall be a Lord of himself".^[39]^[32]

The Diggers themselves resisted tyranny of the ruling class and of kings, instead operating in a cooperative fashion in order to get work done, manage supplies, and increase economic productivity. Due to the communes established by the Diggers being free from private property, along with economic exchange (all items, goods and services were held collectively), their communes could be called early, functioning communist societies, spread out across the rural lands of England.

Prior to the Industrial Revolution, common ownership of land and property was much more prevalent across the European continent, but the Diggers were set apart by their struggle against monarchical rule. They sprung up by means of workers' self-management after the fall of Charles I.



Lahontan's 1703 novel documented the author's experiences with various indigenous American tribes and cultures. The novel explores various agrarian socialist societies and how they were able to provide property for all their inhabitants through collective ownership. The recurring theme of these many cultures were their non-hierarchical structure, early egalitarian styles of living and how mutual aid played a significant role in maintaining health.

In 1703, Louis Armand, Baron de Lahontan wrote the novel New Voyages to North America where he outlined how indigenous communities of the North American continent cooperated and organised. The author found the agrarian societies and communities of pre-colonial North America to be nothing like the monarchical, unequal states of Europe, both in their economic structure and lack of any state. He wrote that the life natives lived was "anarchy", this being the first usage of the term to mean something other than chaos.^[40] He wrote that there were no priests, courts, laws, police, ministers of state, and no distinction of property, no way to differentiate rich from

poor, as they were all equal and thriving cooperatively.^[41]

During the French Revolution, Sylvain Maréchal, in his *Manifesto of the Equals* (1796), demanded "the communal enjoyment of the fruits of the earth" and looked forward to the disappearance of "the revolting distinction of rich and poor, of great and small, of masters and valets, of governors and governed".^{[42][32]} Maréchal was critical not only of the unequal distribution of property, but how religion would often be used to justify evangelical immorality. He viewed the link between religion and what later came to be known as capitalism (though not in his time) as two sides of the same corrupted coin. He had once said, "Do not be afraid of your God - be afraid of yourself. You are the creator of your own troubles and joys. Heaven and hell are in your own soul".

Sylvain Maréchal was personally involved with the Conspiracy of the Equals, a failed attempt at overthrowing the monarchy of France and establishing a stateless, agrarian socialist utopia. He worked with Gracchus Babeuf in not only writing about what an anarchist country might look like, but how it will be achieved. The two of them were friends, though didn't always see eye to eye, particularly with Maréchal's statement on equality being more important than the arts.



The Diggers are often seen as the first practicing anarchists, having held common ownership over land and resources around the time of the English Civil War



Sylvain Maréchal, 18th-century atheist philosopher and whose egalitarian beliefs pre-staged ideological developments of anarchism and utopian socialism

Joseph Déjacque and the Revolutions of 1848

An early anarchist communist was Joseph Déjacque, the first person to describe himself as "libertarian".^[43] Unlike Proudhon, he argued that, "it is not the product of his or her labor that the worker has a right to, but to the satisfaction of his or her needs, whatever may be their nature".^{[32][44]} According to the anarchist historian Max Nettlau, the first use of the term libertarian communism was in November 1880, when a French anarchist congress employed it to more clearly identify its doctrines.^[45] The French anarchist journalist Sébastien Faure, later founder and editor of the four-volume *Anarchist Encyclopedia*, started the weekly paper *Le Libéraire* (*The Libertarian*) in 1895.^[46]

Déjacque rejected Blanquism, which was based on a division between the 'disciples of the great people's Architect' and 'the people, or vulgar herd,' and was equally opposed to all the variants of social republicanism, to the dictatorship of one man and to 'the dictatorship of the little prodigies of the proletariat.' With regard to the last of these, he wrote that: 'a dictatorial committee composed of workers is certainly the most conceited and incompetent, and hence the most anti-revolutionary, thing that can be found [...] (It is better to have doubtful enemies in power than dubious friends)'. He saw 'anarchic initiative,' 'reasoned will' and 'the autonomy of each' as the conditions for the social revolution of the proletariat, the first expression of which had been the barricades of June 1848 (see Revolutions of 1848). In Déjacque's view, a government resulting from an insurrection remains a reactionary fetter on the free initiative of the proletariat. Or rather, such free initiative can only arise and develop by the masses ridding themselves of the 'authoritarian prejudices' by means of which the state reproduces itself in its primary function of representation and delegation. Déjacque wrote that: 'By government I understand all delegation, all power outside the people,' for which must be substituted, in a process whereby politics is transcended, the 'people in direct possession of their sovereignty,' or the 'organised commune.' For Déjacque, the communist anarchist utopia would fulfil the function of inciting each proletarian to explore his or her own human potentialities, in addition to correcting the ignorance of the proletarians concerning 'social science'".^[35]

International Workingmen's Association



Carlo Cafiero, first person to break away from Mikhail Bakunin's collectivist anarchism and advocate anarchy and communism

As a coherent, modern economic-political philosophy, anarcho-communism was first formulated in the Italian section of the First International by Carlo Cafiero, Emilio Covelli, Errico Malatesta, Andrea Costa and other ex Mazzinian republicans.^[34] The collectivist anarchists advocated remuneration for the type and amount of labor adhering to the principle "to each according to deeds",^[47] but they held out the possibility of a post-revolutionary transition to a communist system of distribution according to need. As Mikhail Bakunin's associate James Guillaume put it in his essay *Ideas on Social Organization* (1876): "When [...] production comes to outstrip consumption [...] everyone will draw what he needs from the abundant social reserve of commodities, without fear of depletion; and the moral sentiment which will be more highly developed among free and equal workers will prevent, or greatly reduce, abuse and waste".^[48]

The collectivist anarchists sought to collectivize ownership of the means of production while retaining payment proportional to the amount and kind of labor of each individual, but the anarcho-communists sought to extend the concept of collective ownership to the products of labor as

well. While both groups argued against capitalism, the anarchist communists departed from Proudhon and Bakunin, who maintained that individuals have a right to the product of their individual labor and to be remunerated for their particular contribution to production. However, Errico Malatesta stated that "instead of running the risk of making a confusion in trying to distinguish what you and I each do, let us all work

and put everything in common. In this way each will give to society all that his strength permits until enough is produced for every one; and each will take all that he needs, limiting his needs only in those things of which there is not yet plenty for every one".^[49]

In *Anarchy and Communism* (1880), Carlo Cafiero explains that private property in the product of labor will lead to unequal accumulation of capital and therefore the reappearance of social classes and their antagonisms; and thus the resurrection of the state: "If we preserve the individual appropriation of the products of labour, we would be forced to preserve money, leaving more or less accumulation of wealth according to more or less merit rather than need of individuals".^[32] At the Florence Conference of the Italian Federation of the International in 1876, held in a forest outside Florence due to police activity, they declared the principles of anarcho-communism as follows:

The Italian Federation considers the collective property of the products of labour as the necessary complement to the collectivist programme, the aid of all for the satisfaction of the needs of each being the only rule of production and consumption which corresponds to the principle of solidarity. The federal congress at Florence has eloquently demonstrated the opinion of the Italian International on this point.



Errico Malatesta

The above report was made in an article by Malatesta and Cafiero in the Swiss Jura Federation's bulletin later that year.

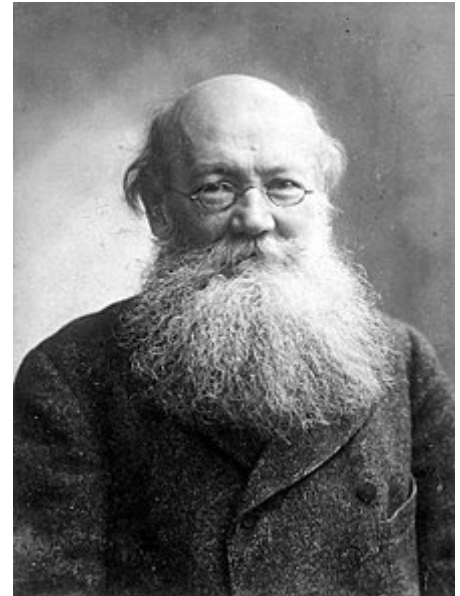
Peter Kropotkin

Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921), often seen as the most important theorist of anarchist communism, outlined his economic ideas in *The Conquest of Bread and Fields, Factories and Workshops*. Kropotkin felt that cooperation is more beneficial than competition, arguing in his major scientific work *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* that this was well-illustrated in nature. He advocated the abolition of private property (while retaining respect for personal property) through the "expropriation of the whole of social wealth" by the people themselves,^[50] and for the economy to be co-ordinated through a horizontal network of voluntary associations^[51] where goods are distributed according to the physical needs of the individual, rather than according to labor.^[52] He further argued that these "needs," as society progressed, would not merely be physical needs but "[a]s soon as his material wants are satisfied, other needs, of an artistic character, will thrust themselves forward the more ardently. Aims of life vary with each and every individual; and the more society is civilized, the more will individuality be developed, and the more will desires be varied."^[53] He maintained that in anarcho-communism "houses, fields, and factories will no longer be private property, and that they will belong to the commune or the nation and money, wages, and trade would be abolished".^[54]

Individuals and groups would use and control whatever resources they needed, as the aim of anarchist communism was to place "the product reaped or manufactured at the disposal of all, leaving to each the liberty to consume them as he pleases in his own home".^[55] He supported the expropriation of private property into the commons or public goods (while retaining respect for personal property) to ensure that everyone would have access to what they needed without being forced to sell their labour to get it, arguing:

We do not want to rob any one of his coat, but we wish to give to the workers all those things the lack of which makes them fall an easy prey to the exploiter, and we will do our utmost that none shall lack aught, that not a single man shall be forced to sell the strength of his right arm to obtain a bare subsistence for himself and his babes. This is what we mean when we talk of Expropriation [...].

— Peter Kropotkin, *The Conquest of Bread*^[56]



Peter Kropotkin

He said that a "peasant who is in possession of just the amount of land he can cultivate" and "a family inhabiting a house which affords them just enough space [...] considered necessary for that number of people" and the artisan "working with their own tools or handloom" would not be interfered with,^[57] arguing that "[t]he landlord owes his riches to the poverty of the peasants, and the wealth of the capitalist comes from the same source".^[57]

In summation, Kropotkin described an anarchist communist economy as functioning like this:

Imagine a society, comprising a few million inhabitants, engaged in agriculture and a great variety of industries—Paris, for example, with the Department of Seine-et-Oise. Suppose that in this society all children learn to work with their hands as well as with their brains. Admit that all adults [...] bind themselves to work 5 hours a day from the age of twenty or twenty-two to forty-five or fifty, and that they follow occupations they have chosen in any one branch of human work considered necessary. Such a society could in return guarantee well-being to all its members; that is to say, a more substantial well-being than that enjoyed to-day by the middle classes. And, moreover, each worker belonging to this society would have at his disposal at least 5 hours a day which he could devote to science, art, and individual needs which do not come under the category of necessities, but will probably do so later on, when man's productivity will have augmented, and those objects will no longer appear luxurious or inaccessible.

— Peter Kropotkin, *The Conquest of Bread*^[58]

Organizationalism vs. insurrectionarism and expansion

At the Berne conference of the International Workingmen's Association in 1876, the Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta argued that the revolution "consists more of deeds than words", and that action was the most effective form of propaganda. In the bulletin of the Jura Federation he declared "the Italian federation believes that the insurrectional fact, destined to affirm socialist principles by deed, is the most efficacious means of propaganda".^[59]

As anarcho-communism emerged in the mid-19th century, it had an intense debate with Bakuninist collectivism and, as such, within the anarchist movement itself, over participation in syndicalism and the workers movement as well as on other issues.^[35] So in "the theory of the revolution" of anarcho-communism as elaborated by Peter Kropotkin and others, "it is the risen people who are the real agent and not the working class organised in the enterprise (the cells of the capitalist mode of production) and seeking to assert itself as labour power, as a more 'rational' industrial body or social brain (manager) than the employers".^[35]

Between 1880 and 1890,^[35] with the "perspective of an immanent revolution",^[35] who was "opposed to the official workers' movement, which was then in the process of formation (general Social Democratisation). They were opposed not only to political (statist) struggles but also to strikes which put forward wage or other claims, or which were organised by trade unions."^[35] However, "[w]hile they were not opposed to strikes as such, they were opposed to trade unions and the struggle for the eight-hour day. This anti-reformist tendency was accompanied by an anti-organisational tendency, and its partisans declared themselves in favor of agitation amongst the unemployed for the expropriation of foodstuffs and other articles, for the expropriatory strike and, in some cases, for 'individual recuperation' or acts of terrorism."^[35]



Luigi Galleani influential anarchist advocate of insurrectionary anarchism

Even after Peter Kropotkin and others overcame their initial reservations and decided to enter labor unions,^[35] there remained "the anti-syndicalist anarchist-communists, who in France were grouped around Sébastien Faure's *Le Libertaire*. From 1905 onwards, the Russian counterparts of these anti-syndicalist anarchist-communists become partisans of economic terrorism and illegal 'expropriations'."^[35] Illegalism as a practice emerged and within it "[t]he acts of the anarchist bombers and assassins ("propaganda by the deed") and the anarchist burglars ("individual reappropriation") expressed their desperation and their personal, violent rejection of an intolerable society. Moreover, they were clearly meant to be exemplary, invitations to revolt."^[60]

Proponents and activists of these tactics among others included Johann Most, Luigi Galleani, Victor Serge, Giuseppe Ciancabilla, and Severino Di Giovanni. The Italian Giuseppe Ciancabilla (1872–1904) wrote in "Against organization" that "we don't want tactical programs, and consequently we don't want organization. Having established the aim, the goal to which we hold, we leave every anarchist free to choose from the means that his sense, his education, his temperament, his fighting spirit suggest to him as best. We don't form fixed programs and we don't form small or great parties. But we come together spontaneously, and not with permanent criteria, according to momentary affinities for a specific purpose, and we constantly change these groups as soon as the purpose for which we had associated ceases to be, and other aims and needs arise and develop in us and push us to seek new collaborators, people who think as we do in the specific circumstance."^[61]

By the 1880s, anarcho-communism was already present in the United States as can be seen in the publication of the journal *Freedom: A Revolutionary Anarchist-Communist Monthly* by Lucy Parsons and Lizzy Holmes.^[62] Lucy Parsons debated in her time in the United States with fellow anarcho-communist Emma Goldman over issues of free love and feminism.^[62] Another anarcho-communist journal later appeared in the United States called *The Firebrand*. Most anarchist publications in the United States were in Yiddish, German, or Russian, but *Free Society* was published in English, permitting the dissemination of anarchist communist thought to English-speaking populations in the United States.^[63] Around that time these American anarcho-communist sectors entered in debate with the individualist anarchist group around Benjamin Tucker.^[64] In February 1888, Berkman left for the United States from his native Russia.^[65] Soon after his arrival in New York City, Berkman became an anarchist through his involvement with groups that had formed to campaign to free the men convicted of the 1886 Haymarket bombing.^[66] He as well as Emma Goldman soon came under the influence of Johann Most, the best-known anarchist in the United States; and an advocate of propaganda of the deed—*attentat*, or violence carried out to encourage the masses to revolt.^{[67][68]} Berkman became a typesetter for Most's newspaper *Freiheit*.^[66]

According to anarchist historian Max Nettlau, the first use of the term *libertarian communism* was in November 1880, when a French anarchist congress employed it to more clearly identify its doctrines.^[45] The French anarchist journalist Sébastien Faure started the weekly paper *Le Libertaire* (*The Libertarian*) in 1895.^[46]

Methods of organising: platformism vs. synthesisism



Nestor Makhno

In Ukraine the anarcho-communist guerrilla leader Nestor Makhno led an independent anarchist army in Ukraine during the Russian Civil War. A commander of the peasant *Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine*, also known as the *Anarchist Black Army*, Makhno led a guerrilla campaign opposing both the Bolshevik "Reds" and monarchist "Whites". The revolutionary autonomous movement of which he was a part made various tactical military pacts while fighting various forces of reaction and organizing the Free Territory of Ukraine, an anarchist society, committed to resisting state authority, whether capitalist or Bolshevik.^{[69][70]} After successfully repelling Austro-Hungarian, White, and Ukrainian Nationalist forces, the Makhnovists militia forces and anarchist communist territories in the Ukraine were eventually crushed by Bolshevik military forces.

In the Mexican Revolution the Mexican Liberal Party was established and during the early 1910s it led a series of military offensives leading to the conquest and occupation of certain towns and districts in Baja California with the leadership of anarcho-communist Ricardo Flores Magón.^[71] Kropotkin's *The Conquest of Bread*, which Flores Magón considered a kind of anarchist bible, served as basis for the short-lived revolutionary communes in Baja California during the Magónista Revolt of 1911.^[71] During the Mexican Revolution Emiliano Zapata and his army and allies, including Pancho Villa, fought for agrarian reform in Mexico. Specifically, they wanted to establish communal land rights for Mexico's indigenous population, which had mostly lost its land to the wealthy elite of European descent. Zapata was partly influenced by Ricardo Flores Magón. The influence of Flores Magón on Zapata can be seen in the Zapatistas' Plan de Ayala, but even more noticeably in their slogan (this slogan was never used by Zapata) *Tierra y libertad* or "land and liberty", the title and maxim of Flores Magón's most famous work. Zapata's introduction to anarchism came via a local schoolteacher, Otilio Montaña Sánchez, later a general in Zapata's army, executed on May 17, 1917, who exposed Zapata to the works of Peter Kropotkin and Flores Magón at the same time as Zapata was observing and beginning to participate in the struggles of the peasants for the land.

A group of exiled Russian anarchists attempted to address and explain the anarchist movement's failures during the Russian Revolution. They wrote the *Organizational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists* which was written in 1926 by Dielo Truda ("Workers' Cause"). The pamphlet is an analysis of the basic anarchist beliefs, a vision of an anarchist society, and recommendations as to how an anarchist organization should be structured. The four main principles by which an anarchist organization should operate, according to the *Platform*, are ideological unity, tactical unity, collective action, and federalism. The platform argues that "We have vital need of an organization which, having attracted most of the participants in the anarchist movement, would establish a common tactical and political line for anarchism and thereby serve as a guide for the whole movement".

The Platform attracted strong criticism from many sectors on the anarchist movement of the time including some of the most influential anarchists such as Voline, Errico Malatesta, Luigi Fabbri, Camillo Berneri, Max Nettlau, Alexander Berkman,^[72] Emma Goldman and Gregori Maximoff.^[73] Malatesta, after initially opposing the Platform, later came to agreement with the Platform confirming that the original difference of opinion was due to linguistic confusion: "I find myself more or less in agreement with their way of

conceiving the anarchist organisation (being very far from the authoritarian spirit which the "Platform" seemed to reveal) and I confirm my belief that behind the linguistic differences really lie identical positions."^[74]

Two texts were made by the anarchist communists Sébastien Faure and Voline as responses to the Platform, each proposing different models, are the basis for what became known as the organisation of synthesis, or simply synthesism.^[75] Voline published in 1924 a paper calling for "the anarchist synthesis" and was also the author of the article in Sébastien Faure's *Encyclopedie Anarchiste* on the same topic.^[76] The main purpose behind the synthesis was that the anarchist movement in most countries was divided into three main tendencies: communist anarchism, anarcho-syndicalism, and individualist anarchism.^[76] and so such an organization could contain anarchists of this three tendencies very well. Faure in his text "Anarchist synthesis" has the view that "these currents were not contradictory but complementary, each having a role within anarchism: anarcho-syndicalism as the strength of the mass organisations and the best way for the practice of anarchism; libertarian communism as a proposed future society based on the distribution of the fruits of labour according to the needs of each one; anarcho-individualism as a negation of oppression and affirming the individual right to development of the individual, seeking to please them in every way."^[75] The Dielo Truda platform in Spain also met with strong criticism. Miguel Jimenez, a founding member of the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI), summarized this as follows: too much influence in it of marxism, it erroneously divided and reduced anarchists between individualist anarchists and anarcho-communist sections, and it wanted to unify the anarchist movement along the lines of the anarcho-communists. He saw anarchism as more complex than that, that anarchist tendencies are not mutually exclusive as the platformists saw it and that both individualist and communist views could accommodate anarcho-syndicalism.^[77] Sébastien Faure had strong contacts in Spain and so his proposal had more impact in Spanish anarchists than the Dielo Truda platform even though individualist anarchist influence in Spain was less strong than it was in France. The main goal there was conciling anarcho-communism with anarcho-syndicalism.^[78]



Sébastien Faure,
French anarcho-
communist proponent
of synthesis anarchism

Gruppo Comunista Anarchico di Firenze pointed out that during early twentieth century, the terms *libertarian communism* and *anarchist communism* became synonymous within the international anarchist movement as a result of the close connection they had in Spain (see Anarchism in Spain) (with *libertarian communism* becoming the prevalent term).^[79]

Spanish Revolution of 1936

The most extensive application of anarcho-communist ideas (i.e. established around the ideas as they exist today and achieving worldwide attention and knowledge in the historical canon) happened in the anarchist territories during the Spanish Revolution.^[38]

In Spain, the national anarcho-syndicalist trade union Confederación Nacional del Trabajo initially refused to join a popular front electoral alliance, and abstention by CNT supporters led to a right-wing election victory. In 1936, the CNT changed its policy and anarchist votes helped bring the popular front back to power. Months later, the former ruling class responded with an attempted coup causing the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939).^[80] In response to the army rebellion, an anarchist-inspired movement of peasants and workers, supported by armed militias, took control of Barcelona and of large areas of rural Spain where they collectivised the land,^[81] but even before the fascist victory in 1939 the anarchists were losing ground in a bitter struggle with the Stalinists, who controlled the distribution of military aid to the Republican cause



Anarchists during the Spanish Revolution of 1936

from the Soviet Union. The events known as the Spanish Revolution was a workers' social revolution that began during the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 and resulted in the widespread implementation of anarchist and more broadly libertarian socialist organizational principles throughout various portions of the country for two to three years, primarily Catalonia, Aragon, Andalusia, and

parts of the Levante. Much of Spain's economy was put under worker control; in anarchist strongholds like Catalonia, the figure was as high as 75%, but lower in areas with heavy Communist Party of Spain influence, as the Soviet-allied party actively resisted attempts at collectivization enactment. Factories were run through worker committees, agrarian areas became collectivised and run as libertarian communes. Anarchist historian Sam Dolgoff estimated that about eight million people participated directly or at least indirectly in the Spanish Revolution,^[82] which he claimed "came closer to realizing the ideal of the free stateless society on a vast scale than any other revolution in history".^[83] Stalinist-led troops suppressed the collectives and persecuted both dissident Marxists and anarchists.^[84]

Although every sector of the stateless parts of Spain had undergone workers' self-management, collectivisation of agricultural and industrial production, and in parts using money or some degree of private property, a heavy regulation of markets by democratic communities, there were other areas throughout Spain that used no money at all, and followed principles in accordance with "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs". One such example was the libertarian communist village of Alcora in the Valencian Community, where money was entirely absent, and distribution of properties and services was done based upon needs, not who could afford them. There was no distinction between rich and poor, and everyone held everything in common. Buildings that used to function as shops were made storehouses, where instead of buying and selling, which didn't exist in Alcora during the war, they were centers for distribution, where everyone took freely without paying. Labour was only conducted for enjoyment, with levels of productivity, quality of life, and general prosperity having dramatically risen after the fall of markets. Common ownership of property allowed for each inhabitant of the village to fulfil their needs without lowering themselves for the sake of profit, and each individual living in Alcora found themselves as ungoverned, anarchists free of rulers and private property.^[85]



Flag originally designed and used by the anarcho-syndicalist CNT-FAI confederation of labour unions during the Spanish Civil War representing the anarchist faction of the conflict. Today, the flag is commonly used by anarcho-communists, anarcho-syndicalists libertarian socialists and more generally social anarchists alike.



An anti-fascist poster from the libertarian socialist factions of Madrid, Spain, reading "The surveillance of the city must be ensured by the Antifascist Popular Guard" as a warning of Nationalist terrorism

Post-war years

Anarcho-communism entered into internal debates once again over the issue of organization in the post-World War II era. Founded in October 1935 the Anarcho-Communist Federation of Argentina (FACA, *Federación Anarco-Comunista Argentina*) in 1955 renamed itself as the Argentine Libertarian Federation. The Fédération Anarchiste (FA) was founded in Paris on December 2, 1945, and elected the platformist anarcho-communist George Fontenis as its first secretary the next year. It was composed of a majority of activists from the former FA (which supported Voline's Synthesis) and some members of the former Union Anarchiste, which supported the CNT-FAI support to the Republican government during the Spanish Civil War, as well as some young Resistant. In 1950 a clandestine group formed within the FA called *Organisation Pensée Bataille* (OPB) led by George Fontenis.^[86] The *Manifesto of Libertarian Communism* was written in 1953 by Georges Fontenis for the *Federation Communiste Libertaire* of France. It is one of the key texts of the anarchist-communist current known as platformism.^[87] The OPB pushed for a move which saw the FA change its name into the *Fédération Communiste Libertaire* (FCL) after the 1953 Congress in Paris, while an article in *Le Libertaire* indicated the end of the cooperation with the French Surrealist Group led by André Breton.

The new decision making process was founded on unanimity: each person has a right of veto on the orientations of the federation. The FCL published the same year the *Manifeste du communisme libertaire*. Several groups quit the FCL in December 1955, disagreeing with the decision to present "revolutionary candidates" to the legislative elections. On August 15–20, 1954, the Ve intercontinental plenum of the CNT took place. A group called *Entente anarchiste* appeared which was formed of militants who didn't like the new ideological orientation that the OPB was giving the FCL seeing it was authoritarian and almost marxist.^[88] The FCL lasted until 1956 just after it participated in state legislative elections with 10 candidates. This move alienated some members of the FCL and thus produced the end of the organization.^[86] A group of militants who didn't agree with the FA turning into FCL reorganized a new *Federation Anarchiste* which was established in December 1953.^[86] This included those who formed *L'Entente anarchiste* who joined the new FA and then dissolved L'Entente. The new base principles of the FA were written by the individualist anarchist Charles-Auguste Bontemps and the non-platformist anarcho-communist Maurice Joyeux which established an organization with a plurality of tendencies and autonomy of groups organized around synthesist principles.^[86] According to historian Cédric Guérin, "the unconditional rejection of Marxism became from that moment onwards an identity element of the new *Federation Anarchiste*" and this was motivated in a big part after the previous conflict with George Fontenis and his OPB.^[86]

In Italy, the Italian Anarchist Federation was founded in 1945 in Carrara. It adopted an "Associative Pact" and the "Anarchist Program" of Errico Malatesta. It decided to publish the weekly *Umanità Nova* retaking the name of the journal published by Errico Malatesta. Inside the FAI, the Anarchist Groups of Proletarian Action (GAAP) was founded, led by Pier Carlo Masini, which "proposed a Libertarian Party with an anarchist theory and practice adapted to the new economic, political and social reality of post-war Italy, with an internationalist outlook and effective presence in the workplaces [...] The GAAP allied themselves with the similar development within the French Anarchist movement" as led by George Fontenis.^[89] Another tendency which didn't identify either with the more classical FAI or with the GAAP started to emerge as local groups. These groups emphasized direct action, informal affinity groups and expropriation for financing anarchist activity.^[90] From within these groups the influential insurrectionary anarchist Alfredo Maria Bonanno will emerge influenced by the practice of the Spanish exiled anarchist José Lluís Facerías.^[90] In the early seventies a platformist tendency emerged within the Italian Anarchist Federation which argued for more strategic coherence and social insertion in the workers movement while rejecting the synthesist "Associative Pact" of Malatesta which the FAI adhered to. These groups started organizing themselves outside the FAI in organizations such as O.R.A. from Liguria which organized a Congress attended by 250 delegates of groups from 60 locations. This movement was influential in the *autonomia* movements of the seventies. They published *Fronte Libertario* della lotta di classe in Bologna and

Comunismo libertario from Modena.^[91] The Federation of Anarchist Communists (Federazione dei Comunisti Anarchici), or FdCA, was established in 1985 in Italy from the fusion of the *Organizzazione Rivoluzionaria Anarchica* (*Revolutionary Anarchist Organisation*) and the *Unione dei Comunisti Anarchici della Toscana* (*Tuscan Union of Anarchist Communists*).

The International of Anarchist Federations (IAF/IFA) was founded during an international anarchist conference in Carrara in 1968 by the three existing European anarchist federations of France (Fédération Anarchiste), Italy (Federazione Anarchica Italiana) and Spain (Federación Anarquista Ibérica) as well as the Bulgarian federation in French exile. These organizations were also inspired on synthesist principles.^[76]

Contemporary times

Libertarian Communism was a socialist journal founded in 1974 and produced in part by members of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.^[92] The synthesist Italian Anarchist Federation and the platformist Federation of Anarchist Communists continue existing today in Italy but insurrectionary anarchism continues to be relevant as the recent establishment of the Informal Anarchist Federation shows.

In the 1970s, the French Fédération Anarchiste evolved into a joining of the principles of both synthesis anarchism and platformism^[86] but later the platformist organizations Libertarian Communist Organization (France) in 1976 and Alternative libertaire in 1991 appeared with this last one existing until today alongside the synthesist Fédération Anarchiste. In recent times platformist organisations founded the now-defunct International Libertarian Solidarity network and its successor, the Anarkismo network; which is run collaboratively by roughly 30 platformist organisations around the world.

On the other hand, contemporary insurrectionary anarchism inherits the views and tactics of anti-organizational anarcho-communism^{[35][93]} and illegalism.^{[94][95]} The Informal Anarchist Federation (not to be confused with the synthesist Italian Anarchist Federation also FAI) is an Italian insurrectionary anarchist organization.^[96] It has been described by Italian intelligence sources as a "horizontal" structure of various anarchist terrorist groups, united in their beliefs in revolutionary armed action. In 2003, the group claimed responsibility for a bomb campaign targeting several European Union institutions.^{[97][98]}

Currently, alongside the previously mentioned federations, the International of Anarchist Federations includes the Argentine Libertarian Federation, the Anarchist Federation of Belarus, the Federation of Anarchists in Bulgaria, the Czech-Slovak Anarchist Federation, the Federation of German speaking Anarchists in Germany and Switzerland, and the Anarchist Federation in the United Kingdom.^[99]

Economic theory

The abolition of money, prices, and wage labor is central to anarchist communism. With distribution of wealth being based on self-determined needs, people would be free to engage in whatever activities they found most fulfilling and would no longer have to engage in work for which they have neither the temperament nor the aptitude.^[31]

Anarcho-communists argue that there is no valid way of measuring the value of any one person's economic contributions because all wealth is a common product of current and preceding generations.^[100] For instance, one could not measure the value of a factory worker's daily production without taking into account how transportation, food, water, shelter, relaxation, machine efficiency, emotional mood etc. contributed to their production. To truly give numerical economic value to anything, an overwhelming amount of externalities and contributing factors would need to be taken into account – especially current or past labor contributing to the ability to utilize future labor. As Kropotkin put it: "No distinction can be

drawn between the work of each man. Measuring the work by its results leads us to absurdity; dividing and measuring them by hours spent on the work also leads us to absurdity. One thing remains: put the needs above the works, and first of all recognize the right to live, and later on, to the comforts of life, for all those who take their share in production.."^[101]

Communist anarchism shares many traits with collectivist anarchism, but the two are distinct. Collectivist anarchism believes in collective ownership while communist anarchism negates the entire concept of ownership in favor of the concept of usage.^[102] Crucially, the abstract relationship of "landlord" and "tenant" would no longer exist, as such titles are held to occur under conditional legal coercion and are not absolutely necessary to occupy buildings or spaces (intellectual property rights would also cease, since they are a form of private property). In addition to believing rent and other fees are exploitative, anarcho-communists feel these are arbitrary pressures inducing people to carry out unrelated functions. For example, they question why one should have to work for 'X hours' a day to merely live somewhere. So instead of working conditionally for the sake of the wage earned, they believe in working directly for the objective at hand.^[31]



The Conquest of Bread by Peter Kropotkin, influential work which presents the economic vision of anarcho-communism

Philosophical debates

Motivation

Anarchist communists reject the claim: 'wage labor is necessary because people are lazy and selfish by "human nature"'. They often point out that even the so-called "idle rich" sometimes find useful things to do despite having all their needs satisfied by the labour of others. Anarcho-communists generally do not agree with the belief in a pre-set "human nature", arguing that human culture and behavior is very largely determined by socialization and the mode of production. Many anarchist communists, like Peter Kropotkin, also believe that the human evolutionary tendency is for humans to cooperate with each other for mutual benefit and survival instead of existing as lone competitors, a position that Kropotkin argued for at length.^[103]

While anarchist communists such as Peter Kropotkin and Murray Bookchin believed that the members of such a society would voluntarily perform all necessary labour because they would recognize the benefits of communal enterprise and mutual aid,^[104] other anarchist communists such as Nestor Makhno and Ricardo Flores Magón argue that all those able to work in an anarchist communist society should be obligated to do so, excepting groups like children, the elderly, the sick, or the infirm.^{[105][106][107][108]} Kropotkin did not think laziness or sabotage would be a major problem in an authentically anarchist-communist society, but he did agree that a freely associated anarchist commune could, and probably should, deliberately disassociate from those not fulfilling their communal agreement to do their share of work.^[109] Peter Gelderloos, based on the Kibbutz, argues that motivation in a moneyless society would be found in the satisfaction of work, concern for community, competition for prestige and praise from other community members.^[110]

Freedom, work and leisure

Anarchist communists support communism as a means for ensuring the greatest freedom and well-being for everyone, rather than only the wealthy and powerful. In this sense, anarchist communism is a profoundly egalitarian philosophy.

Anarchist communism as an anarchist philosophy is against hierarchy in all its forms.^[111] Anarchist communists do not think that anyone has the right to be anyone else's master, or 'boss' as this is a concept of capitalism and the state and implies authority over the individual. Some contemporary anarchist communists and advocates of post-left anarchy, such as Bob Black, reject the concept of work altogether in favor of turning necessary subsistence tasks into voluntary free play.^{[31][112]}

Kropotkin said that the main authoritarian mistakes in communist experiments of the past were their being based on "religious enthusiasm"^[113] and the desire to live "as a family"^[114] where the individual had to "submit to the dictates of a punctilious morality".^[115] For him anarcho-communism should be based on the right of free association and disassociation for individuals and groups and on significantly lowering the number of hours each individual dedicates to necessary labor.^[116] He says that "to recognise a variety of occupations as the basis of all progress and to organise in such a way that man may be absolutely free during his leisure time, whilst he may also vary his work, a change for which his early education and instruction will have prepared him—this can easily be put in practice in a Communist society—this, again, means the emancipation of the individual, who will find doors open in every direction for his complete development".^{[31][116]}

Individualism and collectivism

Some anarcho-communists and collectivist anarchists as well reject individualism and collectivism as illusory concepts.^[117] They argue that individuals sacrificing themselves for the "greater", or being ruled by the "community" or "society", is not possible because society is composed of individuals rather than being a cohesive unit separate from the individual and argue that collective control over the individual is tyrannical and antithetical to anarchism.^[118] Others such as Lucien van der Walt and Michael Schmidt argue that "[t]he anarchists did not [...] identify freedom with the right of everybody to do exactly what one pleased but with a social order in which collective effort and responsibilities—that is to say, obligations—would provide the material basis and social nexus in which individual freedom could exist." They argued that "genuine freedom and individuality could only exist in a free society" and that in contrast to "misanthropic bourgeois individualism" anarchism was based in "a deep love of freedom, understood as a social product, a deep respect for human rights, a profound celebration of humankind and its potential and a commitment to a form of society where a 'true individuality' was irrevocably linked to 'the highest communist sociability'".^{[31][119]}

Egoist anarchist philosophical positions are important in anarcho-communist insurrectionary anarchism. In the early 20th century, the Italian individualist anarchist Renzo Novatore advocated both revolution and anarcho-communism when he said "revolution is the fire of our will and a need of our solitary minds; it is an obligation of the libertarian aristocracy. To create new ethical values. To create new aesthetic values. To communalize material wealth. To individualize spiritual wealth."^[24] From Stirnerist positions, he also disrespected private property when he said that "[o]nly ethical and spiritual wealth" was "invulnerable. This is the true property of individuals. The rest no! The rest is vulnerable! And all that is vulnerable will be violated!"^[24] This can also be seen in the contemporary writings of insurrectionary anarchism as can be seen in the work of Wolfi Landstreicher, Alfredo Bonanno, and others.^{[120][121]} After analysing insurrectionary anarcho-communist Luigi Galleani's view on anarcho-communism, post-left anarcho-communist Bob Black, went as far as saying that "communism is the final fulfillment of individualism [...]. The apparent contradiction between individualism and communism rests on a misunderstanding of both [...]. Subjectivity is also objective: the individual really is subjective. It is nonsense to speak of 'emphatically prioritizing the social over the individual,' [...] You may as well speak of prioritizing the chicken over the egg. Anarchy is a 'method of individualization.' It aims to combine the greatest individual development with the greatest communal unity."^{[31][122]}

On the article by Max Baginski called "Stirner: The Ego and His Own", published in the American anarchist magazine *Mother Earth*, there is the following affirmation: "Modern Communists are more individualistic than Stirner. To them, not merely religion, morality, family and State are spooks, but property also is no more than a spook, in whose name the individual is enslaved—and how enslaved! The individuality is nowadays held in far stronger bondage by property, than by the combined power of State, religion and morality [...] The prime condition is that the individual should not be forced to humiliate and lower himself for the sake of property and subsistence. Communism thus creates a basis for the liberty and *Eigenheit* of the individual. I am a Communist because I am an Individualist. Fully as heartily the Communists concur with Stirner when he puts the word *take* in place of *demand*—that leads to the dissolution of private property, to expropriation. Individualism and Communism go hand in hand."^[123]

Property



Alexander Berkman advocated for profit to be replaced with communities of common property, where all members of a group shared possessions.

Anarchist communists counter the capitalist conception that communal property can only be maintained by force and that such a position is neither fixed in nature^[124] nor unchangeable in practice, citing numerous examples of communal behavior occurring naturally even within capitalist systems.^[125] Anarchist communists call for the abolition of private property while maintaining respect for personal property. As such the prominent anarcho-communist Alexander Berkman maintained that "The revolution abolishes private ownership of the means of production and distribution, and with it goes capitalistic business. Personal possession remains only in the things you use. Thus, your watch is your own, but the watch factory belongs to the people. Land, machinery, and all other public utilities will be collective property, neither to be bought nor sold. Actual use will be considered the only title—not to ownership but to possession. The organization of the coal miners, for example, will be in charge of the coal mines, not as owners but as the operating agency. Similarly will the railroad brotherhoods run the railroads, and so on. Collective possession, cooperatively managed in the interests of the community, will take the place of personal ownership privately conducted for profit."^[126]

An important difference between anarchist communism and Marxist communism is to whom the product of the worker's labor belongs. Both ideologies believe that the product of labor does not belong to the capitalist due to it being produced by the worker and not the employer, however, there are slight differences between the opinions taken by anarchist communist Peter Kropotkin and Karl Marx. Marx stated that the product of the worker's labor belongs to the worker due to it being produced by the worker. In contrast, Kropotkin believed that the product of the worker's labor belongs to the community as a whole. Kropotkin argued that this was the case because the worker relied on the previous work of untold millions to even begin his particular form of labor, and therefore, his work should belong to the community, since he benefited from the community.^{[127][128]} This went on to providing the understanding, all belongs to all, because every virtue of the present was only made possible due to other peoples' efforts of the past.

Communes as an economic democracy

Anarcho-communism has been critical of a simple call for worker's ownership of workplaces and their administration as cooperatives. While not at odds with syndicalism as a tactic, it opposes the vision of anarcho-syndicalism as a theory, which sees a post-capitalist economy being made up of federations of

industrial syndicates.

Anarcho-communism proposes that the future society be organised territorially through free communes (localities) instead of industrially through workers' unions (syndicates). Each commune is perceived as an integrated political-economic unit, removing the distinction between work and community, as well as existing as part of a wider communal-confederation made up of other such autonomous communes, linked together via voluntary contractual agreements. This is seen as overcoming the economic-centrism of more "workerist" forms of socialism which focus on the workplace alone as a site of struggle.

Murray Bookchin has put it this way:

But what of the syndicalist ideal of "collectivized" self-managed enterprises that are coordinated by like occupations on a national level and coordinated geographically by "collectives" on a local level? [...] Here, the traditional socialist criticism of this syndicalist form of economic management is not without its point: the corporate or private capitalist, "worker-controlled" or not—ironically, a technique in the repertoire of industrial management that is coming very much into vogue today as "workplace democracy" and "employee ownership" and constitutes no threat whatever to private property and capitalism [...] In any case, "economic democracy" has not simply meant "workplace democracy" and "employee ownership."

Many workers, in fact, would like to get away from their factories if they could and find more creative artisanal types of work, not simply "participate" in "planning" their own misery. What "economic democracy" meant in its profoundest sense was free, "democratic" access to the means of life, the counterpart of political democracy, that is, the guarantee of freedom from material want. It is a dirty bourgeois trick, in which many radicals unknowingly participate, that "economic democracy" has been re-interpreted as "employee ownership" and "workplace democracy" and has come to mean workers' "participation" in profit sharing and industrial management rather than freedom from the tyranny of the factory, rationalized labor, and "planned production," which is usually exploitative production with the complicity of the workers.^[129]

Bookchin further argued:

Whereas the syndicalist alternative re-privatizes the economy into "self-managed" collectives and opens the way to their degeneration into traditional forms of private property—whether "collectively" owned or not—libertarian municipalism politicizes the economy and dissolves it into the civic domain. Neither factory or land appear as separate interests within the communal collective. Nor can workers, farmers, technicians, engineers, professionals, and the like perpetuate their vocational identities as separate interests that exist apart from the citizen body in face-to-face assemblies. "Property" is integrated into the commune as a material constituent of its libertarian institutional framework, indeed as a part of a larger whole that is controlled by the citizen body in assembly as citizens—not as vocationally oriented interest groups.^[129]

The term *communism* in anarcho-communism should be taken to refer to a polity of communes as well as an economy of the commons.

Revolution and transition

According to platformist anarcho-communist Wayne Price:

Today's proposals for Parecon, in which workers are rewarded for the intensity and duration of their labor in a cooperative economy, would fit into Bakunin's or Marx's concept of a transitory, beginning, phase, of a free society. [...] Kropotkin rejected the two-phase approach of the Marxists and the anarchist-collectivists. Instead he proposed that a revolutionary society should "transform itself immediately into a communist society, that is, should go immediately into what Marx had regarded as the "more advanced", completed, phase of communism. Kropotkin and those who agreed with him called themselves "anarchist-communists" (or "communist anarchists"), although they continued to regard themselves as a part of the broader socialist movement.^[130]



[Play media](#)

UCL, anarchist communist organization protest in France, on October 16th during the COVID-19 pandemic

Leninists believe that without a transitional period of state control (their interpretation of the dictatorship of the proletariat), it would be impossible for any revolution to maintain the momentum or cohesion to defend the new society against external and internal threats. Friedrich Engels noted: "Without a previous social revolution the abolition of the state is nonsense; the abolition of capital is in itself the social revolution and involves a change in the whole method of production."^[131] Alternatively, such quotations have been interpreted by anarcho-communists supportive of Marx and Engels to suggest the abolition of capitalism and the state simultaneously, not the creation of a new state. Anarchists reject the Marxist-Leninist model of the "dictatorship of the proletariat,"



Student anarchist riot against the IMF

arguing that any revolutionary minority taking over state power would be just as authoritarian as the ruling class in capitalism to defend the new state, and would eventually constitute itself as a new ruling class. As an extension of this, anarcho-communists counter-argue that decentralized, stateless collective federations are sufficient to give both power to workers and preserve personal freedom and point to the fact that no socialist state has ever showed signs of "withering away". The Spanish Revolution is cited as an example of successful anarchist military mobilization, albeit one crushed by superior forces.

Free association of communes as opposed to the nation-state

Anarcho-communism calls for a decentralized confederal form in relationships of mutual aid and free association between communes as an alternative to the centralism of the nation-state. Peter Kropotkin thus suggested:

Representative government has accomplished its historical mission; it has given a mortal blow to court-rule; and by its debates it has awakened public interest in public questions. But to see in it the government of the future socialist society is to commit a gross error. Each economic phase of life implies its own political phase; and it is impossible to touch the very basis of the present economic life—private property—without a corresponding change in the very basis of

the political organization. Life already shows in which direction the change will be made. Not in increasing the powers of the State, but in resorting to free organization and free federation in all those branches which are now considered as attributes of the State.^[132]

Kropotkin further argued:

[N]o community can hope to achieve economic autarchy, nor should it try to do so unless it wishes to become self-enclosed and parochial, not only "self-sufficient". Hence the confederation of communes "the Commune of communes" is reworked economically as well as politically into a shared universe of publicly managed resources. The management of the economy, precisely because it is a public activity, does not degenerate into privatized interactions between enterprises; rather it develops into confederalized interactions between municipalities. That is to say, the very elements of societal interaction are expanded from real or potential privatized components to institutionally real public components. Confederation becomes a public project by definition, not only because of shared needs and resources. If there is any way to avoid the emergence of the city-state, not to speak of self-serving bourgeois "cooperatives," it is through a municipalization of political life that is so complete that politics embraces not only what we call the public sphere but material means of life as well.^[129]

Example societies through history

Early examples

There have been several attempts, both successful and unsuccessful, at creating other anarchist-communist societies throughout much of the world. Anarchist-communists and some green anarchists (especially anarcho-primitivists) argue that hunter-gatherer tribes, like families, were early forms of anarchist-communism due to their egalitarian nature.

Early Christian communities have also been described as having anarcho-communist characteristics.^[133] Frank Seaver Billings described "Jesusism" as a combination of anarchism and communism.^[134] Examples of later Christian egalitarian communities include the Diggers.

Gift economies and commons-based organising

In anthropology and the social sciences, a gift economy (or gift culture) is a mode of exchange where valuable goods and services are regularly given without any explicit agreement for immediate or future rewards (i.e. no formal *quid pro quo* exists).^[135] Ideally, voluntary and recurring gift exchange circulates and redistributes wealth throughout a community, and serves to build societal ties and obligations.^[136] In contrast to a barter economy or a market economy, social norms and custom governs gift exchange, rather than an explicit exchange of goods or services for money or some other commodity.^[137]

Traditional societies dominated by gift exchange were small in scale and geographically remote from each other. As states formed to regulate trade and commerce within their boundaries, market exchange came to dominate. Nonetheless, the practice of gift exchange continues to play an important role in modern society.^[138] One prominent example is scientific research, which can be described as a gift economy.^[139] Contrary to popular conception, there is no evidence that societies relied primarily on barter before using money for trade.^[140] Instead, non-monetary societies operated largely along the principles of gift



Watercolor by James G. Swan depicting the Klallam people of chief Chetzemoka at Port Townsend, with one of Chetzemoka's wives distributing potlatch

economics, and in more complex economies, on debt.^{[141][142]} When barter did in fact occur, it was usually between either complete strangers or would-be enemies.^[143]

The expansion of the Internet has witnessed a resurgence of the gift economy, especially in the technology sector. Engineers, scientists and software developers create open-source software projects. The Linux kernel and the GNU operating system are prototypical examples for the gift economy's prominence in the technology sector and its active role in instating the use of permissive free software and copyleft licenses, which allow free reuse of software and knowledge. Other examples include file-sharing, the commons and open access. Anarchist scholar Uri Gordon has argued:

The collaborative development of free software like the Linux operating system and applications such as OpenOffice clearly approximate an informational anarchist communism. Moreover, for anarchists it is precisely the logic of expropriation and electronic piracy that enables a radical political extension of the cultural ideals of the free manipulation, circulation and use of information associated with the "hacker ethic" (Himanen 2001). The space of illegality created by P2P (peer-to-peer) file-sharing opens up the possibility, not only of the open circulation of freely-given information and software as it is on the Internet today, but also of conscious copyright violation. The Internet, then, enables not only communist relations around information, but also the militant contamination and erosion of non-communist regimes of knowledge—a technological "weapon" to equalise access to information, eating away at intellectual property rights by rendering them unenforceable.^[144]

The interest in such economic forms goes back to Peter Kropotkin, who saw in the hunter-gatherer tribes he had visited the paradigm of "mutual aid".^[145] anarchist anthropologist David Graeber in his 2011 book Debt: The First 5000 Years argues that with the advent of the great Axial Age civilizations, the nexus between coinage and the calculability of economic values was concomitant with the disrupt of what Graeber calls "human economies," as found among the Iroquois, Celts, Inuit, Tiv, Nuer, and the Malagasy people of Madagascar among other groups which, according to Graeber, held a radically different conception of debt and social relations, based on the radical incalculability of human life and the constant creation and recreation of social bonds through gifts, marriages and general sociability. The author postulates the growth of a "military-coinage-slave complex" around this time, through which mercenary armies looted cities and human beings were cut from their social context to work as slaves in Greece, Rome and elsewhere in the Eurasian continent. The extreme violence of the period marked by the rise of great empires in China, India and the Mediterranean was, in this way, connected with the advent of large-scale slavery and the use of coins to pay soldiers, together with the obligation enforced by the State for its subjects to pay its taxes in currency. This was also the same time that the great religions spread out and the general questions of philosophical enquiry emerged on world history—many of those directly related, as in Plato's Republic, with the nature of debt and its relation to ethics.

Korean Anarchist Movement



The Korean People's Association in Manchuria, a Korean anarchist society that existed without markets, structured on mutual aid and gift economics

The Korean Anarchist Movement in Korea led by Kim Chwa-chin briefly brought anarcho-communism to Korea. The success was short-lived and much less widespread than the anarchism in Spain.^[146] The Korean People's Association in Manchuria had established a stateless, classless society where all means of production were run and operated by the workers, and where all possessions were held in common by the community.

Urban communities

Trumbullplex, as an example of an anarchist community, operates to serve the common good through sheltering residents within a neighbourhood of Detroit, Michigan. This allows individuals who've previously gone into debt by means of rent to escape their economic burdens and join a democratic commune. The commune has served as a hangout for young members of the locality, alongside a place intended for teamwork and cooperative decision making.^[147] This is often accompanied by music of the punk rock genre and frequent parties and celebrations thrown by Trumbullplex members. The commune has existed since 1993. Its current ideology, the same as its founding ideology, was to establish a settlement based on principles of mutual aid and the absence of hierarchy.^{[148][149]}



Inside Utrecht Giveaway shop the banner reads: "The earth has enough for everyone's need, but not for everyone's greed. Take no more than you could use yourself"

Give-away shops

Give-away shops, free shops, or free stores, are stores where all goods are free. They are similar to charity shops, with mostly second-hand items—only everything is available at no cost. Whether it is a book, a piece of furniture, a garment or a household item, it is all freely given away, although some operate a one-in, one-out-type policy (swap shops). The free store is a form of constructive direct action that provides a shopping alternative to a monetary framework, allowing people to exchange goods and services outside of a money-based economy. The anarchist 1960s countercultural group The Diggers^[150] opened free stores which simply gave away their stock, provided free food, distributed free drugs, gave away money, organized free music concerts, and performed works of political art.^[151] The Diggers took their name from the original English Diggers led by Gerrard Winstanley^[152] and sought to create a mini-society free of money and capitalism.^[153] Although free stores have not been uncommon in the United States since the 1960s, the freegan movement has inspired the establishment of more free stores. Today the idea is kept alive by the new generations of social centres, anarchists and environmentalists who view the idea as an intriguing way to raise awareness about consumer culture and to promote the reuse of commodities.

See also

- Accumulation by dispossession
- Anarcho-communists (category)
- Autonomism
- Anarcho-syndicalism
- Consensus democracy
- Communalism

- [Communization](#)
- [Council communism](#)
- [Democratic confederalism](#)
- [Direct democracy](#)
- [Free association \(communism and anarchism\)](#)
- [Free Territory](#)
- [Gift economy](#)
- [Insurrectionary anarchism](#)
- [Libertarian Communism](#)
- [Libertarian Marxism](#)
- [Libertarian socialism](#)
- [Makhnovism](#)
- [Neozapatismo](#)
- [Platformism](#)
- [Political views and activism of Rage Against the Machine](#)
- [Refusal of work](#)
- [Social anarchism](#)
- [Spanish Revolution of 1936](#)
- [Workers' council](#)

Notelist

- a. Also referred to as [anarchist communism](#),^{[5][6]} [communist anarchism](#),^{[7][8]} [free communism](#),^[9] [libertarian communism](#)^{[10][11][12][13][14]} and [stateless communism](#).^{[15][16]}

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62. "Lucy Parsons: Woman Of Will" (<http://lucyparsons.org/biography-iww.php>) at the [Lucy Parsons Center](#)
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64. "Tucker and other individualist anarchists argued in the pages of *Liberty* that anarchist communism was a misnomer because communism implied state authority and true anarchists were against all forms of authority, even the authority of small groups. To individualist anarchists, communistic anarchism, with its ideals of "to each according to need, from each according to ability," necessarily implied authority over others, because it did not privilege individual liberty as the highest virtue. But for anarchist communist, who saw economic freedom as central, individual liberty without food and shelter seemed impossible. Unlike the individualist tradition, whose ideas had had years of exposure through the English language anarchist press in America with the publication of *The Word* from 1872 to 1893 and *Liberty* from 1881 to 1908, communistic anarchism had not been advocated in any detail." "[The Firebrand and the Forging of a New Anarchism: Anarchist Communism and Free Love](#)" by Jessica Moran (<http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/jessica-moran-the-firebrand-and-the-forging-of-a-new-anarchism-anarchist-communism-and-free-love#toc2>)
65. Avrich, *Anarchist Portraits*, p. 202.
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77. "Jiménez evitó ahondar demasiado en sus críticas hacia la naturaleza abiertamente marxista de algunas partes de la Plataforma, limitándose a aludir a la crítica de Santillán en La Protesta, que afirmaba que los rusos no habían sido el único grupo responsable de permitir la infiltración de las ideas marxistas, lo que iba claramente dirigido a los sindicalistas de España¹⁷. Jiménez aceptó que la Plataforma había sido un intento encomiable de resolver el eterno problema de la desunión dentro de las filas anarquistas, pero consideraba que el programa ruso tenía sus defectos. La Plataforma se basaba en una premisa errónea sobre la naturaleza de las tendencias dentro del movimiento anarquista: dividía a los anarquistas en dos grupos diferentes, individualistas y comunistas, y con ello rechazaba la influencia de los primeros y proponía la unificación del movimiento anarquista en torno a la ideas de los segundos. Jiménez afirmaba que la realidad era mucho más compleja: esas diferentes tendencias dentro del movimiento anarquista no eran contradictorias ni excluyentes. Por ejemplo, era posible encontrar elementos en ambos grupos que apoyaran las tácticas del anarcosindicalismo. Por tanto, rechazaba el principal argumento de los plataformistas según el cual las diferentes tendencias se excluían entre sí." Jason Garner. "La búsqueda de la unidad anarquista: la Federación Anarquista Ibérica antes de la II República." (http://www.acracia.org/Acracia/La_búsqueda_de_la_unidad_anarquista.html) Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20121031042738/http://www.acracia.org/Acracia/La_búsqueda_de_la_unidad_anarquista.html) 2012-10-31 at the Wayback Machine
78. "Debido a sus contactos e influencia con el movimiento del exilio español, la propuesta de Faure arraigó más en los círculos españoles que la Plataforma, y fue publicada en las prensas libertarias tanto en España como en Bélgica²⁵. En esencia, Faure intentaba reunir a la familia anarquista sin imponer la rígida estructura que proponía la Plataforma, y en España se aceptó así. Opuesta a la situación de Francia, en España la influencia del anarquismo individualista no fue un motivo serio de ruptura. Aunque las ideas de ciertos individualistas como Han Ryner y Émile Armand tuvieron cierto impacto sobre el anarquismo español, afectaron sólo a aspectos como el sexo y el amor libre." Jason Garner. "La búsqueda de la unidad anarquista: la Federación Anarquista Ibérica antes de la II República." (http://www.acracia.org/Acracia/La_búsqueda_de_la_unidad_anarquista.html) Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20121031042738/http://www.acracia.org/Acracia/La_búsqueda_de_la_unidad_anarquista.html) 2012-10-31 at the Wayback Machine

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- Peter Kropotkin *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, available at Anarchy Archives (http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/anarchist_archives/kropotkin/fields.html)
- Peter Kropotkin *Anarchist Communism: Its Basis and Ideals* (http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/kropotkin/revpamphlets/anarchistcommunism.html)

- Peter Kropotkin *Communism and Anarchy* (<http://www.revoltlib.com/?id=141>)
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External links

- Anarkismo.net (<http://www.anarkismo.net/>) – anarchist communist news maintained by platformist organizations with discussion and theory from across the globe
- libcom.org (<http://libcom.org/>) – the home of anarchism and libertarian communism in the United Kingdom
- Anarchocommunist texts at The Anarchist Library (https://web.archive.org/web/20140712202432/http://theanarchistlibrary.org/topics/anarcho_communist.html)
- Kropotkin: The Coming Revolution (<https://vimeo.com/30571222>) – short documentary to introduce the idea of anarcho-communism in Peter Kropotkin's own words

Anarcho-communist theorists archives

- Alexander Berkman (<http://www.revoltlib.com/?id=29>)
- Luigi Galleani (<http://www.revoltlib.com/?id=43>)
- Emma Goldman (<http://www.revoltlib.com/?id=16>)
- Peter Kropotkin (<http://www.revoltlib.com/?id=17>)
- Ricardo Flores Magón (<http://www.revoltlib.com/?id=54>)
- Errico Malatesta (<http://www.revoltlib.com/?id=18>)
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- Johann Most (<http://www.revoltlib.com/?id=61>)
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- Lucien van der Walt (<http://lucienvanderwalt.wordpress.com/>)

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Civil libertarianism

Civil libertarianism is a strain of political thought that supports civil liberties, or which emphasizes the supremacy of individual rights and personal freedoms over and against any kind of authority (such as a state, a corporation, social norms imposed through peer pressure and so on).^[1] Civil libertarianism is not a complete ideology—rather, it is a collection of views on the specific issues of civil liberties and civil rights.

Contents

In the libertarian movement

See also

References

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In the libertarian movement

In the domain of libertarian philosophy, the primary concern of the civil libertarian is the relationship of the government to the individual. In theory, the civil libertarian seeks to restrict this relationship to an absolute minimum in which the state can function and provide basic services and securities without excessively interfering in the lives of its citizens. One key cause of civil libertarianism is upholding free speech.^[2] Specifically, civil libertarians oppose bans on hate speech and obscenity.^[2] Although they may or may not personally condone behaviors associated with these issues, civil libertarians hold that the advantages of unfettered public discourse outweigh all disadvantages.^[2]

Other civil libertarian positions include support for at least partial legalization of illicit substances (marijuana and other soft drugs), prostitution, abortion, privacy, assisted dying or euthanasia, the right to bear arms, youth rights, topfree equality, a strong demarcation between religion and politics, and support for same-sex marriage.

With the advent of personal computers, the Internet, email, cell phones and other information technology advances a subset of civil libertarianism has arisen that focuses on protecting individuals' digital rights and privacy.

See also

- Civil and political rights
- Civil liberties
 - Civil liberties in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
 - Civil liberties in Finland
 - Civil liberties in Mali
 - Civil liberties in New Zealand
 - Civil liberties in the People's Republic of China
 - Civil liberties in the United Kingdom

- Civil liberties in the United States
- Cultural liberalism
- Drug liberalization
- Libertarianism
- Liberty

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2. Massaro 1991, p. 222-227.

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Criticism of libertarianism

Criticism of libertarianism includes ethical, economic, environmental and pragmatic concerns, albeit most of them are mainly related to right-libertarianism.^[1] For instance, it has been argued that *laissez-faire* capitalism does not necessarily produce the best or most efficient outcome,^[2] nor does its philosophy of individualism and policies of deregulation prevent the abuse of natural resources.^[3] Criticism of left-libertarianism is instead mainly related to anarchism and include allegations of utopianism, tacit authoritarianism and vandalism towards feats of civilization. Furthermore, criticism include left-libertarians' critiques of right-libertarianism and vice versa.

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Ethical criticism

Aggression and coercion

The validity of right-libertarian notions of liberty and economic freedom have been questioned by critics such as Robert Lee Hale, who posits that *laissez-faire* capitalism is a system of aggressive coercion and restriction by property owners against others:^[4]

Adam Smith's "obvious and simple system of natural liberty" is not a system of liberty at all, but a complicated network of restraints, imposed in part by individuals, but very largely by the government itself at the behest of others on the freedom of the "some". ... What in fact distinguishes this counterfeit system of "*laissez-faire*" (the market) from paternalism, is not the absence of restraint, but the absence of any conscious purpose of the part of the officials who administer the restraint, and of any responsibility or unanimity on the part of the numerous owners at whose discretion the restraint is administered.

Other critics, including John Rawls in *Justice as Fairness*, argue that implied social contracts justify government actions that violate the rights of some individuals as they are beneficial for society overall. This concept is related to philosophical collectivism as opposed to individualism.^[5] However, libertarian philosophers such as Michael Huemer have raised criticisms targeted at the social contract theory.^[6]

Authenticity of libertarian goals

Critics such as Corey Robin describe right-libertarianism as fundamentally a reactionary conservative ideology united with more traditional conservative thought and goals by a desire to enforce hierarchical power and social relations:^[7]

Conservatism, then, is not a commitment to limited government and liberty—or a wariness of change, a belief in evolutionary reform, or a politics of virtue. These may be the byproducts of conservatism, one or more of its historically specific and ever-changing modes of expression. But they are not its animating purpose. Neither is conservatism a makeshift fusion of capitalists, Christians, and warriors, for that fusion is impelled by a more elemental force—the opposition to the liberation of men and women from the fetters of their superiors, particularly in the private sphere. Such a view might seem miles away from the libertarian defense of the free market, with its celebration of the atomistic and autonomous individual. But it is not. When the libertarian looks out upon society, he does not see isolated individuals; he sees private, often hierarchical, groups, where a father governs his family and an owner his employees.

Property

In his essay "From Liberty to Welfare", philosopher James P. Sterba argues that a morally consistent application of right-libertarian premises, including that of negative liberty, requires that a libertarian must endorse "the equality in the distribution of goods and resources required by a socialist state". Sterba presents the example of a typical conflict situation between the rich and poor "in order to see why libertarians are mistaken about what their ideal requires". He argues that such a situation is correctly seen as a conflict of negative liberties, saying that the right of the rich not to be interfered with in the satisfaction of their luxury needs is morally trumped by the right of the poor "not to be interfered with in taking from the surplus possessions of the rich what is necessary to satisfy their basic needs".

According to Sterba, the liberty of the poor should be morally prioritized in light of the fundamental ethical principle "ought implies can" from which it follows that it would be unreasonable to ask the poor to relinquish their liberty not be interfered with, noting that "in the extreme case it would involve asking or requiring the poor to sit back and starve to death" and that "by contrast it would not be unreasonable to ask and require the rich to sacrifice their liberty to meet some of their needs so that the poor can have the liberty to meet their basic needs". Having argued that "ought implies can" establishes the reasonability of asking

the rich to sacrifice their luxuries for the basic needs of the poor, Sterba invokes a second fundamental principle, "The Conflict Resolution Principle", to argue that it is reasonable to make it an ethical requirement. He concludes by arguing that the application of these principles to the international context makes a compelling case for socialist distribution on a world scale.^[8]

Jeffrey Friedman argues that natural-rights libertarianism's justification for the primacy of property is incoherent:^[9]

[W]e can press on from [the observation that libertarianism is egalitarian] to ask why, if ... the liberty of a human being to own another should be trumped by equal human rights, the liberty to own large amounts of property [at the expense of others] should not also be trumped by equal human rights. This alone would seem definitively to lay to rest the philosophical case for libertarianism. ... The very idea of ownership contains the relativistic seeds of arbitrary authority: the arbitrary authority of the individual's "right to do wrong."

Philosopher Jonathan Wolff criticizes deontological libertarianism as incoherent, writing that it is incapable of explaining why harm suffered by the losers in economic competition does not violate the principle of self-ownership and that its advocates must "dishonestly smuggle" consequentialist arguments into their reasoning to justify the institution of the free market.^[10]

Robert Lee Hale has argued that the concept of coercion in right-libertarian theory is applied inconsistently, insofar as it is applied to government actions, but it is not applied to the coercive acts of property owners to preserve their own private property rights.^[11]

Standards of well-being

Jeffrey Friedman has criticized right-libertarians for often relying on the unproven assumption that economic growth and affluence inevitably result in happiness and increased quality of life.^[12]

Theory of liberty

J. C. Lester has argued that right-libertarianism has no explicit theory of liberty.^[1] He supplies a theory of liberty, briefly summarized as the absence of imposed cost. Frederick^[13] criticizes Lester for smuggling in concepts not specified in the theory. Lester^[14] responded. Both Lester and Frederick are proponents of critical rationalism, the epistemological approach of Karl Popper. Lester has criticized libertarians for neglecting epistemology.

Economic criticism

Right-libertarians are accused of ignoring market failures, although not all proponents are market zealots.^[15] Critics of *laissez-faire* capitalism, the economic system favored by right-libertarians, argue that market failures justify government intervention in the economy, that nonintervention leads to monopolies and stifled innovation, or that unregulated markets are economically unstable. They argue that markets do not always produce the best or most efficient outcome, that redistribution of wealth can improve economic health and that humans involved in markets do not always act rationally.^{[16][17]}

Other economic criticisms concern the transition to a right-libertarian society. Jonathan Chait argues that privatizing Social Security would cause a fiscal crisis in the short-term and damage individuals' economic stability in the long-term.^[18]

Environmental criticism

Reconciliation of individual rights and the advances of a free market economy with environmental degradation is a problem that few right-libertarians have addressed.^[19] Political scientist and author Charles Murray has written that stewardship is what private property owners do best.^[19] Environmentalists on the left who support regulations designed to reduce carbon emissions, such as cap and trade, argue that many right-libertarians currently have no method of dealing with problems like environmental degradation and natural resource depletion because of their rejection of regulation and collective control.^[12] They see natural resources as too difficult to privatize as well as legal responsibility for pollution or degrading biodiversity as too difficult to trace.^[5] As a result, some see the rise of right-libertarianism as popular political philosophy as partially responsible for climate change.^[3]

Right-libertarians are also criticised for ignoring observation and historical fact and instead focusing on an abstract ideal.^[20] Imperfection is not accounted for and they are axiomatically opposed to government initiatives to counter the effects of climate change.

Pragmatic criticism

Allegation of utopianism

Anarchism is evaluated as unfeasible or utopian by its critics, often in general and formal debate. European history professor Carl Landauer argued that social anarchism is unrealistic and that government is a "lesser evil" than a society without "repressive force". He also argued that "ill intentions will cease if repressive force disappears" is an "absurdity".^[21] However, *An Anarchist FAQ* states the following: "Anarchy is not a utopia, [and] anarchists make no such claims about human perfection. ... Remaining disputes would be solved by reasonable methods, for example, the use of juries, mutual third parties, or community and workplace assemblies [as well as] some sort of "court" system would still be necessary to deal with the remaining crimes and to adjudicate disputes between citizens".^{[22][23]}

Government decentralization

In his essay *On Authority*, Friedrich Engels claimed that radical decentralization promoted by anarchists would destroy modern industrial civilization, citing an example of railways:^[24]

Here too the co-operation of an infinite number of individuals is absolutely necessary, and this co-operation must be practised during precisely fixed hours so that no accidents may happen. Here, too, the first condition of the job is a dominant will that settles all subordinate questions, whether this will is represented by a single delegate or a committee charged with the execution of the resolutions of the majority of persons interested. In either case there is a very pronounced authority. Moreover, what would happen to the first train dispatched if the authority of the railway employees over the Hon. passengers were abolished?

John Donahue also argues that if political power were radically shifted to local authorities, parochial local interests would predominate at the expense of the whole and that this would exacerbate current problems with collective action.^[25]

In the end, it is argued that authority in any form is a natural occurrence which should not be abolished.^[26]

Lack of contemporary examples

In 2013, Michael Lind observed that of the 195 countries in the world, none have fully actualized a society as advocated by right-libertarians:^[27]

If libertarianism was a good idea, wouldn't at least one country have tried it? Wouldn't there be at least one country, out of nearly two hundred, with minimal government, free trade, open borders, decriminalized drugs, no welfare state and no public education system?

Furthermore, Lind has criticized right-libertarianism as being incompatible with democracy and apologetic towards autocracy.^[28] In response, right-libertarian Warren Redlich argues that the United States "was extremely libertarian from the founding until 1860, and still very libertarian until roughly 1930".^[29]

Tacit authoritarianism

The anarchist tendency known as platformism has been criticized by Situationists,^[30] insurrectionaries, synthesis anarchists^{[31][32]} and others of preserving tacitly statist, authoritarian or bureaucratic tendencies.

See also

- Criticism of anarchism
- Criticism of anarcho-capitalism
- Criticism of capitalism
- Criticism of democracy
- Criticism of globalization
- Criticism of socialism
- Debates within libertarianism

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External links

- [Libertarianism: Opposing Views](https://curlie.org/Society/Politics/Liberalism/Libertarianism/Opposing_Views/) (https://curlie.org/Society/Politics/Liberalism/Libertarianism/Opposing_Views/) at Curlie
- Mike Huben's "Critiques of Libertarianism" (<http://world.std.com/~mhuben/libindex.html>) (Wiki format (http://critiques.us/index.php?title=Critiques_Of_Libertarianism))
- David D. Friedman's "Response to Mike Huben's Critiques of Libertarianism" (http://www.davidfriedman.com/Libertarian/response_to_huben.html)

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Debates within libertarianism

Libertarianism is variously defined by sources as there is no general consensus among scholars on the definition nor on how one should use the term as a historical category. Scholars generally agree that libertarianism refers to the group of political philosophies which emphasize freedom, individual liberty and voluntary association. Libertarians generally advocate a society with little or no government power.

The *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* defines libertarianism as the moral view that agents initially fully own themselves and have certain moral powers to acquire property rights in external things.^[1] Libertarian historian George Woodcock defines libertarianism as the philosophy that fundamentally doubts authority and advocates transforming society by reform or revolution.^[2] Libertarian philosopher Roderick T. Long defines libertarianism as "any political position that advocates a radical redistribution of power from the coercive state to voluntary associations of free individuals", whether "voluntary association" takes the form of the free market or of communal co-operatives.^[3] According to the American Libertarian Party, libertarianism is the advocacy of a government that is funded voluntarily and limited to protecting individuals from coercion and violence.^[4]

There are many philosophical disagreements among proponents of libertarianism concerning questions of ideology, values and strategy. For instance, left-libertarians were the ones to coin the term as a synonym for anarchism. Outside of the United States, libertarianism is still synonymous with anarchism and socialism (social anarchism and libertarian socialism).^{[5][6][7][8][9][10][11][12]} Right-libertarianism, known in the United States simply as libertarianism, was coined as a synonym for classical liberalism in May 1955 by writer Dean Russell due to liberals embracing progressivism and economic interventionism in the early 20th century after the Great Depression and with the New Deal.^[13] As a result, the term was co-opted in the mid-20th century to instead advocate *laissez-faire* capitalism and strong private property rights such as in land, infrastructure and natural resources.^{[14][15][16]} The main debate between the two forms of libertarianism therefore concerns the legitimacy of private property and its meaning. Most other debates remains within right-libertarianism as abortion, capital punishment, foreign affairs, LGBT rights and immigration are non-issues for left-libertarians whereas within right-libertarianism they are debated due to their divide between cultural liberal and cultural conservative right-libertarians.

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Philosophy

Libertarian philosophies are generally divided on three principal questions, namely (1) by ethical theory, whether actions are determined to be moral consequentially or in terms of natural rights (or deontologically); (2) the legitimacy of private property; and (3) the legitimacy of the state. Libertarian philosophy can therefore be broadly divided into eight groups based on these distinctions.

Abortion

An estimated 60–70% of American libertarians believe women are entitled to abortion rights, although many who identify as pro-choice do maintain that abortion becomes homicidal at some stage during pregnancy and therefore should not remain legal beyond that point.^[17]

To the contrary, the Libertarian Party states that government should have no role in restricting abortion, implying opposition to any and all proposed federal or state legislation which might prohibit any method of abortion at any given stage of gestation. Groups like the Association of Libertarian Feminists and Pro-Choice Libertarians support keeping government out of the issue entirely.

On the other hand, Libertarians for Life argues that human zygotes, embryos and fetuses possess the same natural human rights and deserve the same protections as neonates, calling for outlawing abortion as an aggressive act against a rights-bearing unborn child. Former Texas Congressman Ron Paul, a figurehead of American libertarianism, is a pro-life physician as is his son Kentucky Senator Rand Paul. Nonetheless, most American libertarians, whether pro-choice or pro-life, agree the federal government should play no role in prohibiting, protecting, or facilitating abortion and oppose the Supreme Court conclusion in Roe v. Wade that abortion is a fundamental right if performed during the first trimester of pregnancy by virtue of an implicit constitutional right to privacy.

In addition, there are the property rights perspectives^[18] evictionism^{[19][20]} and departurism^{[21][22][23]} which allow that the unwanted fetus is a trespasser on the mother's property (her womb), but hold that this designation does not mean that the child may therefore be directly killed.^[24] The former view maintains that the trespasser may only be killed indirectly as a result of eviction,^[25] while the latter view upholds only non-lethal eviction during normal pregnancies.^[26]

Capital punishment

Right-libertarians are divided on capital punishment, also known as the death penalty. Those opposing it generally see it as an excessive abuse of state power which is by its very nature irreversible, with American libertarians possibly seeing it also in conflict with the Bill of Rights ban on "cruel and unusual punishment". Some libertarians who believe capital punishment can be just under certain circumstances may oppose execution based on practical considerations. Those who support the death penalty do so on self-defense or retributive justice grounds.

Ethics

There are broadly two different types of libertarianism which are based on ethical doctrines, namely consequentialist libertarianism and natural-rights libertarianism, or deontological libertarianism. Deontological libertarians have the view that natural rights exist and from there argue that initiation of force and fraud should never take place.^[27] Natural-rights libertarianism may include both right-libertarianism and left-libertarianism.^[28] Consequentialist libertarians argue that a free market and strong private property rights bring about beneficial consequences, such as wealth creation or efficiency, rather than subscribing to a theory of rights or justice.^[29] There are hybrid forms of libertarianism that combine deontological and consequentialist reasoning.^[29]

Contractarian libertarianism holds that any legitimate authority of government derives not from the consent of the governed, but rather from contract or mutual agreement, although this can be seen as reducible to consequentialism or deontologism depending on what grounds contracts are justified.^{[30][31][32]} Some libertarian socialists reject deontological and consequential approaches and use historical materialism to justify their political beliefs.^[33]

Foreign affairs

Libertarians are generally against any military intervention in other countries. Other libertarians are also opposed to strategic alliances with foreign countries. According to its 2016 platform, the American Libertarian Party is against any foreign aid to other countries and the only wars that they support are in situations of self-defense.^[34] Such libertarians generally try to explain that they are not isolationists, but non-interventionists.^{[35][36]}

Immigration

Libertarians generally support freedom of movement and open borders. However, some right-libertarians, particularly Hoppean anarcho-capitalists who propose the full privatization of land and natural resources, contend that a policy of open borders amounts to legalized trespassing.

Inheritance

Libertarians disagree over what to do in absence of a will or contract in the event of death and over posthumous property rights. In the event of a contract, the contract is enforced according to the property owner's wishes. Typically, right-libertarians believe that any intestate property should go to the living relatives of the deceased and that none of the property should go to the government. Others say that if no will has been made, the property immediately enters the state of nature from which anyone (save the state) may homestead it.

Intellectual property

Libertarians hold a variety of views on intellectual property (IP) and patents. Some libertarian natural rights theorists justify property rights in ideas and other intangibles just as they do property rights in physical goods, saying whoever made it owns it. Other libertarian natural rights theorists such as Stephan Kinsella have held that only physical material can be owned and that ownership of IP amount to an illegitimate claim of ownership over that which enters another's mind that cannot be removed or controlled without violation of the non-aggression axiom. Pro-IP libertarians of the utilitarian tradition say that IP maximizes innovation while anti-IP libertarians of the selfsame persuasion say that it causes shortages of innovation. This latter view holds that IP is a euphemism for intellectual protectionism and should be abolished altogether.

Land ownership

Following political economist and social reformer Henry George's philosophy of classical liberalism known as Georgism and the single-tax movement of activists who supported it (see also the single tax), some free-market centrists and non-socialist left-libertarians known as geolibertarians argue that because land is not the product of human labor and it is inelastic in supply and essential for life and wealth creation, the market rental value of land should properly be considered commons. They interpret the Lockean proviso and the law of equal liberty to mean that exclusive land ownership beyond one's equal share of aggregate land value necessarily restricts the freedom of others to access natural space and resources. In order to promote freedom and minimize waste, they argue that absent improvements individuals should surrender the rental value of the land to which they hold legal title to the community as a subscription fee for the privilege to exclude others from the site. Since geolibertarians wish to limit the influence of government, they would have this revenue fund a universal basic income or citizen's dividend which would also function as a social safety net to replace the existing welfare system. Based on David Ricardo's law of rent, they further argue that this tax shift would serve to boost wages.

Limited government

Libertarians differ on whether any government at all is desirable. Some favor the existence of governments and see them as civilly necessary while others favor stateless societies and view the state as being undesirable, unnecessary and harmful, if not intrinsically evil.^{[37][38]}

Supporters of limited libertarian government or a night watchman state argue that placing all defense and courts under private control, regulated only by market demand, is an inherent miscarriage of justice because justice would be bought and sold as a commodity, thereby conflating authentic impartial justice with economic power.^[39] Market anarchists counter that having defense and courts controlled by the state is both immoral and an inefficient means of achieving both justice and security.^{[40][41]} Libertarian socialists hold that liberty is incompatible with state action based on a class struggle analysis of the state.^[42]

Natural resources

Right-libertarians such as free-market environmentalists and Objectivists believe that environmental damage is more often than not a result of state ownership and mismanagement of natural resources, for example by the military-industrial complex. Other right-libertarians such as anarcho-capitalists contend that private ownership of all natural resources will result in a better environment as a private owner of property will have more incentive to ensure the longer term value of the property. Other libertarians such as geolibertarians or left-libertarians believe the Earth cannot legitimately be held in allodium, that usufructuary title with periodic land value capture and redistribution avoids both the tragedy of the commons and the tragedy of the anticommons while respecting equal rights to natural resources.

Propertarianism

Right-libertarian philosophies are usually strong propertarians that define liberty as non-aggression, or the state in which no person or group aggresses against any other person or group, where aggression is defined as the violation of private property.^[27] This philosophy implicitly recognizes private property as the sole source of legitimate authority. Propertarian libertarians hold that an order of private property is the only one that is both ethical and leads to the best possible outcomes.^[40] They generally support the free market and are not opposed to any concentration of power (monopolies), provided it is brought about through non-coercive means.^[43] However, there is also a minority of soft propertarian libertarian philosophies. According to this moderately left-libertarian perspective, a society based on individual liberty and equal access to natural opportunities can be achieved through proportionate compensation to others by those who claim private ownership over a greater-than-equal share of the aggregate value of natural resources, absent any improvements.^{[44][45][46][47]}

Non-propertarian libertarian philosophies hold that liberty is the absence of hierarchy and demands the leveling of systemically coercive and exploitative power structures. On this libertarian socialist view, a society based on freedom and equality can be achieved through abolishing authoritarian institutions that control certain means of production and subordinate the majority to an owning class or political and economic elite.^[48] Implicitly, it rejects any authority of private property and holds that it is not legitimate for someone to claim private ownership of any production resources to the detriment of others.^{[44][49][46][47]} Libertarian socialism is a group of political philosophies that promote a non-hierarchical, non-bureaucratic, stateless society without private property in the means of production. The term libertarian socialism is also used to differentiate this philosophy from state socialism.^{[50][51][52][53]} Libertarian socialists generally place their hopes in decentralized means of direct democracy such as libertarian municipalism, citizens' assemblies, trade unions and workers' councils.^[54]

Race and sex

American libertarians, especially right-libertarians, are against laws that favor or harm any race or either sex. These include Jim Crow laws, state segregation, interracial marriage bans and laws that discriminate on the basis of sex. Likewise, they oppose state-enforced affirmative action, hate crime laws and anti-discrimination laws. They would not use the state to prevent voluntary affirmative action or voluntary discrimination.^{[55][56][57]} Most of these libertarians believe that the drive for profit in the marketplace will diminish or eliminate the effects of racism, which they tend to consider to be inherently collectivist. This causes a degree of dissonance among libertarians in federal systems such as in the United States, where there is debate among libertarians about whether the federal government has the right to coerce states to change their democratically created laws.

Taxation

Some deontological libertarians believe that consistent adherence to libertarian doctrines such as the non-aggression principle demands unqualified moral opposition to any form of taxation, a sentiment encapsulated in the phrase "Taxation is theft!".^[58] They would fund all services through gratuitous contributions, private law and defense user fees as well as lotteries. Other libertarians support low taxes of various kinds, arguing that a society with no taxation would have difficulty providing public goods such as crime prevention and a consistent, unified legal system to punish rights violators. Geolibertarians in particular argue that only a single tax on the rental value of land, typically in conjunction with Pigovian pollution and severance fees to internalize negative externalities and curb natural resource depletion, are non-aggressive, non-distortionary and politically sustainable.

Voluntary slavery

Libertarians generally believe that voluntary slavery is a contradiction in terms.^[59] However, certain right-libertarians dispute the Lockean claim that some rights are inalienable and maintain that even permanent voluntary slavery is possible and contractually binding.^[60] Famous libertarian Murray Rothbard argued that libertarians seeing children as property of the parents left the platform open to sales of children as slaves, when parents needed finances, and that people entering into voluntary slavery would most likely be when there was no alternative available to pay debts, but this was not coercive as under the libertarian platform only the government could engage in coercion. Detractors maintain that there is no such thing as a morally-binding "slavery contract".

Strategy

Non-voting

Some libertarians such as agorists employ non-voting as a political tactic and following 19th-century individualist anarchists like Lysander Spooner and Benjamin Tucker consider voting an immoral concession of state legitimacy. Others who champion the concept of rational ignorance view voting as an impractical and irrational behavior on a cost-benefit analysis. Other more moderate libertarians abstain from voting to voice their feeling that the current system is broken or out of touch.

Apart from principled and cynical non-voters, many libertarians interpret voting even for a suboptimal candidate or policy as an act of political self-defense aimed at minimizing rights violations.

Political alliances

Until fairly recently, American libertarians have allied politically with modern conservatives over economic issues and gun laws while they are more prone to ally with liberals on other civil liberties issues and non-interventionism. As conservatives increasingly favor protectionism over free and open trade, the popular characterization of libertarian policy as economically conservative and socially liberal has been rendered less meaningful. Libertarians may choose to vote for candidates of other parties depending on the individual and the issues they promote. Paleolibertarians have a long-standing affinity with paleoconservatives in opposing United States interventions and promoting decentralization and cultural conservatism.

Revolution

Libertarians generally agree on the desirability of rapid and fundamental changes in power dynamics and institutional structures, but may disagree on the means by which such changes might be achieved. Orthodox right-libertarians strongly oppose violent revolution as unethical and counterproductive, however there is currently a growing amount of right-libertarians, inspired by the Founding Fathers of the United States, that believe in revolution as a justified means to counter what they see as a corrupt government. Left-libertarians, especially anarchists and socialists, regard the state to be at the definitional center of structural violence, directly or indirectly preventing people from meeting their basic needs, calling for violence as self-defense and seeing violent revolution as necessary in the abolition of capitalist society, mainly to counteract the violence inherent in both capitalism and government (some of them have also come to believe that violence, especially self-defense, is justified as a way to provoke social upheaval which could lead to a social revolution) while others argue in favor of a non-violent revolution through a process of dual power and pacifists see the concept of the general strike as the great revolutionary weapon.

Market anarchists of a left-wing persuasion such as agorists also advocate various forms of nonviolent resistance, tax resistance or evasion, public acts of civic disloyalty and disobedience, counter-economics and subversive black markets.

See also

- Anarcho-capitalism and minarchism
- Factions in the Libertarian Party (United States)
- Issues in anarchism
- Left-libertarianism
- Outline of libertarianism
- Philosophy of law
- Political ethics
- Political philosophy
- Right-libertarianism

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Geolibertarianism

Geolibertarianism is a political and economic ideology that integrates libertarianism with Georgism.

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Overview

Geolibertarians maintain that geographical space and raw natural resources—any assets that qualify as land by economic definition—are rivalrous goods to be considered common property, or more accurately unowned, which all individuals share an equal human right to access, not capital wealth to be privatized fully and absolutely. Therefore, landholders ought to pay compensation according to the rental value set by the free market, absent any improvements, to the community for the civil right of usufruct (that is, legally recognized exclusive possession with restrictions on property abuse) or otherwise fee simple title with no such restrictions. Ideally, the taxing of a site would be administered only after it has been determined that the privately captured economic rent from the land exceeds the title-holder's equal share of total land value in the jurisdiction.

On this proposal, rent is collected not for the mere occupancy or use of land, as neither the community nor the state rightfully owns the commons, but rather as an objectively assessed indemnity due for the legal right to exclude others from that land. Some geolibertarians also support Pigovian taxes on pollution and severance taxes to regulate natural resource depletion and compensatory fees with ancillary positive environmental effects on activities which negatively impact land values. They take the standard right-libertarian position that each individual is naturally entitled to the fruits of their labor as exclusive private property as opposed to produced goods being owned collectively by society or by the government acting to represent society, and that a person's "labor, wages, and the products of labor" should not be taxed. Along with non-Georgists in the libertarian movement, they also advocate the law of equal liberty, supporting "full civil liberties, with no crimes unless there are victims who have been invaded."^[1]

Geolibertarians are generally influenced by the Georgist single tax movement of the late-19th and early-20th centuries, but the ideas behind it pre-date Henry George and can be found in different forms in the political writings of John Locke, the early agrarian socialism of English True Levellers or Diggers such as Gerrard Winstanley, the French Physiocrats (especially Quesnay and Turgot), British classical economists Adam Smith and David Ricardo, French liberal economists Jean-Baptiste Say and Frédéric Bastiat, American Revolutionary writers Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine, English Radical land reformer Thomas Spence, American individualist anarchists Lysander Spooner and Benjamin Tucker, as well as British classical liberal philosophers John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer. Prominent geolibertarians since

George have included Old Right social critics Albert Jay Nock and Frank Chodorov. Other libertarians who have expressed support for the land value tax as an incremental reform include Milton Friedman, Karl Hess, John Hospers and United States Libertarian Party co-founder David Nolan.^[2]

Property rights

In continuity with the classical liberal tradition, geolibertarians contend that land is an independent factor of production, that it is the common inheritance of all humanity and that the justice of private property is derived from an individual's right to the fruits of his or her labor. Since land by economic definition is not the product of human labor, its ownership cannot be justified by appealing to natural human rights. Geolibertarians recognize the individual civil right to secure exclusive possession of land (land tenure) only on the condition that if the land has accrued economic rent, its full rental value be paid to the community deprived of equal access. This non-distortionary system of taxation, it is argued, has the effects of returning the value that belongs to all members of society and encouraging landholders to use only as much land as they need, leaving unneeded land for others to occupy, use and develop.^[4]



Thomas Paine inspired the citizen's dividend and stated: "Every proprietor owes to the community a ground rent for the land which he holds"^[3]

Perhaps the most succinct summary of the geolibertarian philosophy is Thomas Paine's assertion in his 1797 pamphlet *Agrarian Justice*: "Men did not make the earth. It is the value of the improvements only, and not the earth itself, that is individual property. Every proprietor owes to the community a ground rent for the land which he holds". On the other hand, John Locke wrote that private land ownership should be praised as long as its product was not left to spoil and there was "enough, and as good left in common for others". When this Lockean proviso is violated, the land earns rental value. Some geolibertarians argue that "enough, and as good left" is a practical impossibility in a city setting because location is paramount. This implies that in any urban social environment Locke's proviso requires the collection and equal distribution of ground rent. Geolibertarians often dispute the received interpretation of Locke's homestead principle outlined in his *Second Treatise of Government* as concerning the justice of initial acquisition of property in land, opting instead for a view ostensibly more compatible with the proviso which considers Locke to be describing the process by which property is created from land through the application of labor.

This strict definition of private property as the fruit of a person's labor leads geolibertarians to advocate free markets in capital goods, consumer goods and services in addition to the protection of workers' rights to their full earnings.

Policy proposals

Geolibertarians generally support redistributing land rent from private landholders to all community members by way of a land value tax as proposed by Henry George and others before him.

Geolibertarians desire to see the revenue from land value capture cover only necessary administrative costs and fund only those public services which are essential for a governing body to secure and enforce rights to life, liberty and estate—civic protections which increase the aggregate land rent within the jurisdiction and thereby serve to finance themselves—the surplus being equally distributed as an unconditional dividend to

each citizen. Thus, the value of the land is returned to the residents who produce it, but who by practical necessity and legal privilege have been deprived of equal access while the poor and disadvantaged benefit from a reliable social safety net unencumbered by bureaucracy or intrusive means-testing. Some geolibertarians claim the reasoning behind taxing land values likewise justifies a complementary pollution tax for degrading the shared value of the natural commons. The common and inelastic character of the radio wave spectrum (which also falls under land as an economic category) is understood to justify the taxation of its exclusive use, as well.^[5]

American economist and political philosopher Fred Foldvary coined the term geo-libertarianism in a so-titled article appearing in Land&Liberty.^{[6][7]} In the case of geonarchism, the most radically decentralized and scrupulously voluntarist form of geolibertarianism, Foldvary theorizes that ground rents would be collected by private agencies and persons would have the opportunity to secede from associated geocommunities—thereby opting out of their protective and legal services—if desired.^[8]

See also

- Citizen's dividend
- Classical economics
- Classical liberalism
- Commons
- Free-market environmentalism
- Freiwirtschaft
- Georgism
- Green growth
- Green libertarianism
- Jeffersonian democracy
- Land law
- Land value tax
- Left-libertarianism
- Minarchism
- Natural and legal rights
- Neoclassical liberalism
- Poverty reduction
- Radical centrism
- Right-libertarianism
- Single tax
- Sustainable development
- Tax shift
- Tragedy of the anticommons
- Value capture

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Evictionism

Evictionism is a moral theory advanced by Walter Block and Roy Whitehead on a proposed libertarian view of abortion based on property rights. This theory is built upon the earlier work of philosopher Murray Rothbard^[1] who wrote that "no being has a right to live, unbidden, as a parasite within or upon some person's body" and that therefore the woman is entitled to eject the baby from her body at any time.^[2] Evictionists view a mother's womb as her property and an unwanted fetus as a "trespasser or parasite", even while lacking the will to act. They argue that a mother has the right to evict a fetus from her body since she has no obligation to care for a trespasser. The authors' hope is that bystanders will "homestead" the right to care for evicted babies and reduce the number of human deaths. They argue that life begins at conception and state that the act of abortion must be conceptually separated into the acts of:

1. the eviction of the fetus from the womb, and
2. the dying of the baby.

Building on the libertarian stand against trespass and murder, Block supports a right to the first act (eviction), but not the second act (murder).

Walter Block believes the woman always has a right to evict

1. if done in the gentlest manner possible regardless of the death of the fetus,^[3] and
2. the woman has publicly announced her abandonment of the right to custody of the fetus.^{[4][5]}

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Embryonic research

Likewise, Block proposes that medical experimenters can treat the embryos they have in their possession as laboratory "animals", as is their desire, contingent on only one stipulation: that no one else wishes to raise these very young infants on their own. If there are adoptive parents who wish to homestead the right to care for the children, their rights trump those of the creators of the fertilized egg since the former wishes to protect the child from harm, while the latter does not. Thus, Block offers an alternative to the standard choice between the pro-life and pro-choice positions on stem cell research.^[6]

Advances in technology

Evictionists believe that advances in technology will continue to improve the medical ability to preserve a living fetus after removal from its mother. This future technology is hoped to save the lives of evicted fetuses at increasingly younger ages whereas aborted fetuses would continue to die at any age.^[5]

During the past several decades, neonatal care has improved with advances in medical science, and therefore the limit of viability has moved earlier.^[7] The lower limit of viability is approximately five months' gestational age, and usually later.^[8]

Departurism

Jakub Wisniewski, a Polish libertarian theoretician who championed the non-aggression principle (NAP) over a mother's right to abort a consensually-conceived fetus,^{[9][10][11][12]} and Sean Parr, who introduced the alternative departurism,^{[13][14][15]} have made counter-arguments to evictionism.

See also

- Libertarian perspectives on abortion
- Non-aggression principle

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Georgism

Georgism, also called in modern times **geoism**^[2] and known historically as the **single tax movement**, is an economic ideology holding that, although people should own the value they produce themselves, the economic rent derived from land – including from all natural resources, the commons, and urban locations – should belong equally to all members of society.^{[3][4][5]} Developed from the writings of American economist and social reformer Henry George, the Georgist paradigm seeks solutions to social and ecological problems, based on principles of land rights and public finance which attempt to integrate economic efficiency with social justice.^{[6][7]}

Georgism is concerned with the distribution of economic rent caused by land ownership, natural monopolies, pollution and the control of commons, including title of ownership for natural resources and other contrived privileges (e.g. intellectual property). Any natural resource which is inherently limited in supply can generate economic rent, but the classical and most significant example of land monopoly involves the extraction of common ground rent from valuable urban locations. Georgists argue that taxing economic rent is efficient, fair and equitable. The main Georgist policy recommendation is a tax assessed on land value, arguing that revenues from a land value tax (LVT) can be used to reduce or eliminate existing taxes (such as on income, trade, or purchases) that are unfair and inefficient. Some Georgists also advocate for the return of surplus public revenue to the people by means of a basic income or citizen's dividend.

The concept of gaining public revenues mainly from land and natural resource privileges was widely popularized by Henry George through his first book, *Progress and Poverty* (1879). The philosophical basis of Georgism dates back to several early thinkers such as John Locke,^[8] Baruch Spinoza^[9] and Thomas Paine.^[10] Economists since Adam Smith and David Ricardo have observed that a public levy on land value does not cause economic inefficiency, unlike other taxes.^{[11][12]} A land value tax also has progressive tax effects.^{[13][14]} Advocates of land value taxes argue that they would reduce economic inequality, increase economic efficiency, remove incentives to underutilize urban land and reduce property speculation.^[15]

Georgist ideas were popular and influential during the late 19th and early 20th century.^[16] Political parties, institutions and communities were founded based on Georgist principles during that time. Early devotees of Henry George's economic philosophy were often termed *Single Taxers* for their political goal of raising public revenue mainly or only from a land value tax, although Georgists endorsed multiple forms of rent capture (e.g. seigniorage) as legitimate.^[17] The term *Georgism* was invented later, and some prefer the term *geoism* as more generic.^{[18][19]}



Georgist campaign button from the 1890s in which the cat on the badge refers to a slogan "Do you see the cat?" to draw analogy to the land question^[4]

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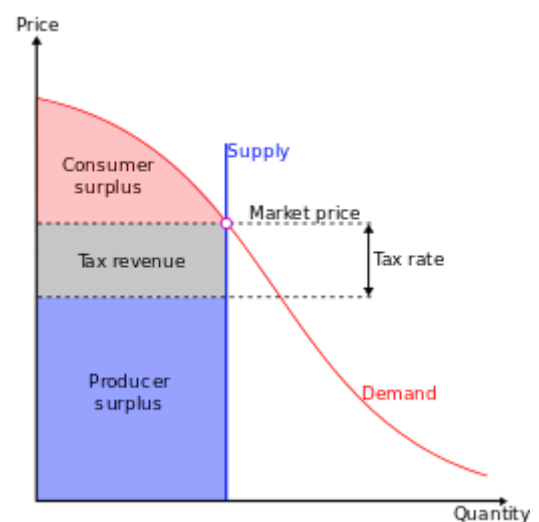
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Main tenets

Henry George is best known for popularizing the argument that government should be funded by a tax on land rent rather than taxes on labor. George believed that although scientific experiments could not be performed in political economy, theories could be tested by comparing different societies with different conditions and by thought experiments about the effects of various factors.^[20] Applying this method, he concluded that many of the problems that beset society, such as poverty, inequality, and economic booms and busts, could be attributed to the private ownership of the necessary resource, land rent. In his most celebrated book, *Progress and Poverty*, George argues that the appropriation of land rent for private use contributes to persistent poverty in spite of technological progress, and causes economies to exhibit a tendency toward boom and bust cycles. According to George, people justly own what they create, but natural opportunities and land belong equally to all.^[4]



A supply and demand diagram showing the effects of land value taxation in which burden of the tax is entirely on the landowner when the tax is implemented. The rental price of land does not change and there is no deadweight loss.

The tax upon land values is, therefore, the most just and equal of all taxes. It falls only upon those who receive from society a peculiar and valuable benefit, and upon them in proportion to the benefit they receive. It is the taking by the community, for the use of the community, of that value which is the creation of the community. It is the application of the common property to common uses. When all rent is taken by taxation for the needs of the community, then will the equality ordained by Nature be attained. No citizen will have an advantage over any other citizen save as is given by his industry, skill, and intelligence; and each will obtain what he fairly earns. Then, but not till then, will labor get its full reward, and capital its natural return.

— Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*,
Book VIII, Chapter 3

George believed there was an important distinction between common and collective property.^[21] Although equal rights to land might be achieved by nationalizing land and then leasing it to private users, George preferred taxing unimproved land value and leaving the control of land mostly in private hands. George's reasoning for leaving land in private control and slowly shifting to land value tax was that it would not penalize existing owners who had improved land and would also be less disruptive and controversial in a country where land titles have already been granted.

Georgists have observed that privately created wealth is socialized via the tax system (e.g., through income and sales tax), while socially created wealth in land values are privatized in the price of land titles and bank mortgages. The opposite would be the case if land rents replaced taxes on labor as the main source of public revenue; socially created wealth would become available for use by the community, while the fruits of labor would remain private.^[22] According to Georgists, a land value tax can be considered a user fee instead of a tax, since it is related to the market value of socially created locational advantage, the privilege to exclude others from locations. Assets consisting of commodified privilege can be considered as wealth since they have exchange value, similar to taxi medallions.^[23] A land value tax, charging fees for exclusive use of land, as a means of raising public revenue is also a progressive tax tending to reduce economic inequality,^{[13][14]} since it applies entirely to ownership of valuable land, which is correlated with income,^[24] and there is generally no means by which landlords can shift the tax burden onto tenants or laborers. Landlords are unable to pass the tax on to tenants because the supply and demand of rented land is unchanged. Because the supply of land is perfectly inelastic, land rents depend on what tenants are prepared to pay, rather than on the expenses of landlords, and so the tax cannot be passed on to tenants.^[25]

Economic properties

Standard economic theory suggests that a land value tax would be extremely efficient – unlike other taxes, it does not reduce economic productivity.^[15] Milton Friedman described Henry George's tax on unimproved value of land as the "least bad tax", since unlike other taxes, it would not impose an excess burden on economic activity (leading to zero or even negative "deadweight loss"); hence, a replacement of other more distortionary taxes with a land value tax would improve economic welfare.^[26] As land value tax can improve the use of land and redirect investment toward productive, non-rent-seeking activities, it

could even have a negative deadweight loss that boosts productivity.^[27] Because land value tax would apply to foreign land speculators, the Australian Treasury estimated that land value tax was unique in having a negative marginal excess burden, meaning that it would increase long-run living standards.^[28]

It was Adam Smith who first noted the efficiency and distributional properties of a land value tax in his book *The Wealth of Nations*.^[11]

Ground-rents are a still more proper subject of taxation than the rent of houses. A tax upon ground-rents would not raise the rents of houses. It would fall altogether upon the owner of the ground-rent, who acts always as a monopolist, and exacts the greatest rent which can be got for the use of his ground. More or less can be got for it according as the competitors happen to be richer or poorer, or can afford to gratify their fancy for a particular spot of ground at a greater or smaller expense. In every country the greatest number of rich competitors is in the capital, and it is there accordingly that the highest ground-rents are always to be found. As the wealth of those competitors would in no respect be increased by a tax upon ground-rents, they would not probably be disposed to pay more for the use of the ground. Whether the tax was to be advanced by the inhabitant, or by the owner of the ground, would be of little importance. The more the inhabitant was obliged to pay for the tax, the less he would incline to pay for the ground; so that the final payment of the tax would fall altogether upon the owner of the ground-rent. Both ground-rents and the ordinary rent of land are a species of revenue which the owner, in many cases, enjoys without any care or attention of his own. Though a part of this revenue should be taken from him in order to defray the expenses of the state, no discouragement will thereby be given to any sort of industry. The annual produce of the land and labour of the society, the real wealth and revenue of the great body of the people, might be the same after such a tax as before. Ground-rents and the ordinary rent of land are, therefore, perhaps, the species of revenue which can best bear to have a peculiar tax imposed upon them. [...] Nothing can be more reasonable than that a fund which owes its existence to the good government of the state should be taxed peculiarly, or should contribute something more than the greater part of other funds, towards the support of that government.

— Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, Book V, Chapter 2

Benjamin Franklin and Winston Churchill made similar distributional and efficiency arguments for taxing land rents. They noted that the costs of taxes and the benefits of public spending always eventually apply to and enrich, respectively, the owners of land. Therefore, they believed it would be best to defray public costs and recapture value of public spending by applying public charges directly to owners of land titles, rather than harming public welfare with taxes assessed against beneficial activities such as trade and labor.^{[29][30]}

Henry George wrote that his plan for a high land value tax would cause people "to contribute to the public, not in proportion to what they produce ... but in proportion to the value of natural [common] opportunities that they hold [monopolize]". He went on to explain that "by taking for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community", it would, "make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner, and profitable only to the user".

A high land value tax would discourage speculators from holding valuable natural opportunities (like urban real estate) unused or only partially used. Henry George claimed this would have many benefits, including the reduction or elimination of tax burdens from poorer neighborhoods and agricultural districts; the elimination of a multiplicity of taxes and expensive obsolete government institutions; the elimination of corruption, fraud, and evasion with respect to the collection of taxes; the enablement of true free trade; the destruction of monopolies; the elevation of wages to the full value of labor; the transformation of labor-

saving inventions into blessings for all; and the equitable distribution of comfort, leisure, and other advantages that are made possible by an advancing civilization.^[31] In this way, the vulnerability that market economies have to credit bubbles and property manias would be reduced.^[15]

Sources of economic rent and related policy interventions

Income flow resulting from payments for restricted access to natural opportunities or for contrived privileges over geographic regions is termed economic rent. Georgists argue that economic rent of land, legal privileges, and natural monopolies should accrue to the community, rather than private owners. In economics, "land" is everything that exists in nature independent of human activity. George explicitly included climate, soil, waterways, mineral deposits, laws/forces of nature, public ways, forests, oceans, air, and solar energy in the category of land.^{[32][33]} While the philosophy of Georgism does not say anything definitive about specific policy interventions needed to address problems posed by various sources of economic rent, the common goal among modern Georgists is to capture and share (or reduce) rent from all sources of natural monopoly and legal privilege.^{[34][35]}

Henry George shared the goal of modern Georgists to socialize or dismantle rent from all forms of land monopoly and legal privilege. However, George emphasized mainly his preferred policy known as land value tax, which targeted a particular form of unearned income known as ground rent. George emphasized ground-rent because basic locations were more valuable than other monopolies and everybody needed locations to survive, which he contrasted with the less significant streetcar and telegraph monopolies, which George also criticized. George likened the problem to a laborer traveling home who is waylaid by a series of highway robbers along the way, each who demand a small portion of the traveler's wages, and finally at the very end of the road waits a robber who demands all that the traveler has left. George reasoned that it made little difference to challenge the series of small robbers when the final robber remained to demand all that the common laborer had left.^[36] George predicted that over time technological advancements would increase the frequency and importance of lesser monopolies, yet he expected that ground rent would remain dominant.^[37] George even predicted that ground-rents would rise faster than wages and income to capital, a prediction that modern analysis has shown to be plausible, since the supply of land is fixed.^[38]

Spatial rent is still the primary emphasis of Georgists because of its large value and the known diseconomies of misused land. However, there are other sources of rent that are theoretically analogous to ground-rent and are debated topics of Georgists. The following are some sources of economic rent.^{[39][40][41]}

- Extractable resources (minerals and hydrocarbons)^{[42][43]}
- Severables (forests and stocks of fish)^{[35][44][45]}
- Extraterrestrial domains (geosynchronous orbits and airway corridor use)^{[40][41]}
- Legal privileges that apply to specific location (taxi medallions, billboard and development permits, or the monopoly of electromagnetic frequencies)^{[40][41]}
- Restrictions/taxes of pollution or severance (tradable emission permits and fishing quotas)^{[34][40][41]}
- Right-of-way (transportation) used by railroads, utilities, and internet service providers^{[46][47][48]}
- Issuance of legal tender (see seigniorage)^{[34][49]}
- Privileges that are less location dependent but that still exclude others from natural opportunities (patents)^{[50][51]}

Where free competition is impossible, such as telegraphs, water, gas, and transportation, George wrote, "[S]uch business becomes a proper social function, which should be controlled and managed by and for the whole people concerned." Georgists were divided by this question of natural monopolies and often favored public ownership only of the rents from common rights-of-way, rather than public ownership of utility companies themselves.^[31]

Georgism and environmental economics

The early conservationism of the Progressive Era was inspired partly by Henry George, and his influence extended for decades afterward.^[52] Some ecological economists still support the Georgist policy of land value tax as a means of freeing or rewilding unused land and conserving nature by reducing urban sprawl.^{[53][54][55]}

Pollution degrades the value of what Georgists consider to be commons. Because pollution is a negative contribution, a taking from the commons or a cost imposed on others, its value is economic rent, even when the polluter is not receiving an explicit income. Therefore, to the extent that society determines pollution to be harmful, most Georgists propose to limit pollution with taxation or quotas that capture the resulting rents for public use, restoration, or a *citizen's dividend*.^{[34][56][57]}

Georgism is related to the school of ecological economics, since both propose market-based restrictions for pollution.^{[53][58]} The schools are compatible in that they advocate using similar tools as part of a conservation strategy, but they emphasize different aspects. Conservation is the central issue of ecology, whereas economic rent is the central issue of geoism. Ecological economists might price pollution fines more conservatively to prevent inherently unquantifiable damage to the environment, whereas Georgists might emphasize mediation between conflicting interests and human rights.^{[35][59]} Geolibertarianism, a market-oriented branch of geoism, tends to take a direct stance against what it perceives as burdensome regulation and would like to see auctioned pollution quotas or taxes replace most command and control regulation.^[60]

Since ecologists are primarily concerned with conservation, they tend to emphasize less the issue of equitably distributing scarcity/pollution rents, whereas Georgists insist that unearned income not accrue to those who hold title to natural assets and pollution privilege. To the extent that geoists recognize the effect of pollution or share conservationist values, they will agree with ecological economists about the need to limit pollution, but geoists will also insist that pollution rents generated from those conservation efforts do not accrue to polluters and are instead used for public purposes or to compensate those who suffer the negative effects of pollution. Ecological economists advocate similar pollution restrictions but, emphasizing conservation first, might be willing to grant private polluters the privilege to capture pollution rents. To the extent that ecological economists share the geoist view of social justice, they would advocate auctioning pollution quotas instead of giving them away for free.^[53] This distinction can be seen in the difference between basic cap and trade and the geoist variation, cap and share, a proposal to auction temporary pollution permits, with rents going to the public, instead of giving pollution privilege away for free to existing polluters or selling perpetual permits.^{[61][62]}

Revenue uses

The revenue can allow the reduction or elimination of taxes, greater public investment/spending, or the direct distribution of funds to citizens as a pension or basic income/citizen's dividend.^{[35][63][64]}

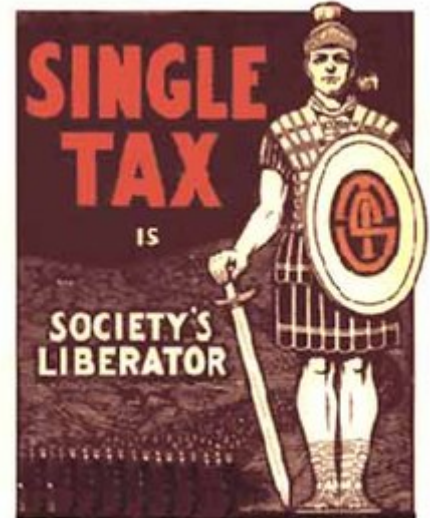
In practice, the elimination of all other taxes implies a high land value tax, greater than any currently existing land tax. Introducing or increasing a land value tax would cause the purchase price of land to decrease. George did not believe landowners should be compensated and described the issue as being

analogous to compensation for former slave owners. Other geoists disagree on the question of compensation; some advocate complete compensation while others endorse only enough compensation required to achieve Georgist reforms. Some geoists advocate compensation only for a net loss due to a shift of taxation to land value; most taxpayers would gain from the replacement of other taxes with a tax on land value. Historically, those who advocated for taxes on rent tax only great enough to replace other taxes were known as endorsers of *single tax limited*.

Synonyms and variants

Most early advocacy groups described themselves as single taxers and George reluctantly accepted the single tax as an accurate name for his main political goal—the repeal of all unjust or inefficient taxes, to be replaced with a land value tax (LVT).

Some modern proponents are dissatisfied with the name *Georgist*. While Henry George was well known throughout his life, he has been largely forgotten by the public and the idea of a single tax of land predates him. Some now prefer the term *geoism*,^{[19][65]} with the meaning of *geo* (from Greek γῆ *gē* "earth, land", as incidentally is in Greek the first compound of the name *George* (whence *Georgism*) < (Gr.) *Geōrgios* < *geōrgos* "farmer" or *geōrgia* "agriculture, farming" < *gē* + *ergon* "work")^{[66][67]} deliberately ambiguous. The terms *Earth Sharing*,^[68] *geonomics*^[69] and *geolibertarianism*^[70] are also used by some Georgists. These terms represent a difference of emphasis and sometimes real differences about how land rent should be spent (citizen's dividend or just replacing other taxes), but they all agree that land rent should be recovered from its private recipients.



Georgist single tax poster published in *The Public*, a Chicago newspaper (circa 1910–1914)

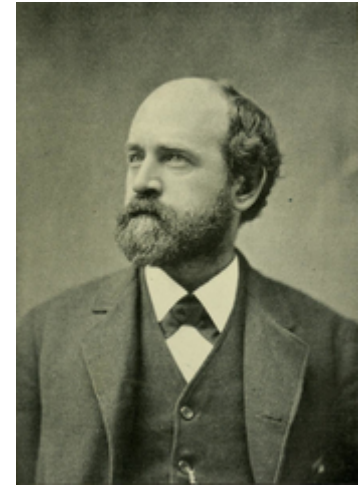
Compulsory fines and fees related to land rents are the most common Georgist policies, but some geoists prefer voluntary value capture systems that rely on methods such as non-compulsory or self-assessed location value fees, community land trusts^[71] and purchasing land value covenants.^{[72][73][74][75][76]} Some geoists believe that partially compensating landowners is a politically expedient compromise necessary for achieving reform.^{[77][78]} For similar reasons, others propose capturing only future land value increases, instead of all land rent.^[79]

Although Georgism has historically been considered as a radically progressive or socialist ideology, some libertarians and minarchists take the position that limited social spending should be financed using Georgist concepts of rent value capture, but that not all land rent should be captured. Today, this relatively conservative adaptation is usually considered incompatible with true geolibertarianism, which requires that excess rents be gathered and then distributed back to residents. During Henry George's time, this restrained Georgist philosophy was known as "single tax limited", as opposed to "single tax unlimited". George disagreed with the limited interpretation, but he accepted its adherents (e.g. Thomas Shearman) as legitimate "single-taxers".^[80]

Influence

Georgist ideas heavily influenced the politics of the early 20th century. Political parties that were formed based on Georgist ideas include the United States Commonwealth Land Party, the Henry George Justice Party, the Single Tax League, and Denmark's Justice Party.

In the United Kingdom, the Liberal government included a land tax as part of several taxes in the 1909 People's Budget intended to redistribute wealth (including a progressively graded income tax and an increase of inheritance tax). This caused a political crisis that resulted indirectly in reform of the House of Lords. The budget was passed eventually—but without the land tax. In 1931, the minority Labour government passed a land value tax as part III of the 1931 Finance act. However, this was repealed in 1934 by the National Government before it could be implemented.



Henry George, whose writings and advocacy form the basis for Georgism

In Denmark, the Georgist Justice Party has previously been represented in Folketinget. It formed part of a centre-left government 1957–60 and was also represented in the European Parliament 1978–1979. The influence of Henry George has waned over time, but Georgist ideas still occasionally emerge in politics. For the United States 2004 presidential election, Ralph Nader mentioned George in his policy statements.^[81]

Economists still generally favor a land value tax.^[82] Milton Friedman publicly endorsed the Georgist land value tax as the "least bad tax".^[12]

Joseph Stiglitz stated that: "Not only was Henry George correct that a tax on land is non-distortionary, but in an equilibrium society ... tax on land raises just enough revenue to finance the (optimally chosen) level of government expenditure."^[83] He dubbed this proposition the Henry George theorem.^[84]

Communities



1914 billboard citing Henry George in Rockford, Illinois

Several communities were initiated with Georgist principles during the height of the philosophy's popularity. Two such communities that still exist are Arden, Delaware, which was founded in 1900 by Frank Stephens and Will Price, and Fairhope, Alabama, which was founded in 1894 under the auspices of the Fairhope Single Tax Corporation.^[85] Some established communities in the United States also adopted Georgist tax policies. A Georgist in Houston, Texas, Joseph Jay "J.J." Pastoriza, promoted a Georgist club in that city established in 1890. Years later, in his capacity as a city alderman, he was selected to serve as Houston Tax Commissioner, and promulgated a "Houston Plan of Taxation" in 1912. Improvements to land and merchants' inventories were taxed at 25

percent of the appraised value, unimproved land was taxed at 70 percent of appraisal, and personal property was exempt. This Georgist tax continued until 1915, when two courts struck it down as violating the Texas Constitution in 1915. This quashed efforts in several other Texas cities which took steps towards implementing the Houston Plan in 1915: Beaumont, Corpus Christi, Galveston, San Antonio, and Waco.^[86]

The German protectorate of the Kiautschou Bay concession in Jiaozhou Bay, China fully implemented Georgist policy. Its sole source of government revenue was the land value tax of six percent which it levied in its territory. The German government had previously had economic problems with its African colonies caused by land speculation. One of the main reasons for using the land value tax in Jiaozhou Bay was to eliminate such speculation, which the policy achieved.^[87] The colony existed as a German protectorate from 1898 until 1914, when seized by Japanese and British troops. In 1922 the territory was returned to China.

Georgist ideas were also adopted to some degree in Australia, Hong Kong, Singapore, South Africa, South Korea, and Taiwan. In these countries, governments still levy some type of land value tax, albeit with exemptions.^[88] Many municipal governments of the US depend on real property tax as their main source of revenue, although such taxes are not Georgist as they generally include the value of buildings and other improvements. One exception is the town of Altoona, Pennsylvania, which for a time in the 21st century only taxed land value, phasing in the tax in 2002, relying on it entirely for tax revenue from 2011, and ending it 2017; the *Financial Times* noted that "Altoona is using LVT in a city where neither land nor buildings have much value".^{[89][90]}



Henry George School of Social Science in New York City

Institutes and organizations

Various organizations still exist that continue to promote the ideas of Henry George. According to *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, the periodical *Land&Liberty*, established in 1894, is "the longest-lived Georgist project in history".^[91] Founded during the Great Depression in 1932, the Henry George School of Social Science in New York offers courses, sponsors seminars, and publishes research in the Georgist paradigm.^[92] Also in the US, the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy was established in 1974 based on the writings of Henry George. It "seeks to improve the dialogue about urban development, the built environment, and tax policy in the United States and abroad".^[93]

The Henry George Foundation continues to promote the ideas of Henry George in the United Kingdom.^[94] The IU is an international umbrella organisation that brings together organizations worldwide that seek land value tax reform.^[95]

Reception

The economist Alfred Marshall believed that George's views in *Progress and Poverty* were dangerous, even predicting wars, terror, and economic destruction from the immediate implementation of its recommendations. Specifically, Marshall was upset about the idea of rapid change and the unfairness of not compensating existing landowners. In his lectures on *Progress and Poverty*, Marshall opposed George's position on compensation while fully endorsing his ultimate remedy. So far as land value tax moderately replaced other taxes and did not cause the price of land to fall, Marshall supported land value taxation on economic and moral grounds, suggesting that a three or four percent tax on land values would fit this condition. After implementing land taxes, governments would purchase future land values at discounted prices and take ownership after 100 years. Marshall asserted that this plan, which he strongly supported, would end the need for a tax collection department of government. For newly formed countries where land was not already private, Marshall advocated implementing George's economic proposal immediately.^{[96][97]}

Karl Marx considered the Single Tax platform as a regression from the transition to communism and referred to Georgism as "Capitalism's last ditch".^[98] Marx argued that, "The whole thing is ... simply an attempt, decked out with socialism, to save capitalist domination and indeed to establish it afresh on an even wider basis than its present one."^[99] Marx also criticized the way land value tax theory emphasizes the value of land, arguing that, "His fundamental dogma is that everything would be all right if ground rent were paid to the state."^[99] Georgists such as Fred Harrison (2003) replied to these Marxist objections.^[100]

Richard T. Ely, known as the "Father of Land Economics", agreed with the economic arguments for Georgism but believed that correcting the problem the way Henry George wanted (without compensation) was unjust to existing landowners. In explaining his position, Ely wrote that "If we have all made a mistake, should one party to the transaction alone bear the cost of the common blunder?"^[101]

John R. Commons supported Georgist economics, but opposed what he perceived as an environmentally and politically reckless tendency for advocates to rely on a one-size-fits-all approach to tax reform, specifically, the "single tax" framing. Commons concluded *The Distribution of Wealth*, with an estimate that "perhaps 95% of the total values represented by these millionaire [sic] fortunes is due to those investments classed as land values and natural monopolies and to competitive industries aided by such monopolies", and that "tax reform should seek to remove all burdens from capital and labour and impose them on monopolies". However, he criticized Georgists for failing to see that Henry George's anti-monopoly ideas must be implemented with a variety of policy tools. He wrote, "Trees do not grow into the sky—they would perish in a high wind; and a single truth, like a single tax, ends in its own destruction." Commons uses the natural soil fertility and value of forests as an example of this destruction, arguing that a tax on the in situ value of those depletable natural resources can result in overuse or over-extraction. Instead, Commons recommends an income tax based approach to forests similar to a modern Georgist severance tax.^{[102][103]}

Other contemporaries such as Austrian economist Frank Fetter and neoclassical economist John Bates Clark argued that it was impractical to maintain the traditional distinction between land and capital, and used this as a basis to attack Georgism. Mark Blaug, a specialist in the history of economic thought, credits Fetter and Clark with influencing mainstream economists to abandon the idea "that land is a unique factor of production and hence that there is any special need for a special theory of ground rent" claiming that "this is in fact the basis of all the attacks on Henry George by contemporary economists and certainly the fundamental reason why professional economists increasingly ignored him".^[104]

Robert Solow endorsed the theory of Georgism, but is wary of the perceived injustice of expropriation. Solow stated that taxing away expected land rents "would have no semblance of fairness"; however, Georgism would be good to introduce where location values were not already privatized or if the transition could be phased in slowly.^[105]

George has also been accused of exaggerating the importance of his "all-devouring rent thesis" in claiming that it is the primary cause of poverty and injustice in society.^[106] George argued that the rent of land increased faster than wages for labor because the supply of land is fixed. Modern economists, including Ottmar Edenhofer have demonstrated that George's assertion is plausible but was more likely to be true during George's time than now.^[38]

An early criticism of Georgism was that it would generate too much public revenue and result in unwanted growth of government, but later critics argued that it would not generate enough income to cover government spending. Joseph Schumpeter concluded his analysis of Georgism by stating that, "It is not economically unsound, except that it involves an unwarranted optimism concerning the yield of such a tax." Economists who study land conclude that Schumpeter's criticism is unwarranted because the rental yield from land is likely much greater than what modern critics such as Paul Krugman suppose.^[107] Krugman agrees that land value taxation is the best means of raising public revenue but asserts that increased spending has rendered land rent insufficient to fully fund government.^[108] Georgists have responded by citing studies and analyses implying that land values of nations like the US, UK, and Australia are more than sufficient to fund all levels of government.^{[109][110][111][112][113][114][115]}

Anarcho-capitalist political philosopher and economist Murray Rothbard criticized Georgism in *Man, Economy, and State* as being philosophically incongruent with subjective value theory, and further stating that land is irrelevant in the factors of production, trade, and price systems,^[116] but this critique is seen by some, including other opponents of Georgism, as relying on false assumptions and flawed reasoning.^[117]

Austrian economist Friedrich Hayek credited early enthusiasm for Henry George with developing his interest in economics. Later, Hayek said that the theory of Georgism would be very strong if assessment challenges did not result in unfair outcomes, but he believed that they would.^[118]

Notable Georgists

Economists

- Harry Gunnison Brown^[119]
- John R. Commons^{[120][121][122]}
- Raymond Crotty^{[123][124]}
- Herman Daly^[125]
- Paul Douglas^{[126][127]}
- Ottmar Edenhofer^{[128][129][130]}
- Fred Foldvary^[131]
- Milton Friedman^[132]
- Mason Gaffney^{[133][134]}
- Max Hirsch^[135]
- Harold Hotelling^{[136][137][138][139]}
- Wolf Ladejinsky^[140]
- Donald Shoup^{[141][142][143]}
- Herbert A. Simon^[144]
- Robert Solow^[105]
- Joseph Stiglitz^[145]
- Nicolaus Tideman^[146]
- William Vickrey^{[147][148][149]}
- Léon Walras^[150]
- Philip Wicksteed^[151]
- Michael Hudson^{[152][153]}

Heads of government

- John Ballance^{[154][155]}
- Winston Churchill^{[156][157][158][159]}
- Alfred Deakin^[160]
- Andrew Fisher^[161]
- George Grey^[162]
- Rutherford B. Hayes^[163]
- William Morris Hughes^[164]
- Robert Stout^[165]
- Sun Yat-sen^{[166][167][168]}

Other political figures

- [John Peter Altgeld](#)^{[169][170]}
- [Newton D. Baker](#)^{[171][172]}
- [Willie Brown](#)^[173]
- [Clyde Cameron](#)^[174]
- [George F. Cotterill](#)^{[175][176][177]}
- [William Jay Gaynor](#)^[178]
- [Frederic C. Howe](#)^[179]
- [Blas Infante](#)^[180]
- [Tom L. Johnson](#)^[181]
- [Samuel M. Jones](#)^[182]
- [Frank de Jong](#)^[183]
- [Franklin Knight Lane](#)^[171]
- [Hazen S. Pingree](#)^{[184][185][186]}
- [Philip Snowden](#)^{[187][188]}
- [Josiah C. Wedgwood](#)
- [William Bauchop Wilson](#)^[171]
- [Jackson Stitt Wilson](#)^{[189][190]}
- [Andrew MacLaren MP](#)^[191]
- [Joshua Nkomo](#)^[192]
- [Baldomero Argente](#)^[193]

Activists

- [Jane Addams](#)^{[194][195]}
- [Peter Barnes](#)^[196]
- [Sara Bard Field](#)^[197]
- [Michael Davitt](#)^[198]
- [Samuel Gompers](#)^{[199][200]}
- [Bolton Hall](#)^[201]
- [Hubert Harrison](#)^{[202][203]}
- [John Haynes Holmes](#)^{[204][205]}
- [Stewart Headlam](#)^{[206][207]}
- [Mary Elizabeth Lease](#)^[208]
- [Benjamin C. Marsh](#)^{[209][210]}
- [James Ferdinand Morton](#)^{[211][212]}
- [Thomas Mott Osborne](#)^{[213][214][215]}
- [Amos Pinchot](#)^{[216][217]}
- [Terence V. Powderly](#)^[218]
- [Samuel Seabury](#)^[219]
- [Catherine Helen Spence](#)^[220]

- Helen Taylor^[221]
- William Simon U'Ren^[222]
- Ida B. Wells^[223]
- Frances Willard^[224]

Authors

- Ernest Howard Crosby^[195]
- Charles Eisenstein^[225]
- Hamlin Garland^{[226][227]}
- Fred Harrison^[228]
- James A. Herne^[229]
- Ebenezer Howard^{[230][231][232]}
- Elbert Hubbard^[233]
- Aldous Huxley^[234]
- James Howard Kunstler^[235]
- Jose Marti^{[236][237]}
- William D. McCrackan^[226]
- Albert Jay Nock^[238]
- Kathleen Norris^[239]
- Upton Sinclair^{[240][241]}
- George Bernard Shaw^[242]
- Leo Tolstoy^{[243][244]}
- Charles Erskine Scott Wood^{[245][246]}
- Frank McEachran^{[247][248]}

Journalists

- William F. Buckley Jr.^[249]
- Timothy Thomas Fortune^[250]
- Theodor Herzl^[251]
- Michael Kinsley^{[252][253][254]}
- Suzanne La Follette^{[255][256]}
- Dylan Matthews^{[257][258]}
- Raymond Moley^[259]
- Charles Edward Russell^[260]
- Jacob Riis^{[261][262]}
- Reihan Salam^[263]
- Horace Traubel^[264]
- Martin Wolf^[265]
- Merryn Somerset Webb^{[266][267]}
- Brand Whitlock^{[268][269][270]}

- Tim Worstall^[271]
- Matthew Yglesias^{[272][273]}

Artists

- David Bachrach^[274]
- John Wilson Bengough^[275]
- Daniel Carter Beard^{[276][277][278]}
- Matthew Bellamy^[279]
- George de Forest Brush^[280]
- Walter Burley Griffin^{[281][282]}
- John Hutchinson^{[226][283]}
- George Inness^[284]
- Emma Lazarus^{[285][286]}
- Agnes de Mille^[287]
- Henry Churchill de Mille^{[288][289]}
- William C. deMille^{[290][291]}
- Francis Neilson^{[292][293]}
- Eddie Palmieri^[294]
- Banjo Paterson^[295]
- Louis Prang^[296]
- Will Price^[297]
- Frank Stephens^[298]
- Frank Lloyd Wright^[299]

Philosophers

- Ralph Borsodj^[300]
- Ludwig Büchner^[301]
- Nicholas Murray Butler^{[302][303]}
- Frank Chodorov^{[304][305]}
- John B. Cobb^[306]
- John Dewey^[307]
- Silvio Gesell^[308]
- Leon MacLaren^{[309][310][191]}
- Franz Oppenheimer^[251]
- Philippe Van Parijs^{[311][312]}
- Bertrand Russell^{[313][314][315]}
- Hillel Steiner^[316]

Others

- [Roger Babson](#)^[317]
- [Louis Brandeis](#)^{[318][319]}
- [Clarence Darrow](#)^{[320][321][322]}
- [Albert Einstein](#)^{[323][324]}
- [Henry Ford](#)^[325]
- [Spencer Heath](#)^{[326][327]}
- [Mumia Abu-Jamal](#)^[328]
- [Margrit Kennedy](#)^[329]
- [John C. Lincoln](#)^[330]
- [Elizabeth Magie](#)^{[331][332]}
- [Edward McGlynn](#)^[333]
- [Buckey O'Neill](#)^[334]
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See also

- [Agrarian Justice](#)
- [Arden, Delaware](#)
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- [Causes of poverty](#)
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- [Poverty reduction](#)
- [Progress and Poverty](#)
- [Progressive Era](#)
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- [Rent-seeking](#)

- Tax reform
- Tax shift
- Tragedy of the anticommons
- Value capture
- Wealth concentration
- YIMBY

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Green libertarianism

Green libertarianism is a form of green politics.^[1] Alternately, it is a form of libertarianism in which the free market provides environmentally beneficial (or benign) outcomes.^[2] Marcel Wissenburg (2009) maintains that proponents of the latter comprise a minority of green political theorists.^[3]

Garvan Walshe

In "Green Libertarianism" (2014), Garvan Walshe suggests that the Lockean proviso should account for ecological concerns.^[4] In the natural world, all organisms — including humans — acquire (make use of) natural services, which natural resources provide.^[5] A green libertarian would preserve Locke's proviso — that a human may acquire natural services as long as it does not deprive or harm another — while acknowledging that not all natural services are abundant, and that the world is ecologically limited.^[6] Furthermore, green libertarians recognize that people cannot be used as natural services without their consent.^[7]

Likewise, people cannot be deprived of their share of natural services without their consent.^[8] In cases where natural services may be commodified, people are free to use their individual shares of a natural service as they see fit, but a person exceeding this share must negotiate with others to draw from their shares.^[9] Walshe uses an example of building a turbine along a river that might reduce others' share of the water (for example, by contaminating some of the water), but produces electricity that could compensate for the loss, so that ultimately the turbine violates no one's rights to the water.^[10] Walshe postulates that there are very few natural services which are not or cannot be commodified.^[11]

Walshe's view of green libertarianism attempts to address criticisms of both right- and left-libertarianism.^[12] Walshe departs from right-libertarianism — specifically, Robert Nozick's interpretation of Locke's proviso — by proposing that, in a state of ecological equilibrium, no one may use natural services without the consent of others (for example, through persuasion or bargaining), and all persons enjoy equal rights of acquisition (if not economic equality).^[13] At the same time, Walshe departs from left-libertarianism — such as Hillel Steiner's assertion that all persons are entitled to equal shares of natural resources^[14] — by asserting that population growth, whether through immigration or births, upsets ecological equilibrium and that (voluntary) immigrants, and the parents of children, are responsible for not impinging upon others' rights to acquire natural services.^[15] Walshe maintains that both limitations encourage innovations in which natural services are used as efficiently as possible.^[16]

Notes

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4. p. 955.
5. Walshe 2014, p. 956.
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13. Walshe 2014, pp. 960-961.
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Individualist feminism

Individualist feminism, sometimes also grouped with **libertarian feminism**, is a feminist tradition that emphasize individualism, personal autonomy, choice, consent, freedom from state-sanctioned discrimination on the basis of sex or gender, and equality under the law.^[1]

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Overview

Individualist feminists attempt to change legal systems to eliminate sex and/or gender privileges and to ensure that individuals have equal rights, including an equal claim under the law to their own persons and property, regardless of their gender, sex, or sexual orientation. Individualist feminism encourages women to take full responsibility for their own lives and opposes any government interference into the choices adults make with their own bodies.^[2] Individualist or libertarian feminism is sometimes grouped as one of many branches of liberal feminism, but tends to diverge significantly from mainstream liberal feminism in the 21st Century.^{[3][4]}

The Association of Libertarian Feminists (ALF), founded by Tonie Nathan in 1973, is one of a number of individualist or libertarian feminist organizations in the U.S.^[1] "Libertarian feminists resent and reject all legislation which attempts to provide us with special treatment by the law," said the group's initial mission statement. "We also resent and reject legislation which attempts to 'equalize' our social or economic position. [...] However, recognizing that bigotry and unjust legal discrimination do exist presently, we support the efforts of all concerned individuals to change this situation by non-coercive means." ALF takes a strong anti-government and pro-choice stand.^{[5][6]}

Other libertarian feminist organizations include the Ladies of Liberty Alliance,^[7] Feminists for Liberty (<http://www.feministsforliberty.com/>), and the defunct Mother's Institute,^[8] which included Mothers for Liberty (meet-up groups).^[9] "If feminism is 'the radical notion that women are people,' libertarian feminism is the even more radical notion that women (and men) are individuals and should be treated as such," states the Feminists for Liberty website.^[10]

Introduction

"Contrary to what some may think, the first feminist activists were not socialists, they were individualists and libertarians," suggests author and psychologist Sharon Presley.^[11]

Early organized feminism in the United States was fundamentally "a classical liberal women's movement,"^[12] agreed author Joan Kennedy Taylor in the essay "Feminism, Classical Liberalism, and the Future" (https://www.google.com/books/edition/Women_s_issues/l6ppgt1FWAUC?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=%22Feminism,+Classical+Liberalism,+and+the+Future,%22&pg=PP3&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q=%22Feminism,%20Classical%20Liberalism,%20and%20the%20Future,%22&f=false)." These "First Wave" feminists started out pushing for "universal suffrage"—i.e., voting rights for women and for Americans of color—and the abolition of slavery along with property rights for women and other forms of equal rights. Individualist feminism fell out of vogue in the U.S. and the U.K. as the Progressive, Labor, and Socialist movements began to hold more sway over politics during the Victorian era and in the early 20th century.

But it was revived in the radical anti-authoritarianism, activism, "free love," mutual aid, and individualist spirit of the "Second Wave" feminists of the mid-20th Century. "Consciousness raising was a profoundly individualistic activity, and the political issues that gained wide adherence were the reproductive rights to birth control and abortion, and the Equal Rights Amendment, which (at least in its initial support) was a classical liberal restraint on government," wrote Taylor in her 1992 book *Reclaiming the Mainstream: Individualist Feminism Reconsidered*.

Labels like *individualist feminism*, *libertarian feminism*, and/or *classical liberal feminism* were explicitly embraced by late 20th Century writers and activists such as Taylor, Presley, Tonie Nathan (the Libertarian Party's first Vice Presidential nominee, in 1972), and Wendy McElroy. Modern libertarian feminism is a continuation of ideas and work developed by these women and their contemporaries (many of whom are still active today), including Nadine Strossen and Camille Paglia, as well as of the ideas of classical liberal and anarchist writers throughout history.

Mary Wollstonecraft, Olympe de Gouges, Voltaire, de Cleyre, Soujourner Truth, John Stuart Mill, Ida Bell Wells-Barnett, Lucy Stone, Frederick Douglass, and Suzanne Clara La Follette are a few of the historical writers and activists who have influenced libertarian feminism.

One central theme of individualist feminism revolves around the Free Love Movement, which indicates that a woman's sexual choices should be made by her and her alone, rather than by government regulations. The Free Love Movement "had no connection whatsoever to licentious behavior. It simply declared that all peaceful sexual choices, such as marriage and birth control, were to be left entirely to the adults involved, with no government interference," writes Wendy McElroy.^[13] She and Christina Hoff Sommers define individualist feminism in opposition to what they call *political* or *gender feminism*.^{[14][15]} It conforms to the theory of natural law and believes in laws that protect both the rights of men and women equally.

Individualist feminists do *not* believe equality is strictly a legal issue; however, they believe that equality under the law is the only proper standard for government. Government should not move to "equal the playing field" or correct historic discrimination by prioritizing the needs of women over men or awarding them special treatment, nor should it strive to intervene to create equality in personal relationships, private economic arrangements, entertainment and media representation, or the general socio-cultural realm. Advancing equality in these realms must be achieved without state force, intervention, or coercion. This is a matter of principle as well as practicality, as state power will inevitably be used against groups and individuals who are more marginalized. Increasing state power increases the power of the state to hurt women and girls in myriad ways.

History of Individualist feminism in the United States

The Abolition Movement

The origin of Feminism is linked to the abolition movement that occurred in the 1830s. The abolition movement was a social movement that aimed to eradicate the practice of slavery in the United States by insisting that every man was born to self-govern himself. The issue had attracted the participation of women, ranging from the upper class to the working class due to the similarities that they perceived between their oppression as women and the oppression of slaves.

Thus, through abolition, women of 19th century found a way to express their ideas and dissatisfaction with women's rights and directly triggered a heated debate among society. Although a famous figure such as William Lloyd Garrison, a libertarian, supported women's rights, he advised women's rights activists such as Angelina Grimke and several others to stop mixing the issue of women's rights into their lecture on anti-slavery.^[16] Nevertheless, it happened and caused an uproar in society.

However, the Grimke sister's efforts to advocate for women's rights are not confined to just one method. Sarah Grimke's Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Woman in 1837 addressed the roles of women in several aspects within society.^[16] Her letters also compared the status of women and slaves, which seems to have no difference.

One of their greatest achievements is, on February 21, 1838, Angelina Grimke became the first woman who courageously delivered a speech in front of the Massachusetts Legislature. She delivered a speech that contained a mixture of two important issues, the antislavery petitions and women's status in society.^[16]

Pre- and Civil War Feminism

The women's suffrage supporters initiated to write, lecture, march, campaign and execute civil rebellion at the beginning of mid-19th century. It was a struggle to win the right for women to vote in the United States and it was a long and difficult campaign, which took almost a hundred years to win. The earliest Women's Rights Convention or Seneca Falls Convention was held in July 1848 by two organizers, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott.^[17] In this convention, they produced a list of demands relating to issues that have long plagued women in general for centuries. Thus, the demands or 'Declaration of Sentiments' insisted on giving women more opportunities in education and profession as well as gaining the right to control their income and property.^[18]

During the Civil War

The Civil War began in 1862 and it lasted for four years. During the Civil War, they focused on supporting the abolition of slaves. Some of them served as nurses or took part in an association to provide help in another way. As for Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, formed a group known as the Women's Loyal National League in 1863, to press for slavery to end and demanded the newly freed slaves to get full citizenship rights.

Two important figures who contributed greatly to the abolition movement are Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth. Harriet Tubman was an African American woman who used her knowledge and abilities to be a spy for the Union Army during the Civil War.^[19] Whereas, Sojourner Truth passionately lectured about the rights of women and the rights of African Americans.^[20]

Post-Civil War Feminism

After the Civil War, feminists focused on issues that aimed for the blacks' freedom by addressing three specific Amendments. The Thirteenth Amendment was ratified by the states on December 6, 1865, to abolish the enslavement of people throughout the nation.^[21] As for the Fourteenth Amendment, the ratification happened on July 9, 1868, confirming the nationality of those who were born and naturalized in the United States, including the formerly enslaved people as citizens of America.^[21]

In 1870, the 15th Amendment of the Constitution was ratified, allowing black men to have the right to vote, which caused quite a stir among woman suffragists.^[18] In May 1869, Elizabeth Cady Stanton along with Susan B. Anthony created The National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA). This organization was composed of suffragists who were against the 15th Amendment because women were not included. To gain their right to vote, the NWSA applied a confrontational strategy by sending the Senate and House Representative a voting rights petition that aimed for the federal woman suffrage amendment and requested for the opportunity to speak on the Congress.^[18]

In the same year, 1869, Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson established the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA). Opposite to NWSA, they supported the 15th amendment and opposed the method used by NWSA. The AWSA chose to start at local and state levels to gain access for women to vote, hoping that they will slowly receive support to act on the national level.^[18]

Despite that, in 1890, both organizations united into a new organization, the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). A year before the adoption of the 19th amendment, the NAWSA organization merged with the National Council of Women Voters that was established by Emma Smith DeVoe in 1909, forming a new league, the League of Women Voters.^[17]

Free Love Movement

Individualist feminism focuses on another variety of social issues instead of pursuing the issue of women's suffrage. Their participation is conveyed through a social movement known as the Free Love movement. It is a movement that aimed to separate government interference from matters such as marriage and birth control. They believe that such issues were related to those involved only.

In the 19th century, the usage of contraception became a serious issue among Americans. They considered using contraception as 'obscene' and many citizens condemned this practice. However, social reformers were concerned about abortions by low-income women, particularly prostitutes, and the difficulty of childbirth.^[22] However, Comstock Law considers anything 'obscene' as illegally blocked discussions on birth control.^[22] As for marriage institutions, a wife's earning, property and her person is under the control of her husband. She has to oblige his demand in every aspect, including being his bedmate, which sometimes could result in a violent outcome.^[23]

Notable Individualist feminists

Joan Kennedy Taylor

Joan Kennedy Taylor was an American author, activist, and pundit. She started her career in publishing and was considered apolitical for the first thirty years of her life. Taylor converted to libertarianism with the help of Ayn Rand. She would go on to become active in the Libertarian Party as well as groups like the Association of Libertarian Feminists and Feminists for Free Expression (which Taylor co-founded). She is the author of two books, *Reclaiming the Mainstream: Individualist Feminism Rediscovered* and *What to Do When You Don't Want to Call the Cops: A Non-Adversarial Approach to Sexual Harassment* (New York University Press, 1999).

Wendy McElroy

Wendy McElroy is a Canadian author and activist who emphasizes individualism, particularly from the state, from the patriarchy, and from any kind of hierarchy. She is the editor of website ifeminists.net and of the books *Individualist Feminism of the Nineteenth Century: Collected Writings and Biographical Profiles* and *Freedom, Feminism, and the State* (2017). She is also the author of *Sexual Correctness: The Gender-Feminist Attack on Women* (1996), *XXX: A Woman's Right to Pornography Paperback* (1997), *The Reasonable Woman: A Guide to Intellectual Survival* (1998), and *Queen Silver: The Godless Girl* (1999).

McElroy proposed a controversial statement about each human being's freedom of the choice made for their own body. She battled out this issue in her book *Sexual Correctness: The Gender-Feminist Attack on Women*. Firstly, she stands on the ideology that women, who are also human, should be given the same right of self-ownership for their own body as men are given.^[24] She argues strongly that to cross the jurisdiction of one's own body is comparable to slavery. She firmly stated that this ideology was needed for the embodiment of self-individual rights and greater freedom for women.^[25] McElroy also emphasized that the mythology of rape should ultimately be changed. This is because the term and action of rape can be used as a weapon politically. In a sense, since rape (or accusations thereof) bestows a bad reputation, it may be used as a hidden trump card to hold and subdue women in a patriarchal society. Since women are almost always the victim of rape, this also implies that women are weak, lower, and cannot gain control of their self-ownership. Thus McElroy stresses these issues strongly, recommending a change in the radical view on rape in order to help the victim from being placed under the spotlight or labeled as "damaged goods."^[26] Other than the issue of rape, she also profoundly defended women's participation and interest in pornography from a feminist perspective.^[27] In short, from a liberal point of view she stands firm in her belief that pornography benefits women, as it provides freedom for a woman's own body, rights, and

expression;^[28] this runs counter to extensive evidence to the contrary, as most studies on women's role in pornography highlight that the majority of female participants identify themselves as wanting to leave the industry and/or experiencing coercion or force, among other types of violence.

Camille Paglia

Camille Anna Paglia is one of the Individualist American Feminists who have an unorthodox and distinct perspective on feminism. Paglia is an American feminist academic known for her social critique of American feminism.^[29] She was born on April, 2 in 1947 in New York and has been an educator since 1972. She was a teacher before settling in as a professor at the University of the Arts in Philadelphia following her father's step in 1984.^[30] Notably, Paglia had published several literary works which link to the American Feminism. Paglia's opinion elaborated in her books led to tensions with the current feminist establishment.^[29] Paglia came across as "anti-feminist feminist" to certain.^{[29][30]}

Paglia had written a book entitled "Free Women, Free Men: Sex, Gender, Feminism" in 2017 which manifested her unconventional ideology on feminism. Paglia's considered most controversial arguments are compiled and published in the book with the central idea of "enlightened feminism". The book is an essay collection comprising her 25 years stances on date rape, abortion, free speech, sex and more.^[31] Concerning the matter of rape culture, Paglia emphasized on personal responsibility that women are obligated to raise.^[32] Women should explore initiatives to acquire knowledge on the risk factors leading to date rape. Paglia asserted that the obtained knowledge could be implemented in females' campus lives to reduce the risk of rape.^[32] It is a simple action that could be achieved to lower the risk of date rape. Hence, this indicates women should take their own precaution to date rape. This book refuses to 'bow' to the conservative ideology of "playing the victim" in a date rape situation.^[31] The consistent opinion from Paglia on date rape discovered in an interview reveals the irresponsibility of females who let themselves get "dead drunk".^[33] Although other feminists labelled the situation as "blaming the victim", Paglia compels women to never portray themselves as vulnerable nor gullible to others.^[33] Such a situation would indisputably allow males to deftly take advantage and engage with them.^{[31][33]}

Although the opinion of Paglia frequently opposes other feminist opinions, the view of Naomi Wolf on abortion is astonishingly parallel to hers. They are determined that induced abortion is unethical to be committed.^[34] Paglia bluntly voiced that abortion is regarded as murder. She unveils her view which defines abortion as "the extermination of the powerless by the powerful" traced in an interview in 2006.^[34] According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), the abortion rate among women aged 15 to 44 years old in 2018 is 11.3 abortions per 1,000 women worldwide. It is reported that the abortion ratio is 189 abortions per 1000 live births in the same year.^[35] However, Paglia disclosed to be a pro-choice and firmly supports to unrestricted access of abortion in 2016.^[36] She believed women with a career are subject to their own body.^{[31][36]} Paglia stated in her book "Free Women, Free Men: Sex, Gender, Feminism" that the ruling of Supreme Court's Roe v. Wade which legalized abortion in all the 50 states became the first landmark to feminism in the 1970s.^[31] Moreover, Paglia insists in "Vamps & Tramps: New Essays" that bearing an unwanted infant is socially and professionally "inconvenient" or "onerous".^[37] She deeply feels that no control could be asserted over a woman's own body.^[31]

Rene Denfeld

Rene Denfeld was born in 1967. She is a journalist, award winning author and a licensed private investigator and currently lives in Portland, Oregon.^[38] In Denfeld's popular feminist book *The New Victorians* (1995), she raised her deep view towards feminist movement which she believed to be deviated as young women felt alienated from the woman movement itself. Other than that, since in the 1970s, she

felt the progress of the movement totally contradicted the foundation of the movement.^[39] Denfeld categorized the movement as a group that mainly discussed about male bashing or hatred towards men rather than glorifying women's rights.^[40]

Libertarian Feminist Organizations

The Ladies of Liberty Alliance (LOLA)

The Ladies of Liberty Alliance (<http://ladiesofliberty.org/about-us/>) (also known as LOLA) is an organization with a mission to educate and empower female leaders within the liberty movement. Ladies of Liberty Alliance is a network of independent, libertarian women leaders who, through their careers and personal endeavors, are dedicated to spreading the ideas of individual liberty and free markets. The participation of LOLA is open to any female who is wishing to explore the idea of libertarian. In addition, participation is free and self-defined.

This organization was established in 2009 as a non-profit, non-political and educational organization to address the lack of women in the liberty movement. Nena Bartlett Whitfield (<http://ladiesofliberty.org/meet-the-team-2/>) is the president of Ladies of Liberty Alliance. She used to be active as a founding member and former Treasurer of the DC Liberty Toastmasters, Chair of the Republican Liberty Caucus of DC, and the former Vice President and Treasurer of the Norwich Alumni DC Chapter. In 2013, Nena left Capitol Hill to work as full-time Executive Director at Ladies of Liberty Alliance.

LOLA will encourage the female leaders to stay engaged with libertarian philosophy, promote freedom to new people, and boost up the organization's work through leadership training. The libertarian women leaders will engage actively in public discourse, showing empathy to those harmed by the government, and invite new audiences to the political and societal changes.

Active leaders of LOLA will be invited to participate in the LOLA Leadership Retreat (<http://ladiesofliberty.org/retreat/>). LOLA provides skills-based training which is offered at Washington, DC and cities with its social chapters in order to help women reach individual and professional goals plus, becoming the strong speakers of libertarian ideas.

Social groups of LOLA located in cities throughout the U.S. where women who share the same idea come together to share the passion of liberty, establish a strong community through relationship building and empower one another to be active members of the liberty movement.^[41]

Location of social groups in America

- North America
- Charlotte, North Carolina
- Billings, Montana
- Virginia Beach, Virginia
- Phoenix, Arizona
- Dallas, Texas
- Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
- Seattle/Tacoma
- Houston, Texas
- Austin, Texas
- Sacramento, California

- Denver, Colorado
- Chicago, Illinois
- Omaha, Nebraska
- Atlanta, Georgia
- New York, New York
- Los Angeles, California
- Washington, D.C.
- Kansas City, Kansas
- South America
- Honduras
- Mendoza, Argentina
- Buenos Aires, Argentina
- Quito, Ecuador
- Cali, Colombia
- Montevideo, Uruguay
- Bogota, Colombia
- Mexico City, Mexico
- Santiago, Chile
- Santiago del Estero, Argentina

The Mothers Institute

The Mothers Institute (<https://web.archive.org/web/20120229085630/http://themothersinstitute.org/about.htm>) was a non-profit educational and networking organization supporting stay-at-home mothering, homeschooling, civics in the classroom, and an effective networking system for mothers and freedom of choice in health and happiness. It is now defunct.

Feminists for Liberty

Feminists for Liberty (F4L) is a nonprofit libertarian feminist group founded in 2016. It was launched by millennial libertarians Kat Murti and Elizabeth Nolan Brown^[42] to promote the values of libertarian feminism, publicize libertarian feminist voices, bring together libertarian feminists and those interested in the concept, advocate for classical liberal positions on public policy, and help revive the libertarian feminist movement for the 21st Century. Feminists for Liberty's taglines are "anti-sexism & anti-statism, pro-markets & pro-choice" and "consent in all things."^[43]

According to the Feminists for Liberty website, its mission includes opposing "government-sanctioned sexism in all its forms" and pushing "for systems in which sex and gender are irrelevant to how one is treated under the law." The group also aims to "to amplify the voices of freedom-minded feminists," inject "a libertarian feminist perspective into contemporary political conversations and media," and drive "more diverse and open liberty-movement discourse on issues surrounding sex, gender, sexuality, reproductive decisions, family issues, and equal rights."

Feminists for Liberty believes that "true feminism and libertarianism are highly compatible, as both are centered on the inherent worth and power of the individual."^[44] They are opposed to collectivism and argue that sexism is a form of collectivism. They welcome people of any sex or gender as part of their coalition and events.

Feminists for Liberty also opposes carceral feminism. The group argues that that government has historically been one of the biggest perpetrators of sex discrimination, gender-based oppression, and sexual violence. It aims to promote "voluntary solutions to gender inequity, and [...] the social, cultural, and economic conditions in which these solutions can flourish,"

The group aims to highlight how economic liberty is crucial for women's advancement, and how "free speech, an open internet, religious freedom, sexual privacy, self-defense, and robust due process rights are essential to an equal and just society."

The Association of Libertarian Feminists (ALF)

The Association of Libertarian Feminists was founded in 1973 by Tonie Nathan, a journalist and the first woman in history to acquire an electoral vote.^[45] It was established on Ayn Rand's birthday, in Eugene, Oregon, at Nathan's home.^[46] Tonie Nathan was a founding member and former vice president of the Libertarian Party

The co-founder of the Association of Libertarian Feminists is Sharon Presley, who is also known as a libertarian feminist, activist, author, and retired psychology lecturer. Presley was the national coordinator for the Libertarian Feminists' Association in the mid-1970s and now she is the executive director of the organization.^[47]

At a meeting held in New York City, ALF became a national organization in September 1975. In 1977, Nathan suggested eliminating entire parts of the United States Postal Regulations that obstruct the mailing of birth control samples and information about family planning at the National Women's Conference in Houston, Texas.^[46]

The Purposes of ALF:^[48]

- Encourage women to become self sufficient economically and mentally unconstrained.
- Advertise and support rational views towards women's expertise, success, and ability.
- To condemn every government's curtailment of individual rights in terms of sex.
- Work to shift misogynistic views and actions shown by people
- Oppose features of the feminist movement that aim to discourage freedom and autonomy and instead offer a libertarian solution.

Sharon Presley and one of the other individual feminists, Lynn Kinsky wrote a pamphlet of a libertarian feminist during the 70s era, discussing the government as women's enemy. They stated that it sounds cynical to turn their head and ask for the government's help to reach a solution for their problems because the government actually gives more damages instead of bringing any benefits.

Issues Regarding The Government:^[49]

- *Child Care Centers:* The child-care problem was created by government legislation. State rules, needless and redundant "health and safety" regulations, registration licenses that are impossible to acquire - all combine to ensure that citizens will not come together on their own and provide low-cost child care. They have to spend a significant amount of the expense of child-care facilities for the government authorities or to pay rent on excessively costly houses. The government also wants to be in charge of the children's development like how it is done in public schools.
- *Public Schools:* Public schools not only promote the worst of secularist misogynistic ideals but with bland, suppressing approaches and obligatory services and laws that instill

conformity and submission to authority. They also use psychiatric tests and counseling, confidential (and sometimes viciously subjective) files that follow children during their school years, to control over the lives of children in public schools.

Law and Socio-political view associated with individualist feminism

The influence of individualist feminism prevailed in the United States in the 19th century. It was an idea of "absolute equality of women under just law, without gender-based privileges or sanctions." The idea of individualist feminism has its roots in the philosophy of natural law, which believes that people have complete rights to their own bodies and that without any penalty, no other people should violate or decide about it. Natural law notes that there should be no distinction between persons and only one criterion before the law, and that is humanity. Discrimination can be seen not only towards women in the 19th century, but also towards ethnic groups and individuals with different coloured skin. Jurisdiction was created by men in the 19th century. Therefore the most controversial area in which women felt most suppressed was legal issues. Women were treated as second-class by the government, they were restricted from occupations, they could not vote, women lost their right to their earnings or property in marriage and could not even have knowledge of their own bodies. A culture that represents equal regard for the natural rights of all people, male or female, is the ultimate aim of individualist feminism. A government which has traditionally legislated gender-based privileges or limitations is the greatest enemy. Indeed, men may not have traditionally oppressed women without the vehicle of government and law, except on an individual basis. There is one question in this respect: why did women have to be marginalised in some way or area of their lives, such as political inequality, economic inequality, technical or sexual inequality? What makes men, in the eyes of the 19th-century government, so much better than women? Why were women expected to sit at home with no rights at all? The philosophy of natural law poses the same questions and presents a solution, which at that time was not approved. As women started to understand that they must come together and fight for the rights that they are denied because of their sex, the feminist movement began to form. Under natural law, individualist feminism promoted the fair treatment of all human beings. As a campaign, it called for the law to be oblivious to the secondary characteristics of sex and to accommodate women at the same level as men, according to their primary characteristic of being a human.^[50]

Individualist feminism often envisages its progressive causes through discourses on human rights, but it has not really based its human rights lens on the fair distribution of resources through the law in terms of income, power or education. This, however, suggests a radical need to protect the human rights of individuals. In this context, by the law, individualist feminists typically promote the defence of their individual choices and rights. This is because, in order to be liberated, they assume that this is the ultimate cause that needs to be preserved since it is what they have to claim. For example, the topic of abortion, which of course, through the prism of individualist feminism, can be considered in delineating the distinctions between individualist feminism and other forms of feminism; it is also one of their choices and rights that must be covered by the law. There are also voices who argue that individualist feminism must not only comply with current rules but must go beyond what they deem a revolution. Individualist feminism also differs from relational feminism because, within established laws or structures, the latter is seen to be mostly promoting fair justice, while the former protested against existing laws and institutions.^[51]

In *ifeminism*, feminists opposed the punishment of speech that was meant to deter abuse and faithfully protected the freedom of expression, especially speech that society disagreed with. Above all, by censoring legislation that has been used to discourage abolitionist feminists from talking about the freedom and slavery of women. Censorship has suffocated debates on divisive issues such as birth control, according to feminist history. It is therefore acknowledged that the welfare of women was also pivotal to the evolution of feminism. The political precision and changes to the distinct origins of feminism are dormant by assumptions about class conflict. Political precision divides society into different classes, separating society

into identifiable classes that are explained by characteristics such as gender and ethnicity. The groups tend to have numerous aggressive political advantages. Consequently, it is necessary for government participation to save and its gimmick deprived groups to ensure accurate redistribution of wealth and power in society. To sum up, to the detriment of other classes, certain classes enjoy governmental benefits.

Individualist feminism advises ending the opposite of all classes under the law so that every individual can receive equal rights and equal claim to individuals and property, irrespective of things such as gender or ethnicity. The real component of government is to eliminate the advantage and secure the interests of individual men and women equally. Various philosophical approaches, such as equity feminism, strive at fairness within established institutions without actually altering the current structure to clarify people's natural rights. Ecofeminism refers to being connected to the male supremacy of women to kill the environment in order to concentrate on the obligation of women to destroy the habitat in connection with male domination of women and to concentrate on the role women must play in saving nature. Most inequalities occur under the law and throughout the society in Western countries, which are broken to provide an incentive for both men and women to face the same fundamental choices. The benefits that women have received from certain policies, such as positive action, are undoubtedly beneficial. Individualist feminism, therefore, argues that women's benefits are excluded in order to achieve true justice.

Female critics of individualist feminism

Criticism of individualist feminism ranges from expressing disagreements with the values of individualism as a feminist to expressing the limitations within individualist feminism as an effective activism.

US Feminist Susan Brownmiller suggests that the aversion from collective, “united” feminism is a sign of “waning” and unhealthy feminist movement, implying that the individualist feminism has caused a deficit in the true identity and impetus of feminism.^[52]

Another claim that has been made against individualist feminism is that it gives little to no attention to structural inequality. Sandra Friedan proposes that bettering one’s life through personal choices could result in the lack of awareness towards structural sexism, which makes individualist feminism a feeble tool in opposing gender disparity.^[53]

Jan Clausen also expresses her worry regarding the inadequacy of individualist feminism, mainly its association with the younger generation who “have no had little or no exposure to the realities of attempting ... social change,” which she finds very discomfoting.^[54]

American radical feminist Catharine MacKinnon disregards the value of individual choice because there are still instances where “women are used, abused, bought, sold, and silenced...” and “no woman is yet exempt from this condition from the moment of her birth to the moment of her death, in the eyes of the law, or in the memory of her children,” especially among women of color.^[55]

People

- William Lloyd Garrison – (1805–1879)
- Ezra Heywood – (1829–1893)
- Voltairine de Cleyre – (1866–1912)
- Dora Marsden – (1882–1960)
- Suzanne La Follette – (1893–1983)
- Tonie Nathan – (b. 1923)
- Joan Kennedy Taylor – (1926–2005)

- Mimi Reisel Gladstein – (b. 1936)
- Sharon Presley – (b. 1943)
- Camille Paglia – (b. 1947)
- Christina Hoff Sommers – (b. 1950)
- Wendy McElroy – (b. 1951)
- Virginia Postrel – (b. 1960)
- Cathy Young – (b. 1963)
- Roderick T. Long – (b. 1964)
- Tiffany Million – (b. 1966)

Topics

- Anarcha-feminism
- Cultural liberalism / radicalism
- Equity feminism
- Female entrepreneur
- Feminist anthropology
- Feminist economics
- Feminist existentialism
- Feminist political theory and ecology
- Left-libertarianism
- Liberal feminism
- Libertarian perspectives on abortion
- List of conservative feminisms
- Sex-positive feminism
- Women's property rights

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External links

- [Association of Libertarian Feminists \(https://web.archive.org/web/20060804001950/http://alf.org/\)](https://web.archive.org/web/20060804001950/http://alf.org/)
 - [iFeminists \(http://www.ifeminists.com\)](http://www.ifeminists.com)
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 - [The Mother's Institute \(http://themothersinstitute.org\)](http://themothersinstitute.org)
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Left-libertarianism

Left-libertarianism,^{[1][2][3][4][5]} also known as **egalitarian libertarianism**,^{[6][7]} **left-wing libertarianism**^[8] or **social libertarianism**,^[9] is a political philosophy and type of libertarianism that stresses both individual freedom and social equality. Left-libertarianism represents several related yet distinct approaches to political and social theory. In its classical usage, it refers to anti-authoritarian varieties of left-wing politics such as anarchism, especially social anarchism,^[10] whose adherents simply call it *libertarianism*.^[11] In the United States, it represents the left-wing of the libertarian movement^[10] and the political positions associated with academic philosophers Hillel Steiner, Philippe Van Parijs and Peter Vallentyne that combine self-ownership with an egalitarian approach to natural resources.^{[10][12]} This is done to distinguish libertarian views on the nature of property and capital, usually along left–right or socialist–capitalist lines.^[13]

While maintaining full respect for personal property, socialist left-libertarians are opposed to capitalism and the private ownership of the means of production.^{[14][15][16][17]} Left-libertarians are skeptical of, or fully against, private ownership of natural resources, arguing in contrast to right-libertarians that neither claiming nor mixing one's labor with natural resources is enough to generate full private property rights and maintain that natural resources should be held in an egalitarian manner, either unowned or owned collectively.^[18] Those left-libertarians who are more lenient towards private property support different property norms and theories such as usufruct,^[19] or under the condition that recompense is offered to the local or even global community such as the Steiner–Vallentyne school.^{[20][21]}

Left-wing market anarchism (or market-oriented left-libertarianism), including Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's mutualism and Samuel Konkin III's agorism, appeals to left-wing concerns such as class, egalitarianism, environmentalism, gender, immigration and sexuality within the paradigm of free-market anti-capitalism.^{[10][22]} Although libertarianism in the United States has become associated to classical liberalism and minarchism, with right-libertarianism being more known than left-libertarianism,^[5] political usage of the term until then was associated exclusively with anti-capitalism, libertarian socialism and social anarchism and in most parts of the world such an association still predominates.^{[10][23]}

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Definition

People described as being *left-libertarian* or *right-libertarian* generally tend to call themselves simply *libertarians* and refer to their philosophy as *libertarianism*. In light of this, some political scientists and writers classify the forms of libertarianism into two or more groups^{[24][25]} such as left-libertarianism^[1] and right-libertarianism^{[2][4][5][26]} to distinguish libertarian views on the nature of property and capital.^[13] In the United States, proponents of free-market anti-capitalism consciously label themselves as *left-libertarians* and part of the *libertarian left*.^{[10][19]}

Traditionally, *libertarian* was a term coined by the French libertarian communist^[27] and *Le Libertaire* editor Joseph Déjacque^{[28][29][30][31][32]} to mean a form of left-wing politics that has been frequently used to refer to anarchism^{[33][30][34][35]} and libertarian socialism^[36] since the mid- to late 19th century.^{[37][38]} Sébastien Faure, another French libertarian communist, began publishing a new *Le Libertaire* in the mid-1890s while France's Third Republic enacted the so-called villainous laws (*lois scélérates*) which banned anarchist publications in France.^{[30][35]} According to Anthony Comegna of the Cato Institute, the libertarian socialist Benjamin Tucker was the first American to use the term *libertarian* around the late 1870s and early 1880s.^[39]

As a term, *left-libertarianism* has been used to refer to a variety of different political economic philosophies emphasizing individual liberty. With the modern development of right-libertarian co-opting^{[26][33][34][40]} the term *libertarian* in the mid-20th century to instead advocate laissez-faire capitalism and strong private property rights such as in land, infrastructure and natural resources,^[41] *left-libertarianism* has been used more often as to differentiate between the two forms,^{[10][12]} especially in relation to property rights.^[42]

While *right-libertarianism* refers to laissez-faire capitalism (for instance to Murray Rothbard's anarcho-capitalism and Robert Nozick's minarchism^{[2][4][26]}), socialist libertarianism "view[s] any concentration of power into the hands of a few (whether politically or economically) as antithetical to freedom and thus advocate for the simultaneous abolition of both government *and* capitalism."^[5] According to Jennifer Carlson, right-libertarianism is the dominant form of libertarianism in the United States, while left-libertarianism "has become a more predominant aspect of politics in western European democracies over the past three decades."^[5] Socialist libertarianism has been included within a broad left-libertarianism in its original meaning.^[10] Left-libertarianism also includes "the decentralist who wishes to limit and devolve State power, to the syndicalist who wants to abolish it altogether. It can even encompass the Fabians and the social democrats who wish to socialize the economy but who still see a limited role for the State."^[43]



A libertarian group diagram

According to the textbook definition in *The Routledge Companion to Social and Political Philosophy*, *left-libertarianism* has at least three meanings, writing:

In its oldest sense, it is a synonym either for anarchism in general or social anarchism in particular. Later it became a term for the left or Konkinite wing of the free-market libertarian movement, and has since come to cover a range of pro-market but anti-capitalist positions, mostly individualist anarchist, including agorism and mutualism, often with an implication of sympathies (such as for radical feminism or the labor movement) not usually shared by anarcho-capitalists. In a third sense it has recently come to be applied to a position combining individual self-ownership with an egalitarian approach to natural resources; most proponents of this position are not anarchists.^[10]

The *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* distinguishes left-libertarianism from right-libertarianism, arguing:

Libertarianism is often thought of as 'right-wing' doctrine. This, however, is mistaken for at least two reasons. First, on social—rather than economic—issues, libertarianism tends to be 'left-wing'. It opposes laws that restrict consensual and private sexual relationships between adults (e.g., gay sex, non-marital sex, and deviant sex), laws that restrict drug use, laws that impose religious views or practices on individuals, and compulsory military service. Second, in addition to the better-known version of libertarianism—right-libertarianism—there is also a version known as 'left-libertarianism'. Both endorse full self-ownership, but they differ with respect to the powers agents have to appropriate unappropriated natural resources (land, air, water, etc.).^[44]

Terminology

Joseph Déjacque was the first to formulate libertarian ideas using the term *libertarian*. Later philosophers on the left would go on to add detail to his political philosophy to study and document attitudes and themes relating to stateless socialism. In Déjacque's case, it was called libertarian communism.^{[27][31][30][35][36]}

As a term, *left-libertarianism* is used by some political analysts, academics and media sources, especially in the United States, to contrast it with the libertarian philosophy which is supportive of free-market capitalism and strong private property rights, in addition to supporting limited government and self-ownership which is common to both libertarian types.^[45]

Peter Vallentyne describes left-libertarianism as the type of libertarianism holding that "unappropriated natural resources belong to everyone in some egalitarian manner."^[44] Similarly, Charlotte and Lawrence Becker maintain that left-libertarianism most often refers to the political position that holds natural resources are originally common property.^[46]

Followers of Samuel Edward Konkin III, who characterized agorism as a form of left-libertarianism^{[47][48]} and strategic branch of left-wing market anarchism,^[49] use the terminology as outlined by Roderick T. Long, who describes left-libertarianism as "an integration, or I'd argue, a reintegration of libertarianism with concerns that are traditionally thought of as being concerns of the left. That includes concerns for worker empowerment, worry about plutocracy, concerns about feminism and various kinds of social equality."^[50]

Anthony Gregory maintains that libertarianism "can refer to any number of varying and at times mutually exclusive political orientations." Gregory describes left-libertarianism as maintaining interest in personal freedom, having sympathy for egalitarianism and opposing social hierarchy, preferring a liberal lifestyle, opposing big business and having a New Left opposition to imperialism and war.^[51] Although some American libertarians such as Walter Block,^[52] Harry Browne,^[53] Leonard E. Read^[54] and Murray Rothbard^[55] may reject the political spectrum (especially the left-right political spectrum)^{[55][56]} whilst denying any association with both the political right and left,^[57] other American libertarians such as Kevin Carson,^[19] Karl Hess,^[58] Roderick T. Long^[59] and Sheldon Richman^[60] have written about libertarianism's left-wing opposition to authoritarian rule and argued that libertarianism is fundamentally a left-wing position.^{[22][61]} Rothbard himself previously made the same point, rejecting the association of statism with the left.^[62]

Philosophy

While all libertarians begin with a conception of personal autonomy from which they argue in favor of civil liberties and a reduction or elimination of the state, left-libertarianism encompasses those libertarian beliefs that claim the Earth's natural resources belong to everyone in an egalitarian manner, either unowned or owned collectively.^{[8][10][18][20][21]}

Traditionally, left-libertarian schools are communist and market abolitionist, advocating the eventual replacement of money with labor vouchers or decentralized planning.^{[19][63]} Contemporary left-libertarians such as Hillel Steiner, Peter Vallentyne, Philippe Van Parijs, Michael Otsuka and David Ellerman believe the appropriation of land must leave "enough and as good" for others or be taxed by society to compensate for the exclusionary effects of private property.^{[12][20]} Socialist libertarians such as anarchists (green anarchists, individualist anarchists and social anarchists) and libertarian Marxists (council communists, De Leonists and Luxemburgists) promote usufruct and socialist economic theories, including collectivism, mutualism and syndicalism.^{[19][63]} They criticize the state for being the defender of private property and believe capitalism entails wage slavery.^{[14][15][16][17]}

Personal autonomy

Left-libertarianism such as anarchism envisages freedom as a form of autonomy^[64] which Paul Goodman describes as "the ability to initiate a task and do it one's own way, without orders from authorities who do not know the actual problem and the available means."^[65] All anarchists oppose political and legal authority, but collectivist strains also oppose the economic authority of private property.^[66] These social anarchists emphasize mutual aid whereas individualist anarchists extol individual sovereignty.^[67]

Civil liberties

Left-libertarians have been advocates and activists of civil liberties, including free love and free thought.^{[68][69]} Free love appeared alongside anarcha-feminism and advocacy of LGBT rights. Anarcha-feminism developed as a synthesis of radical feminism and anarchism and views patriarchy as a fundamental manifestation of compulsory government. It was inspired by the late-19th-century writings of early feminist anarchists such as Lucy Parsons, Emma Goldman, Voltairine de Cleyre and Virginia Bolten. Advocates of free love viewed sexual freedom as a clear, direct expression of individual sovereignty and they particularly stressed women's rights as most sexual laws discriminated against women: for example, marriage laws and anti-birth control measures.^[70] Like other radical feminists, anarcha-feminists criticize and advocate the abolition of traditional conceptions of family, education and gender roles. *Free Society* (1895–1897 as *The Firebrand*, 1897–1904 as *Free Society*) was an anarchist newspaper in the United



American anarchist Emma Goldman, prominent anarcho-feminist, free love and freethought activist

States that staunchly advocated free love and women's rights while criticizing comstockery, the censorship of sexual information.^[71] Anarcha-feminism has voiced opinions and taken action around certain sex-related subjects such as pornography,^[72] BDSM^[73] and the sex industry.^[73]

Free thought is a philosophical viewpoint that holds opinions should be formed on the basis of science, logic and reason in contrast with authority, tradition or other dogmas.^{[74][75]} In the United States, free thought was an anti-Christian, anti-clerical movement whose purpose was to make the individual politically and spiritually free to decide on religious matters. A number of contributors to Liberty were prominent figures in both free thought and anarchism. Catalan anarchist and free-thinker Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia established modern or progressive schools in Barcelona in defiance of an educational system controlled by the Catholic Church. The schools' stated goal was to "educate the working class in a rational, secular and non-coercive setting."^[76] Fiercely anti-clerical, Ferrer believed in "freedom in education", i.e. education free from the authority of the church and state.^[77]

Later in the 20th century, Austrian Freudo-Marxist Wilhelm Reich, who coined the term sexual revolution in one of his books from the 1940s,^[78] became a consistent propagandist for sexual freedom, going as far as opening free sex-counseling clinics in Vienna for working-class patients (Sex-Pol stood for the German Society of Proletarian Sexual Politics). According to Elizabeth Danto, Reich offered a mixture of "psychoanalytic counseling, Marxist advice and contraceptives" and "argued for sexual expressiveness for all, including the young and the unmarried, with a permissiveness that unsettled both the political left and the psychoanalysts." The clinics were immediately overcrowded by people seeking help.^[79] During the early 1970s, the English anarchist and pacifist Alex Comfort achieved international celebrity for writing the sex manuals The Joy of Sex^[80] and More Joy of Sex.^[81]

State

Many left-libertarians are anarchists and believe the state inherently violates personal autonomy. Anarchists believe the state defends private property which they view as intrinsically harmful as this strongly prevents removal of illegitimate authority through inspection and vigilance. Robert Paul Wolff has argued that "since 'the state is authority, the right to rule', anarchism which rejects the State is the only political doctrine consistent with autonomy in which the individual alone is the judge of his moral constraints."^[66]

Market-oriented left-libertarians argue that so-called free markets actually consist of economic privileges granted by the state. These left-libertarians advocate for free markets, termed freed markets, that are freed from these privileges. They see themselves as part of the free-market tradition of socialism.^[82]

Although mainly related to libertarianism in the United States, Objectivism and right-libertarianism,^{[83][84][85]} a minimal state or minarchism has also been advocated by left-libertarians, either as a path to anarchy or as an end in itself.^{[43][86]} Some left-libertarians have proposed or supported a minimal welfare state on the grounds that social safety nets are short-term goals for the working class^[87] and believe in stopping welfare programs only if it means abolishing both government and capitalism.^[88] According to Sheldon Richman of the Independent Institute, other left-libertarians "prefer that corporate privileges be repealed before the regulatory restrictions on how those privileges may be exercised."^[22]

Property rights

Socialist left-libertarians are opposed to private property and the private ownership of the means of production, supporting instead common or social ownership, or property rights based on occupation and use.^{[10][14][15][16][17][19]} Other left-libertarians believe that neither claiming nor mixing one's labor with natural resources is enough to generate full private property rights^{[89][90]} and maintain that natural resources ought to be held in an egalitarian manner, either unowned or owned collectively.^[91]

Peter Mclaverty notes it has been argued that socialist values are incompatible with the concept of self-ownership, when this concept is considered "the core feature of libertarianism" and socialism is defined as holding "that we are social beings, that society should be organised, and individuals should act, so as to promote the common good, that we should strive to achieve social equality and promote democracy, community and solidarity."^[92] However, it has also been argued that "property rights [...] do not pass judgment as to what rights individuals have to their own person [...] [and] to the external world" and that "the nineteenth-century egalitarian libertarians were not misguided in thinking that a thoroughly libertarian form of communism is possible at the level of principle."^[93]

Economics

Left-libertarians, such as anarchists, libertarian Marxists and market-oriented left-libertarians, argue in favor of libertarian socialist economic theories such as collectivism, communism, mutualism and syndicalism.^{[10][14][15][16][17][19]} Daniel Guérin wrote that "anarchism is really a synonym for socialism. The anarchist is primarily a socialist whose aim is to abolish the exploitation of man by man. Anarchism is only one of the streams of socialist thought, that stream whose main components are concern for liberty and haste to abolish the State."^[94]

Other left-libertarians make a libertarian reading of progressive and social-democratic economics to advocate a universal basic income. Building on Michael Otsuka's conception of "robust libertarian self-ownership", Karl Widerquist argues that a universal basic income must be large enough to maintain individual independence regardless of the market value of resources because people in contemporary society have been denied direct access to enough resource with which they could otherwise maintain their own existence in the absence of interference by people who control access to resources.^[95] Updating Peter Kropotkin's empirical analysis and criticizing the right-libertarian theory of the state, Grant S. McCall and Wilderquist argue that contemporary societies fail to fulfill the Lockean proviso, equality and freedom are compatible, stateless egalitarian societies promote negative freedom better than capitalism, the appropriation principle supports small-scale community property and the private-property right system associated with right-libertarian capitalism was established not by appropriation but by a long history of state-sponsored violence.^{[96][97]}

Schools of thought

Anarchism

Anarchism is a political philosophy that advocates stateless societies characterized by self-governed, non-hierarchical, voluntary institutions. It developed in the 19th century from the secular or religious thought of the Enlightenment, particularly Jean-Jacques Rousseau's arguments for the moral centrality of freedom.^[98]

As part of the political turmoil of the 1790s and in the wake of the French Revolution, William Godwin developed the first expression of modern anarchist thought.^{[99][100]} According to anarchist Peter Kropotkin, Godwin was "the first to formulate the political and economical conceptions of anarchism, even though he did not give that name to the ideas developed in his work."^[101] Godwin instead attached his ideas to an early Edmund Burke.^[102] He is generally regarded as the founder of philosophical anarchism,



William Godwin, who has been described as an early philosophical anarchist

arguing in *Political Justice* that government has an inherently malevolent influence on society and that it perpetuates dependency and ignorance.^{[100][103]}

Godwin thought the proliferation of reason would eventually cause government to wither away as an unnecessary force. Although he did not accord the state with moral legitimacy, he was against the use of revolutionary tactics for removing the government from power, rather he advocated for its replacement through a process of peaceful evolution.^{[100][104]} His aversion to the imposition of a rules-based society led him to denounce the foundations of law, property rights and even the institution of marriage as a manifestation of the people's "mental enslavement." He considered the basic foundations of society as constraining the natural development of individuals to use their powers of reasoning to arrive at a mutually beneficial method of social organization. In each case, government and its institutions are shown to constrain the development of our capacity to live wholly in accordance with the full and free exercise of private judgment.^[100]



Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, the first self-described *anarchist*

In France, revolutionaries began using *anarchiste* in a positive light as early as September 1793.^[105] Pierre-Joseph Proudhon was the first self-proclaimed *anarchist* (a label he adopted in his treatise *What Is Property?*) and is often described as the founder of modern anarchist theory.^[106] He developed the theory of spontaneous order in society in which organisation emerges without a central coordinator imposing its own idea of order against the wills of individuals acting in their own interests, saying: "Liberty is the mother, not the daughter, of order." Proudhon answers his own question in *What Is Property?* with the famous statement that "property is theft." He opposed the institution of decreed property ("proprietorship") in which owners have complete rights to "use and abuse" their property as they wish^[107] and contrasted this with usufruct ("possession") or limited ownership of resources only while in more or less continuous use. Proudhon wrote that "Property is Liberty" because it was a bulwark against state power.^[108]

Proudhon's opposition to the state, organized religion and certain capitalist practices inspired subsequent anarchists and made him one of the leading social thinkers of his time. However, French anarchist Joseph Déjacque castigated Proudhon for his sexist economic and political views in a scathing letter written in 1857.^{[109][110][31]} He argued that "it is not the product of his or her labour that the worker has a right to, but to the satisfaction of his or her needs, whatever may be their nature."^[111] Déjacque later named his anarchist publication *Le Libertaire, Journal du Mouvement Social* (*Libertarian, Journal of the Social Movement*) which was printed from 9 June 1858 to 4 February 1861. In the mid-1890s, French libertarian communist Sébastien Faure began publishing a new *Le Libertaire* while France's Third Republic enacted the so-called villainous laws (*lois scélérates*) which banned anarchist publications in France. *Libertarianism* has frequently been used as a synonym for anarchism since this time, especially in Europe.^{[30][112][113]}

Josiah Warren is widely regarded as the first American anarchist^{[114][115]} and the four-page weekly paper he edited during 1833 called *The Peaceful Revolutionist* was the first anarchist periodical published,^[116] an enterprise for which he built his own printing press, cast his own type and made his own printing plates.^[116] Warren was a follower of Robert Owen and joined Owen's community at New Harmony,

Indiana. Josiah Warren termed the phrase "Cost the limit of price", with "cost" referring not to monetary price paid, but the labor one exerted to produce an item.^[117] Therefore, "[h]e proposed a system to pay people with certificates indicating how many hours of work they did. They could exchange the notes at local time stores for goods that took the same amount of time to produce."^[114] He put his theories to the test by establishing an experimental "labor for labor store" called the Cincinnati Time Store where trade was facilitated by notes backed by a promise to perform labor. The store proved successful and operated for three years after which it was closed so that Warren could pursue establishing colonies based on mutualism (these included Utopia and Modern Times). Warren said that Stephen Pearl Andrews' *The Science of Society*, published in 1852, was the most lucid and complete exposition of Warren's own theories.^[118] American individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker argued that the elimination of what he called "the four monopolies"—the land monopoly, the money and banking monopoly, the monopoly powers conferred by patents and the quasi-monopolistic effects of tariffs—would undermine the power of the wealthy and big business, making possible widespread property ownership and higher incomes for ordinary people, while minimizing the power of would-be bosses and achieving socialist goals without state action. Tucker influenced and interacted with anarchist contemporaries—including Lysander Spooner, Voltaire de Cleyre, Dyer Lum and William Batchelder Greene—who have in various ways influenced later left-libertarian thinking.^[119]



17 August 1860 edition of *Le Liberaire, Journal du mouvement social*, a libertarian communist publication in New York City

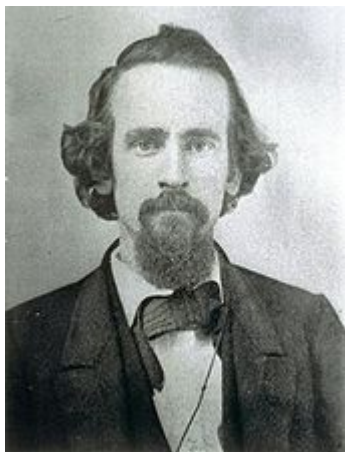
The Catalan politician Francesc Pi i Margall became the principal translator of Proudhon's works into Spanish^[120] and later briefly became president of Spain in 1873 while being the leader of the Democratic Republican Federal Party. For prominent anarcho-syndicalist Rudolf Rocker, "[t]he first movement of the Spanish workers was strongly influenced by the ideas of Pi y Margall, leader of the Spanish Federalists and disciple of Proudhon. Pi y Margall was one of the outstanding theorists of his time and had a powerful influence on the development of libertarian ideas in Spain. His political ideas had much in common with those of Richard Price, Joseph Priestly [sic], Thomas Paine, Jefferson, and other representatives of the Anglo-American liberalism of the first period. He wanted to limit the power of the state to a minimum and gradually replace it by a Socialist economic order."^[121] Pi i Margall was a dedicated theorist in his own right, especially through book-length works such as *La reacción y la revolución* (*Reaction and Revolution*) in 1855, *Las nacionalidades* (*Nationalities*) in 1877 and *La Federación* (*Federation*) in 1880.

In the 1950s, the Old Right and classical liberals in the United States began identifying as libertarians in order to distance themselves from modern liberals and the New Left.^[122] Since this time, it has become useful to distinguish this modern American libertarianism which promotes *laissez-faire* capitalism and generally a night-watchman state from anarchism.^{[2][3][4][123]} Accordingly, the former is often described as *right-libertarianism*^{[2][3]} or *right-wing libertarianism*^[4] while synonyms for the latter include *left-libertarianism*^{[2][3][4][10]} or *left-wing libertarianism*,^[8] *libertarian socialism*^[63] and *socialist libertarianism*.^[5]

Classical liberalism and Georgism

Contemporary left-libertarian scholars such as David Ellerman, Michael Otsuka, Hillel Steiner, Peter Vallentyne and Philippe Van Parijs root an economic egalitarianism in the classical liberal concepts of self-ownership and appropriation. They hold that it is illegitimate for anyone to claim private ownership of natural resources to the detriment of others, a condition John Locke explicated in *Two Treatises of*

Government.^[124] Locke argued that natural resources could be appropriated as long as doing so satisfies the proviso that there remains "enough, and as good, left in common for others."^[125] In this view, unappropriated natural resources are either unowned or owned in common and private appropriation is legitimate only if everyone can appropriate an equal amount or the property is taxed to compensate those who are excluded. This position is articulated in contrast to the position of right-libertarians who argue for a characteristically labor-based right to appropriate unequal parts of the external world such as land.^[126] Most left-libertarians of this tradition support some form of economic rent redistribution on the grounds that each individual is entitled to an equal share of natural resources^[127] and argue for the desirability of state social welfare programs.^{[128][129]}



Henry George proposed the abolition of all taxes except those on land value

Economists since Adam Smith have opined that a land value tax would not cause economic inefficiency, despite their fear that other forms of taxation would do so.^[130] It would be a progressive tax,^[131] i.e. a tax paid primarily by the wealthy, that increases wages, reduces economic inequality, removes incentives to misuse real estate and reduces the vulnerability that economies face from credit and property bubbles.^{[132][133]} Early proponents of this view include radicals such as Hugo Grotius,^[12] Thomas Paine^{[12][134]} and Herbert Spencer.^[12] but the concept was widely popularized by the political economist and social reformer Henry George.^[135] Believing that people ought to own the fruits of their labor and the value of the improvements they make, George was opposed to tariffs, income taxes, sales taxes, poll taxes, property taxes (on improvements) and to any tax on production, consumption or capital wealth. George was among the staunchest defenders of free markets and his book Protection or Free Trade was read into the United States Congressional Record.^[136]

Early followers of George's philosophy called themselves single taxers because they believed the only economically and morally legitimate, broad-based tax is on land rent. As a term, Georgism was coined later, although some modern proponents prefer the less eponymous geoism,^[137] leaving the meaning of geo- (from the Greek ge, meaning "earth") deliberately ambiguous. Earth Sharing,^[138] geonomics^[139] and geolibertarianism^[140] are used by some Georgists to represent a difference of emphasis or divergent ideas about how the land value tax revenue should be spent or redistributed to residents, but all agree that economic rent must be recovered from private landholders. Within the libertarian left, George and his geist movement influenced the development of democratic socialism,^{[141][142][143][144]} especially in relation to British socialism^[145] and Fabianism,^[146] along with John Stuart Mill^{[147][148]} and the German historical school of economics.^[149] George himself converted George Bernard Shaw to socialism^[150] and many of his followers are socialists who see George as one of their own.^[151] Individuals described as being in this left-libertarian tradition include George, Locke, Paine, William Ogilvie of Pittensear, Spencer and more recently Baruch Brody, Ellerman, James O. Grunebaum, Otsuka, Steiner, Vallentyne and Van Parijs, among others.^{[12][152]} Roberto Ardigò,^[153] Hippolyte de Colins,^[154] George,^[154] François Huet,^[154] William Ogilvie of Pittensear^[152] Paine,^[154] Spencer^{[153][155][156]} and Léon Walras^[154] are left-libertarians also seen as being within the left-liberal tradition of socialism.^[152]

While socialists have been hostile to liberalism, accused of "providing an ideological cover for the depredation of capitalism", it has been pointed out that "the goals of liberalism are not so different from those of the socialists", although this similarity in goals has been described as being deceptive due to the different meanings liberalism and socialism give to liberty, equality and solidarity.^{[157][158]} Liberal economists such as Léon Walras^{[159][160][161]} considered themselves socialists and Georgism has also been considered by some as a form of socialism.^[162] The idea that liberals or left-libertarians and state socialists disagree about means rather than ends has been similarly argued by Gustave de Molinari and Herbert

Spencer.^{[59][163]} According to Roderick T. Long, Molinari was the first theorist of free-market left-libertarianism.^[164] Molinari has also influenced left-libertarian and socialists such as Benjamin Tucker and the Liberty circle.^[165] Philosophical anarchist William Godwin, classical economists such as Adam Smith,^{[166][167]} David Ricardo,^[168] Thomas Robert Malthus, Nassau William Senior, Robert Torrens and the Mills, the early writings of Herbert Spencer,^[169] socialists such as Thomas Hodgskin and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, social reformer Henry George^[169] and the Ricardian/Smithian socialists,^{[170][171]} among others, "provided the basis for the further development of the left libertarian perspective."^[172]

According to Noam Chomsky, classical liberalism is today represented by libertarian socialism, described as a "range of thinking that extends from left-wing Marxism through to anarchism." For Chomsky, "these are fundamentally correct" idealized positions "with regard to the role of the state in an advanced industrial society."^[173] According to Iain McKay, "capitalism is marked by the exploitation of labour by capital" and "the root of this criticism is based, ironically enough, on the capitalist defence of private property as the product of labour. [...] Locke defended private property in terms of labour yet allowed that labour to be sold to others. This allowed the buyers of labour (capitalists and landlords) to appropriate the product of other people's labour (wage workers and tenants)."^[174] In *The Democratic Worker-Owned Firm*, economist David Ellerman argues that "capitalist production, i.e. production based on the employment contract denies workers the right to the (positive and negative) fruit of their labour. Yet people's right to the fruits of their labour has always been the natural basis for private property appropriation. Thus capitalist production, far from being founded on private property, in fact denies the natural basis for private property appropriation."^[175] Hence, left-libertarians such as Benjamin Tucker saw themselves as economic socialists and political individualists while arguing that their "anarchistic socialism" or "individual anarchism" was "consistent Manchesterism."^[176] Peter Marshall argues that "[i]n general anarchism is closer to socialism than liberalism. [...] Anarchism finds itself largely in the socialist camp, but it also has outriders in liberalism. It cannot be reduced to socialism, and is best seen as a separate and distinctive doctrine."^[177]

Geolibertarianism is a political movement and ideology that synthesizes libertarianism and geist theory, traditionally known as Georgism.^{[178][179]} Geolibertarians generally advocate distributing the land rent to the community via a land value tax as proposed by Henry George and others before him. For this reason, they are often called single taxers. Fred E. Foldvary coined *geo-libertarianism* in an article so titled in *Land and Liberty*.^[180] In the case of geonarchism, a proposed voluntaryist form of geolibertarianism as described by Foldvary, rent would be collected by private associations with the opportunity to secede from a geocommunity and not receive the geocommunity's services if desired.^[181] The political philosopher G. A. Cohen extensively criticized the claim, characteristic of the Georgist school of political economy, that self-ownership and a privilege-free society can be realized simultaneously, also addressing the question of what egalitarian political principles imply for the personal behaviour of those who subscribe to them.^[182] In *Self-Ownership, Freedom, and Equality*, Cohen argued that any system purporting to take equality and its enforcement seriously is not consistent with the full emphasis on self-ownership and negative freedom that defines market libertarian thought.^[183] Tom G. Palmer has responded to Cohen's critique.^{[184][185]}

Green politics

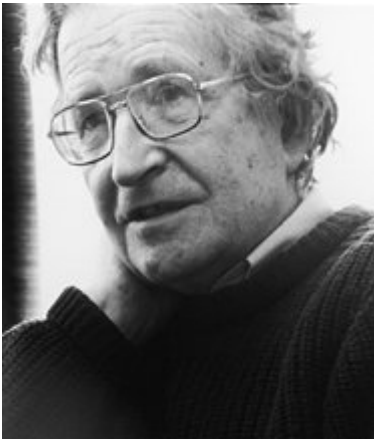
The green movement has been influenced by left-libertarian traditions, including anarchism, mutualism, Georgism and individualist anarchism. Peter Kropotkin provided a scientific explanation of how mutual aid is the real basis for social organization in his *Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution*.^[186] New England transcendentalism (especially Henry David Thoreau and Amos Bronson Alcott) and German Romanticism, the pre-Raphaelites and other back to nature movements combined with anti-war, anti-industrialism, civil liberties and decentralization movements are all part of this tradition. In the modern period, Murray Bookchin and the Institute for Social Ecology elaborated these ideas more systematically.^[187] Bookchin was one of the main influences behind the formation of the Alliance 90/The Greens, the first green party to

win seats in state and national parliaments. Modern green parties attempt to apply these ideas to a more pragmatic system of democratic governance as opposed to contemporary individualist or socialist libertarianism. The green movement, especially its more left-wing factions, is often described by political scientists as left-libertarian.^{[188][189][190][191]}

Political scientists see European political parties such as Ecolo and Groen in Belgium, Alliance 90/The Greens in Germany, or the Green Progressive Accord and GroenLinks in the Netherlands as coming out of the New Left and emphasizing spontaneous self-organisation, participatory democracy, decentralization and voluntarism, being contrasted to the bureaucratic or statist approach.^[191] Similarly, political scientist Ariadne Vromen has described the Australian Greens as having a "clear left-libertarian ideological base."^[192]

In the United States, green libertarianism is based upon a mixture of political third party values such as the environmentalism of the Green Party and the civil libertarianism of the Libertarian Party. Green libertarianism attempts to consolidate liberal and progressive values with libertarianism.^[193]

Libertarian socialism



Noam Chomsky, a noted left-libertarian of the libertarian socialist school

Libertarian socialism is a left-libertarian^{[194][195]} tradition of anti-authoritarianism, anti-statism and libertarianism^[196] within the socialist movement that rejects the state socialist notion of socialism as centralized state ownership and statist control of the economy^[197] and the state.^[198]

Libertarian socialism criticizes wage slavery relationships within the workplace,^[199] instead emphasizing workers' self-management of the workplace^[198] and decentralized structures of political organization,^{[200][201][202]} asserting that a society based on freedom and justice can be achieved through abolishing authoritarian institutions that control certain means of production and subordinate the majority to an owning class or political and economic elite.^[203] Libertarian socialists advocate for decentralized structures based on direct democracy and federal or confederal associations^[204] such as citizens' assemblies, libertarian municipalism, trade unions and workers'

councils.^{[205][206]}

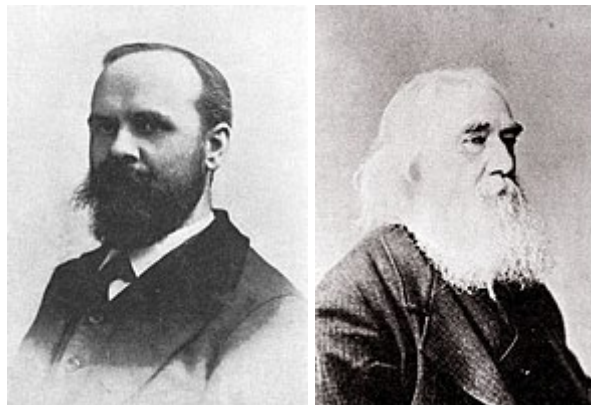
Libertarian socialists make a general call for liberty^[207] and free association^[208] through the identification, criticism and practical dismantling of illegitimate authority in all aspects of human life.^{[209][210][211][212][213][214][215][216]} Libertarian socialism opposes both authoritarian and vanguardist Bolshevism/Leninism and reformist Fabianism/social democracy.^{[217][218]}

Past and present currents and movements commonly described as libertarian socialist include anarchism (especially anarchist schools of thought such as anarcho-communism, anarcho-syndicalism^[219] collectivist anarchism, green anarchism, individualist anarchism,^{[220][221][222][223]} mutualism^[224] and social anarchism) as well as Communalism, some forms of democratic socialism,^{[225][226]} eco-socialism, guild socialism,^[227] libertarian Marxist^[228] (especially autonomism, council communism,^[229] De Leonism, left communism, Luxemburgism^{[230][231]} and workerism), various traditions of market socialism, several New Left schools of thought, participism, revolutionary syndicalism and some versions of utopian socialism.^[232] Despite libertarian socialist opposition to Fabianism and modern social democracy, both have been considered as part of the libertarian left alongside other decentralist socialists.^[43]

Left-libertarian Noam Chomsky considers libertarian socialism to be "the proper and natural extension" of classical liberalism "into the era of advanced industrial society."^[173] Chomsky sees libertarian socialism and anarcho-syndicalist ideas as the descendants of the classical liberal ideas of the Age of Enlightenment,^{[233][234]} arguing that his ideological position revolves around "nourishing the libertarian and creative character of the human being."^[235] Chomsky envisions an anarcho-syndicalist future with direct worker control of the means of production and government by workers' councils which would select representatives to meet together at general assemblies.^[236] The point of this self-governance is to make each citizen, in Thomas Jefferson's words, "a direct participator in the government of affairs."^[237] Chomsky believes that there will be no need for political parties.^[238] By controlling their productive life, Chomsky believes that individuals can gain job satisfaction and a sense of fulfillment and purpose.^[239] Chomsky argues that unpleasant and unpopular jobs could be fully automated, carried out by workers who are specially remunerated, or shared among everyone.^[240]

Anarcho-syndicalist Gaston Leval explained: "We therefore foresee a Society in which all activities will be coordinated, a structure that has, at the same time, sufficient flexibility to permit the greatest possible autonomy for social life, or for the life of each enterprise, and enough cohesiveness to prevent all disorder. [...] In a well-organised society, all of these things must be systematically accomplished by means of parallel federations, vertically united at the highest levels, constituting one vast organism in which all economic functions will be performed in solidarity with all others and that will permanently preserve the necessary cohesion."^[241]

Market-oriented left-libertarianism



Benjamin Tucker (left) and Lysander Spooner (right), who have greatly influenced the development of left-wing libertarianism in the United States

Carson–Long-style left-libertarianism is rooted in 19th-century mutualism and in the work of figures such as Thomas Hodgskin, French Liberal School thinkers such as Gustave de Molinari, and American individualist anarchists such as Benjamin Tucker and Lysander Spooner, among others. Most American Individualist Anarchists advocate mutualism, a libertarian socialist form of market socialism, or a free-market socialist form of classical economics.^[242] American Individualist anarchists are opposed to property that gives privilege and is exploitative,^[243] seeking to "destroy the tyranny of capital, — that is, of property" by mutual credit.^[244] Certain American left-wing market anarchists who come from the left-Rothbardian school such as Roderick T. Long and Sheldon Richman cite Murray Rothbard's homestead principle with approval to support worker cooperatives.^{[59][245]} While American market-oriented left-libertarians after Benjamin Tucker tended to ally with the political right (with notable exceptions), relationships between such libertarians and the New Left thrived in the 1960s, laying the groundwork for modern free-market left-libertarianism.^{[59][62]}

Austrian School economist Murray Rothbard was initially an enthusiastic partisan of the Old Right, particularly because of its general opposition to war and imperialism,^[246] but long embraced a reading of American history that emphasized the role of elite privilege in shaping legal and political institutions, one that was naturally agreeable to many on the left. In the 1960s, he came increasingly to seek alliances on the left, especially with members of the New Left, in light of the Vietnam War,^[247] the military draft and the emergence of the Black Power movement.^[248] Working with other radicals such as Karl Hess and Ronald Radosh, Rothbard argued that the consensus view of American economic history, according to which a beneficent government has used its power to counter corporate predation, is fundamentally flawed. Rather, government intervention in the economy has largely benefited established players at the expense of marginalized groups, to the detriment of both liberty and equality. Moreover, the robber baron period, hailed by the right and despised by the left as a heyday of *laissez-faire*, was not characterized by *laissez-faire* at all, but it was a time of massive state privilege accorded to capital.^[249] In tandem with his emphasis on the intimate connection between state and corporate power, he defended the seizure of corporations dependent on state largesse by workers and others^[250] whilst arguing that libertarianism is a left-wing position.^{[59][62]} By 1970, Rothbard had ultimately broke with the left, later allying with the burgeoning paleoconservative movement.^{[251][252]} He criticized the tendency of left-libertarians to appeal to "'free spirits,' to people who don't want to push other people around, and who don't want to be pushed around themselves" in contrast to "the bulk of Americans", who "might well be tight-assed conformists, who want to stamp out drugs in their vicinity, kick out people with strange dress habits, etc." while emphasizing that this was relevant as a matter of strategy. He wrote that the failure to pitch the libertarian message to Middle America might result in the loss of "the tight-assed majority."^[253] Those left-libertarians and left-wing followers of Rothbard who support private property do so under different property norms and theories, including Georgist,^[254] homestead,^[255] Lockean,^{[256][257]} mutualist,^[258] neo-Lockean^[259] and utilitarian approaches.^[260]

Some thinkers associated with market-oriented left-libertarianism, drawing on the work of Rothbard during his alliance with the left and on the thought of Karl Hess, came increasingly to identify with the left on a range of issues, including opposition to corporate oligopolies, state-corporate partnerships and war as well as an affinity for cultural liberalism. This left-libertarianism is associated with scholars such as Kevin Carson,^{[261][262]} Gary Chartier,^[263] Samuel Edward Konkin III,^[264] Roderick T. Long,^{[265][266]} Sheldon Richman,^{[22][267][268]} Chris Matthew Sciabarra^[269] and Brad Spangler,^[270] who stress the value of radically free markets, termed freed markets to distinguish them from the common conception which these libertarians believe to be riddled with statist and capitalist privileges.^[271] Also referred to as left-wing market anarchists,^[272] these market-oriented left-libertarian proponents of this approach strongly affirm the classical liberal ideas of self-ownership and free markets, while maintaining that, taken to their logical conclusions, these ideas support strongly anti-corporatist, anti-hierarchical, pro-labor positions in economics; anti-imperialism in foreign policy; and thoroughly liberal or radical views regarding such cultural issues as gender, sexuality and race.^[22] While adopting familiar libertarian views, including opposition to civil liberties violations, drug prohibition, gun control, imperialism, militarism and wars, left-libertarians are more likely to take more distinctively leftist stances on cultural and social issues as diverse as class, environmentalism, feminism, gender and sexuality.^[273] Members of this school typically urge the abolition of the state, arguing that vast disparities in wealth and social influence result from the use of force—especially state power—to steal and engross land and acquire and maintain special privileges. They judge that in a stateless society the kinds of privileges secured by the state will be absent and injustices perpetrated or tolerated by the state can be rectified, concluding that with state interference eliminated it will be possible to achieve "socialist ends by market means."^[274]

According to libertarian scholar Sheldon Richman, left-libertarians "favor worker solidarity vis-à-vis bosses, support poor people's squatting on government or abandoned property, and prefer that corporate privileges be repealed before the regulatory restrictions on how those privileges may be exercised." Left-libertarians see Walmart as a symbol of corporate favoritism, being "supported by highway subsidies and eminent domain", viewing "the fictive personhood of the limited-liability corporation with suspicion" and

doubting that "Third World sweatshops would be the "best alternative" in the absence of government manipulation." Left-libertarians also tend to "eschew electoral politics, having little confidence in strategies that work through the government [and] prefer to develop alternative institutions and methods of working around the state."^[22] Agorism is a market-oriented left-libertarian^{[10][22]} tendency founded by Samuel Edward Konkin III which advocates counter-economics, working in untaxable black or grey markets and boycotting as much as possible the unfree, taxed market with the intended result that private voluntary institutions emerge and outcompete statist ones.^{[275][276][277][278]}

Steiner–Vallentyne school

Contemporary left-libertarian scholars such as David Ellerman,^{[279][280]} Michael Otsuka,^[281] Hillel Steiner,^[282] Peter Vallentyne^[283] and Philippe Van Parijs^[284] root an economic egalitarianism in the classical liberal concepts of self-ownership and land appropriation, combined with geoist or physiocratic views regarding the ownership of land and natural resources (e.g. those of Henry George and John Locke).^{[285][286]}

Scholars representing this school of left-libertarianism often understand their position in contrast to right-libertarians, who maintain that there are no fair share constraints on use or appropriation that individuals have the power to appropriate unowned things by claiming them (usually by mixing their labor with them) and deny any other conditions or considerations are relevant and that there is no justification for the state to redistribute resources to the needy or to overcome market failures. A number of left-libertarians of this school argue for the desirability of some state social welfare programs.^{[287][288]} Left-libertarians of the Carson–Long left-libertarianism school typically endorse the labor-based property rights that Steiner–Vallentyne left-libertarians reject, but they hold that implementing such rights would have radical rather than conservative consequences.^[289]

Left-libertarians of the Steiner–Vallentyne type hold that it is illegitimate for anyone to claim private ownership of natural resources to the detriment of others.^{[12][290]} These left-libertarians support some form of income redistribution on the grounds of a claim by each individual to be entitled to an equal share of natural resources.^{[291][292]} Unappropriated natural resources are either unowned or owned in common and private appropriation is only legitimate if everyone can appropriate an equal amount or if private appropriation is taxed to compensate those who are excluded from natural resources.^[293]

"Bleeding-heart" libertarianism

Neoclassical liberalism, also referred to as Arizona School liberalism or bleeding-heart libertarianism, focuses on the compatibility of support for civil liberties and free markets on the one hand and a concern for social justice and the well-being of the worst-off on the other.^{[294][295]}

See also

- Cellular democracy
- Civil libertarianism
- Cultural liberalism
- Cultural radicalism
- Drug liberalization
- Grassroots democracy
- Individualist feminism
- Left-libertarians (category)

- Libertarian Democrat
- Libertarian municipalism
- Libertarian paternalism
- Libertarian transhumanism
- Lockean proviso
- Market socialism
- Radical movement
- Refusal of work

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Notes

1. Bookchin, Murray; Biehl, Janet (1997). *The Murray Bookchin Reader*. New York: Cassell. p. 170.
2. Goodway, David (2006). *Anarchist Seeds Beneath the Snow: Left-Libertarian Thought and British Writers from William Morris to Colin Ward*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. p. 4 (<https://books.google.com/books?id=Fgya85u7S-4C&pg=PA4&dq=anarcho-capitalism+right+libertarian&sa=X&ct=result&resnum=10#v=onepage&q=anarcho-capitalism%20right%20libertarian>). ISBN 1846310253. ISBN 978-1846310256. "'Libertarian' and 'libertarianism' are frequently employed by anarchists as synonyms for 'anarchist' and 'anarchism', largely as an attempt to distance themselves from the negative connotations of 'anarchy' and its derivatives. The situation has been vastly complicated in recent decades with the rise of anarcho-capitalism, 'minimal statism' and an extreme right-wing *laissez-faire* philosophy advocated by such theorists as Murray Rothbard and Robert Nozick and their adoption of the words 'libertarian' and 'libertarianism'. It has therefore now become necessary to distinguish between their right libertarianism and the left libertarianism of the anarchist tradition."
3. Marshall, Peter (2008). *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism*. London: Harper Perennial. p. 641. "The word 'libertarian' has long been associated with anarchism, and has been used repeatedly throughout this work. The term originally denoted a person who upheld the doctrine of the freedom of the will; in this sense, Godwin was not a 'libertarian', but a 'necessitarian'. It came however to be applied to anyone who approved of liberty in general. In anarchist circles, it was first used by Joseph Déjacque as the title of his anarchist journal *Le Libéraire, Journal du Mouvement Social* published in New York in 1858. At the end of the last century, the anarchist Sebastien Faure took up the word, to stress the difference between anarchists and authoritarian socialists."

4. Newman, Saul (2010). *The Politics of Postanarchism*, Edinburgh University Press. p. 43 (<https://books.google.com/books?id=SiqBiViUsOkC&pg=PA43&dq=anarcho-capitalism+right-libertarian&sa=X&ct=result&resnum=3#v=onepage&q=anarcho-capitalism%20right%20libertarian>). ISBN 0748634959. ISBN 978-0748634958. "It is important to distinguish between anarchism and certain strands of right-wing libertarianism which at times go by the same name (for example, Murray Rothbard's anarcho-capitalism). There is a complex debate within this tradition between those like Robert Nozick, who advocate a 'minimal state', and those like Rothbard who want to do away with the state altogether and allow all transactions to be governed by the market alone. From an anarchist perspective, however, both positions—the minimal state (minarchist) and the no-state ('anarchist') positions—neglect the problem of economic domination; in other words, they neglect the hierarchies, oppressions, and forms of exploitation that would inevitably arise in a *laissez-faire* 'free' market. [...] Anarchism, therefore, has no truck with this right-wing libertarianism, not only because it neglects economic inequality and domination, but also because in practice (and theory) it is highly inconsistent and contradictory. The individual freedom invoked by right-wing libertarians is only a narrow economic freedom within the constraints of a capitalist market, which, as anarchists show, is no freedom at all."
5. Miller, Wilbur R. (2012). *The Social History of Crime and Punishment in America: An Encyclopedia*. SAGE Publications. p. 1006 (https://books.google.it/books?id=tYME6Z35nyAC&pg=PA1006&dq=right-libertarianism&hl=it&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewjVoNT9_uvIAhWN6aQKHwZ6AUUQ6AEINjAB).
6. Sundstrom, William A. (16 May 2002). "An Egalitarian-Libertarian Manifesto" (<http://www.scu.edu/ethics/publications/submitted/sundstrom/Sundstrommanifesto.pdf>). Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20131029212045/http://www.scu.edu/ethics/publications/submitted/sundstrom/Sundstrommanifesto.pdf>) 29 October 2013 at the [Wayback Machine](#).
7. Sullivan, Mark A. (July 2003). "Why the Georgist Movement Has Not Succeeded: A Personal Response to the Question Raised by Warren J. Samuels". *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*. 62 (3): 612.
8. Spitz, Jean-Fabien (March 2006). "Left-wing libertarianism: equality based on self-ownership" (https://www.cairn-int.info/article-E_RAI_023_0023--left-wing-libertarianism-equality-based.htm). *Cairn-int.info*. Retrieved 28 November 2019.
9. Grunberg, Gérard; Schweisguth, Etienne; Boy, Daniel; Mayer, Nonna, eds. (1993). *The French Voter Decides*. "Social Libertarianism and Economic Liberalism". University of Michigan Press. p. 45 (https://books.google.com/books?hl=it&lr=&id=IB2siz9e8AUC&oi=fnd&pg=PA45&dq=social+libertarianism&ots=GQSH0Ulfbh&sig=2cFDL9Jw71vyw-HQhC27vGEGPOg&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=social%20libertarianism&f=false). ISBN 978-0-472-10438-3
10. Long, Roderick T. (2012). "Anarchism". In Gaus, Gerald F.; D'Agostino, Fred, eds. *The Routledge Companion to Social and Political Philosophy*. p. 227.
11. Cohn, Jesse (20 April 2009). "Anarchism". In Ness, Immanuel (ed.). *The International Encyclopedia of Revolution and Protest*. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. p. 6. doi:10.1002/9781405198073.wbierp0039 (<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405198073.wbierp0039>). ISBN 978-1-4051-9807-3. "[L]ibertarianism' [...] a term that, until the mid-twentieth century, was synonymous with "anarchism" per se."

12. Kymlicka, Will (2005). "libertarianism, left-". In Honderich, Ted. *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*. New York City: Oxford University Press. p. 516. "'Left-libertarianism' is a new term for an old conception of justice, dating back to Grotius. It combines the libertarian assumption that each person possesses a natural right of self-ownership over his person with the egalitarian premiss that natural resources should be shared equally. Right-wing libertarians argue that the right of self-ownership entails the right to appropriate unequal parts of the external world, such as unequal amounts of land. According to left-libertarians, however, the world's natural resources were initially unowned, or belonged equally to all, and it is illegitimate for anyone to claim exclusive private ownership of these resources to the detriment of others. Such private appropriation is legitimate only if everyone can appropriate an equal amount, or if those who appropriate more are taxed to compensate those who are thereby excluded from what was once common property. Historic proponents of this view include Thomas Paine, Herbert Spencer, and Henry George. Recent exponents include Philippe Van Parijs and Hillel Steiner." ISBN 978-0199264797.
13. Francis, Mark (December 1983). "Human Rights and Libertarians". *Australian Journal of Politics & History*. **29** (3): 462–472. doi:[10.1111/j.1467-8497.1983.tb00212.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8497.1983.tb00212.x) (<https://doi.org/10.1111%2Fj.1467-8497.1983.tb00212.x>). ISSN 0004-9522 (<https://www.worldcat.org/issn/0004-9522>).
14. Kropotkin, Peter (1927). *Anarchism: A Collection of Revolutionary Writings*. Courier Dover Publications. p. 150. ISBN 9780486119861. "It attacks not only capital, but also the main sources of the power of capitalism: law, authority, and the State."
15. Otero, Carlos Peregrin (2003). "Introduction to Chomsky's Social Theory". In Otero, Carlos Peregrin (ed.). *Radical Priorities*. Chomsky, Noam Chomsky (3rd ed.). Oakland, California: AK Press. p. 26. ISBN 1-902593-69-3.
16. Chomsky, Noam (2003). Carlos Peregrin Otero (ed.). *Radical Priorities* (3rd ed.). Oakland, California: AK Press. pp. 227–228. ISBN 1-902593-69-3.
17. Carlson, Jennifer D. (2012). "Libertarianism". In Miller, Wilbur R. *The Social History of Crime and Punishment in America: An Encyclopedia*. SAGE Publications. p. 1006 (https://books.google.it/books?id=tYME6Z35nyAC&pg=PA1006&dq=right-libertarianism&hl=it&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjVoNT9_uvIAhWN6aQKHwZ6AUUQ6AEINjAB). "[S]ocialist libertarians view any concentration of power into the hands of a few (whether politically or economically) as antithetical to freedom and thus advocate for the simultaneous abolition of both government and capitalism".
18. Carlson, Jennifer D. (2012). "Libertarianism". In Miller, Wilbur R. *The social history of crime and punishment in America*. London: SAGE Publications. p. 1007. ISBN 1412988764. "Left-libertarians disagree with right-libertarians with respect to property rights, arguing instead that individuals have no inherent right to natural resources. Namely, these resources must be treated as collective property that is made available on an egalitarian basis".
19. Carson, Kevin (15 June 2014). "What is Left-Libertarianism?" (<https://c4ss.org/content/28216>). Center for a Stateless Society. Retrieved 28 November 2019.
20. Vallentyne, Peter (March 2009). "Libertarianism" (<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2009/entries/libertarianism/>). In Zalta, Edward N. (ed.). *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2009 ed.). Stanford, California: Stanford University. Retrieved 5 March 2010. "Libertarianism is committed to full self-ownership. A distinction can be made, however, between right-libertarianism and left-libertarianism, depending on the stance taken on how natural resources can be owned."

21. Narveson, Jan; Trenchard, David (2008). "Left Libertarianism" (<https://books.google.com/books?id=yxNgXs3TkJYC>). In Hamowy, Ronald (ed.). *The Encyclopedia of Libertarianism*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications; Cato Institute. pp. 288–289. doi:10.4135/9781412965811.n174 (<https://doi.org/10.4135%2F9781412965811.n174>). ISBN 978-1-4129-6580-4. LCCN 2008009151 (<https://lccn.loc.gov/2008009151>). OCLC 750831024 (<https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/750831024>). "Left libertarians regard each of us as full self-owners. However, they differ from what we generally understand by the term *libertarian* in denying the right to private property. We own ourselves, but we do not own nature, at least not as individuals. Left libertarians embrace the view that all natural resources, land, oil, gold, and so on should be held collectively. To the extent that individuals make use of these commonly owned goods, they must do so only with the permission of society, a permission granted only under the proviso that a certain payment for their use be made to society at large."
22. Richman, Sheldon (3 February 2011). "Libertarian Left: Free-market anti-capitalism, the unknown ideal" (<http://www.theamericanconservative.com/blog/libertarian-left/>). *The American Conservative*. Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20190610075037/https://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/libertarian-left/>) 10 June 2019 at the [Wayback Machine](#). Retrieved 5 March 2012.
23. Bookchin, Murray; Biehl, Janet (1997). *The Murray Bookchin Reader*. London: Cassell. p. 170. ISBN 0-304-33873-7.
24. Long, Joseph. W (1996). "Toward a Libertarian Theory of Class". *Social Philosophy and Policy*. **15** (2): 310. "When I speak of 'libertarianism' [...] I mean all three of these very different movements. It might be protested that LibCap [libertarian capitalism], LibSoc [libertarian socialism] and LibPop [libertarian populism] are too different from one another to be treated as aspects of a single point of view. But they do share a common—or at least an overlapping—intellectual ancestry."
25. Carlson, Jennifer D. (2012). "Libertarianism". In Miller, Wilburn R., ed. *The Social History of Crime and Punishment in America*. London: Sage Publications. p. 1006 (https://books.google.com/books?id=tYME6Z35nyAC&pg=PA1006&dq=right-libertarianism&hl=it&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjVoNT9_uvIAhWN6aQKHwZ6AUUQ6AEINjAB#v=onepage&q=There%20exist%20three%20major%20camps%20in%20libertarian%20thought%3A%20right-libertarianism%20C%20socialist%20libertarianism%20and%20left-libertarianism%3B%20the%20extent%20to%20which%20these%20represent%20distinct%20ideologies%20as%20opposed%20to%20variations%20on%20a%20theme%20is%20contested%20by%20scholars.&f=false). ISBN 1412988764. "There exist three major camps in libertarian thought: right-libertarianism, socialist libertarianism, and left-libertarianism; the extent to which these represent distinct ideologies as opposed to variations on a theme is contested by scholars."
26. Marshall, Peter (2008). *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism*. London: Harper Perennial. p. 565. "The problem with the term 'libertarian' is that it is now also used by the Right. [...] In its moderate form, right libertarianism embraces *laissez-faire* liberals like Robert Nozick who call for a minimal State, and in its extreme form, anarcho-capitalists like Murray Rothbard and David Friedman who entirely repudiate the role of the State and look to the market as a means of ensuring social order".

27. Long, Roderick T. (2012). "The Rise of Social Anarchism". In Gaus, Gerald F.; D'Agostino, Fred, eds. *The Routledge Companion to Social and Political Philosophy*. p. 223 ([https://books.google.com/books?id=advfCgAAQBAJ&pg=PA223&dq=In+the+meantime,+anarchist+theories+of+a+more+communist+or+collectivist+character+had+been+developing+as+well.+One+important+pioneer+is+French+anarcho-communists+Joseph+D%C3%A9jacque+\(1821%E2%80%931864\),&hl=it&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiZ3vmnxsrnAhWTbsAKHQHXA5AQ6AEIKjAA#v=onepage&q=In%20the%20meantime%2C%20anarchist%20theories%20of%20a%20more%20communist%20or%20collectivist%20character%20had%20been%20developing%20as%20well.%20One%20important%20pioneer%20is%20French%20anarcho-communists%20Joseph%20D%C3%A9jacque%20\(1821%E2%80%931864\)%2C&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=advfCgAAQBAJ&pg=PA223&dq=In+the+meantime,+anarchist+theories+of+a+more+communist+or+collectivist+character+had+been+developing+as+well.+One+important+pioneer+is+French+anarcho-communists+Joseph+D%C3%A9jacque+(1821%E2%80%931864),&hl=it&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiZ3vmnxsrnAhWTbsAKHQHXA5AQ6AEIKjAA#v=onepage&q=In%20the%20meantime%2C%20anarchist%20theories%20of%20a%20more%20communist%20or%20collectivist%20character%20had%20been%20developing%20as%20well.%20One%20important%20pioneer%20is%20French%20anarcho-communists%20Joseph%20D%C3%A9jacque%20(1821%E2%80%931864)%2C&f=false)). "In the meantime, anarchist theories of a more communist or collectivist character had been developing as well. One important pioneer is French anarcho-communists Joseph Déjacque (1821–1864), who [...] appears to have been the first thinker to adopt the term "libertarian" for this position; hence "libertarianism" initially denoted a communist rather than a free-market ideology."
28. Mouton, Jean Claude. "Le Libertaire, Journal du mouvement social" (<http://joseph.dejacque.free.fr/libertaire/libertaire.htm>). Retrieved 12 July 2019.
29. Woodcock, George (1962). *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*. Meridian Books. p. 280. "He called himself a "social poet," and published two volumes of heavily didactic verse—Lazaréennes and Les Pyrénées Nivelées. In New York, from 1858 to 1861, he edited an anarchist paper entitled *Le Libertaire, Journal du Mouvement Social*, in whose pages he printed as a serial his vision of the anarchist Utopia, entitled L'Humanisphère."
30. Nettlau, Max (1996). *A Short History of Anarchism*. London: Freedom Press. p. 162. ISBN 978-0-900384-89-9. OCLC 37529250 (<https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/37529250>).
31. Robert Graham, ed. (2005). *Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas; Volume One: From Anarchy to Anarchism (300 CE–1939)*. Montreal: Black Rose Books. §17.
32. Marshall, Peter (2009). *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism*. p. 641. "The word 'libertarian' has long been associated with anarchism, and has been used repeatedly throughout this work. The term originally denoted a person who upheld the doctrine of the freedom of the will; in this sense, Godwin was not a 'libertarian', but a 'necessitarian'. It came however to be applied to anyone who approved of liberty in general. In anarchist circles, it was first used by Joseph Déjacque as the title of his anarchist journal *Le Libertaire, Journal du Mouvement Social* published in New York in 1858. At the end of the last century, the anarchist Sebastien Faure took up the word, to stress the difference between anarchists and authoritarian socialists".
33. Bookchin, Murray (January 1986). "The Greening of Politics: Toward a New Kind of Political Practice" (http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/bookchin/gp/perspectives1.html). *Green Perspectives: Newsletter of the Green Program Project* (1). "We have permitted cynical political reactionaries and the spokesmen of large corporations to pre-empt these basic libertarian American ideals. We have permitted them not only to become the specious voice of these ideals such that individualism has been used to justify egotism; the pursuit of happiness to justify greed, and even our emphasis on local and regional autonomy has been used to justify parochialism, insularism, and exclusivity – often against ethnic minorities and so-called deviant individuals. We have even permitted these reactionaries to stake out a claim to the word libertarian, a word, in fact, that was literally devised in the 1890s in France by Elisée Reclus as a substitute for the word anarchist, which the government had rendered an illegal expression for identifying one's views. The proprietarians, in effect – acolytes of Ayn Rand, the earth mother of greed, egotism, and the virtues of property – have appropriated expressions and traditions that should have been expressed by radicals but were willfully neglected because of the lure of European and Asian traditions of socialism, socialisms that are now entering into decline in the very countries in which they originated".

34. Fernandez, Frank (2001). *Cuban Anarchism. The History of a Movement*. Sharp Press. p. 9 (<https://books.google.com/books?id=jKdztblaHegC>). "Thus, in the United States, the once exceedingly useful term "libertarian" has been hijacked by egotists who are in fact enemies of liberty in the full sense of the word."
35. Ward, Colin (2004). *Anarchism: A Very Short Introduction* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=kksrWsholkYC>). Oxford University Press. p. 62. "For a century, anarchists have used the word 'libertarian' as a synonym for 'anarchist', both as a noun and an adjective. The celebrated anarchist journal *Le Libertaire* was founded in 1896. However, much more recently the word has been appropriated by various American free-market philosophers."
36. "The Week Online Interviews Chomsky" (<https://archive.today/20130113110804/http://www.zmag.org/zspace/commentaries/1137>). *Z Magazine*. 23 February 2002. Retrieved 12 July 2019. "The term libertarian as used in the US means something quite different from what it meant historically and still means in the rest of the world. Historically, the libertarian movement has been the anti-statist wing of the socialist movement. In the US, which is a society much more dominated by business, the term has a different meaning. It means eliminating or reducing state controls, mainly controls over private tyrannies. Libertarians in the US don't say let's get rid of corporations. It is a sort of ultra-rightism."
37. "150 years of Libertarian" (<http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/the-anarchist-faq-editorial-collective-150-years-of-libertarian>).
38. "160 years of Libertarian" (<https://anarchism.pageabode.com/afaq/160-years-libertarian>).
39. Comegna, Anthony; Gomez, Camillo (3 October 2018). "Libertarianism, Then and Now" (<https://www.libertarianism.org/columns/libertarianism-then-now>). *Libertarianism*. Cato Institute. "[...] Benjamin Tucker was the first American to really start using the term "libertarian" as a self-identifier somewhere in the late 1870s or early 1880s." Retrieved 3 August 2020.
40. Rothbard, Murray (2009) [1970s]. *The Betrayal of the American Right* (https://cdn.mises.org/The%20Betrayal%20of%20the%20American%20Right_2.pdf) (PDF). Mises Institute. ISBN 978-1610165013. "One gratifying aspect of our rise to some prominence is that, for the first time in my memory, we, 'our side,' had captured a crucial word from the enemy. 'Libertarians' had long been simply a polite word for left-wing anarchists, that is for anti-private property anarchists, either of the communist or syndicalist variety. But now we had taken it over."
41. Hussain, Syed B. (2004). *Encyclopedia of Capitalism. Vol. II : H-R* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=FbVZAAAAYAAJ>). New York: Facts on File Inc. p. 492. ISBN 0816052247. "In the modern world, political ideologies are largely defined by their attitude towards capitalism. Marxists want to overthrow it, liberals to curtail it extensively, conservatives to curtail it moderately. Those who maintain that capitalism is an excellent economic system, unfairly maligned, with little or no need for corrective government policy, are generally known as libertarians."
42. Widerquist, Karl. "Libertarianism: left, right, and socialist" (https://www.academia.edu/1159253/Libertarianism_left_right_and_socialist). Retrieved 15 November 2019.
43. Marshall, Peter (2009) [1991]. *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (POLS ed.). Oakland, California: PM Press. p. 641. "Left libertarianism can therefore range from the decentralist who wishes to limit and devolve State power, to the syndicalist who wants to abolish it altogether. It can even encompass the Fabians and the social democrats who wish to socialize the economy but who still see a limited role for the State." ISBN 978-1604860641.
44. Vallentyne, Peter (20 July 2010). "Libertarianism" (<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/libertarianism/>). *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Stanford University. Retrieved 26 December 2012.
45. Frankel Paul, Ellen; Miller Jr., Fred; Paul, Jeffrey (12 February 2007). *Liberalism: Old and New*. 24. Cambridge University Press. ISBN 978-0-521-70305-5.

46. Becker, Charlotte B.; Becker, Lawrence C. (2001). *Encyclopedia of Ethics*. 3. Taylor & Francis US. p. 1562 (https://books.google.com/books?id=gL4Pa1TxP00C&pg=PA1336&lpg=PA1336&dq=Lawrence+C.+Becker,+Charlotte+B.+Becker.+Encyclopedia+of+ethics&source=bl&ots=GHWgi-xT0w&sig=4tNqnG2diADK9BphQ8w4URrazXo&hl=en&ei=UZC9TL20MsH-8Aa41eT6Bg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&sqi=2&ved=0CBIQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=libertarianism&f=false). ISBN 978-0-4159-3675-0.
47. "Smashing the State for Fun and Profit Since 1969: An Interview With the Libertarian Icon Samuel Edward Konkin III (a.k.a. SEK3)" (<http://www.spaz.org/~dan/individualist-anarchist/software/konkin-interview.html>). Spaz.org. Retrieved 15 March 2020.
48. D'Amato, David S. (27 November 2018). "Black-Market Activism: Samuel Edward Konkin III and Agorism" (<http://www.libertarianism.org/columns/black-market-activism-samuel-edward-konkin-iii-agorism>). Libertarianism.org. Retrieved 21 November 2019.
49. Konkin III, Samuel Edward. "An Agorist Primer" (http://www.kopubco.com/pdf/An_Agorist_Primer_by_SEK3.pdf) (PDF). Kopubco.com. Retrieved 15 March 2020.
50. Long, Roderick. T. (4 January 2008). "An Interview With Roderick Long" (<http://en.liberalis.pl/2008/01/04/interview-with-roderick-long/>). Liberalis in English. Retrieved 21 December 2019.
51. Gregory, Anthony (21 December 2006). "Left, Right, Moderate and Radical" (<https://www.lewrockwell.com/2006/12/anthony-gregory/left-right-moderate-or-radical-libertarian/>). LewRockwell.com. Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20141225141516/https://www.lewrockwell.com/2006/12/anthony-gregory/left-right-moderate-or-radical-libertarian/>) 25 December 2014 at the Wayback Machine. 25 December 2014.
52. Block, Walter (2010). "Libertarianism Is Unique and Belongs Neither to the Right Nor the Left: A Critique of the Views of Long, Holcombe, and Baden on the Left, Hoppe, Feser, and Paul on the Right" (https://mises.org/journals/jls/22_1/22_1_8.pdf). *Journal of Libertarian Studies*. 22. pp. 127–170.
53. Browne, Harry (21 December 1998). "The Libertarian Stand on Abortion" (<http://www.harrybrowne.org/articles/Abortion.htm>) Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20101006055112/http://www.harrybrowne.org/articles/Abortion.htm>) 2010-10-06 at the Wayback Machine. HarryBrowne.Org. Retrieved 14 January 2020.
54. Read, Leonard E. (January 1956). "Neither Left Nor Right" (<https://www.fee.org/articles/neither-left-nor-right>). *The Freeman*. 48 (2): 71–73.
55. Rothbard, Murray (1 March 1971). "The Left and Right Within Libertarianism" (<https://mises.org/library/left-and-right-within-libertarianism>). *WIN: Peace and Freedom Through Nonviolent Action*. 7 (4): 6–10. Retrieved 14 January 2020.
56. Raimondo, Justin (2000). *An Enemy of the State*. Chapter 4: "Beyond left and right". Prometheus Books. p. 159.
57. Machan, Tibor R. (2004). "Neither Left Nor Right: Selected Columns" (<http://www.hoover.org/publications/books/8300>). 522. Hoover Institution Press. ISBN 0817939822. ISBN 9780817939823.
58. Hess, Karl (18 February 2015). "Anarchism Without Hyphens & The Left/Right Spectrum" (<https://c4ss.org/content/35952>). Center for a Stateless Society. Tulsa Alliance of the Libertarian Left. Retrieved 17 March 2020. "The far left, as far as you can get away from the right, would logically represent the opposite tendency and, in fact, has done just that throughout history. The left has been the side of politics and economics that opposes the concentration of power and wealth and, instead, advocates and works toward the distribution of power into the maximum number of hands."
59. Long, Roderick T. (8 April 2006). "Rothbard's 'Left and Right': Forty Years Later" (<https://mises.org/library/rothbards-left-and-right-forty-years-later>). Mises Institute. Rothbard Memorial Lecture, Austrian Scholars Conference 2006. Retrieved 17 March 2020.

60. Richman, Sheldon (1 June 2007). "Libertarianism: Left or Right?" (<https://www.fff.org/explore-freedom/article/libertarianism-left/>). The Future of Freedom Foundation. Retrieved 15 March 2020. "In fact, libertarianism is planted squarely on the Left, as I will try to demonstrate here."
61. Comegna, Anthony; Gomez, Camillo (3 October 2018). "Libertarianism, Then and Now" (<https://www.libertarianism.org/columns/libertarianism-then-now>). *Libertarianism*. Cato Institute. "I think you're right that the right-wing associations with libertarianism—that is mainly a product of the 20th century and really the second half of the 20th century, and before that it was overtly left-wing, and radically left-wing, for the most part, in almost all iterations." Retrieved 19 March 2020.
62. Rothbard, Murray (Spring 1965). "Left and Right: The Prospects for Liberty". *Left and Right: A Journal of Libertarian Thought*. **1** (1): 4–22.
63. **Ostergaard, Geoffrey**. "Anarchism". *The Blackwell Dictionary of Modern Social Thought*. Blackwell Publishing. p. 14.
64. Marshall, Peter (2009). *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism*. London: Harper Perennial. p. 42.
65. Goodman, Paul (1972). *Little Prayers and Finite Experience*.
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197. Long, Roderick T. (Summer 1998). "Toward a libertarian theory of class". *Social Philosophy and Policy*. 15 (2): 305. "Unlike other socialists, they tend to see (to various different degrees, depending on the thinker) to be skeptical of centralized state intervention as the solution to capitalist exploitation [...]."
198. "I1. Isn't libertarian socialism an oxymoron" (<http://www.infoshop.org/AnarchistFAQSection11>). Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20171116212712/http://www.infoshop.org/AnarchistFAQSection11>) 16 November 2017 at the Wayback Machine. In *An Anarchist FAQ*. "So, libertarian socialism rejects the idea of state ownership and control of the economy, along with the state as such. Through workers' self-management it proposes to bring an end to authority, exploitation, and hierarchy in production."
199. "I1. Isn't libertarian socialism an oxymoron" (<http://www.infoshop.org/AnarchistFAQSection11>). Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20171116212712/http://www.infoshop.org/AnarchistFAQSection11>) 16 November 2017 at the Wayback Machine. In *An Anarchist FAQ*. "Therefore, rather than being an oxymoron, "libertarian socialism" indicates that true socialism must be libertarian and that a libertarian who is not a socialist is a phoney. As true socialists oppose wage labour, they must also oppose the state for the same reasons. Similarly, libertarians must oppose wage labour for the same reasons they must oppose the state."

200. Prichard, Alex; Kinna, Ruth; Pinta, Saku; Berry, Dave, eds. (December 2012). *Libertarian Socialism: Politics in Black and Red*. Palgrave Macmillan. p. 13. "Their analysis treats libertarian socialism as a form of anti-parliamentary, democratic, antibureaucratic grass roots socialist organisation, strongly linked to working class activism."
201. Long, Roderick T. (Summer 1998). "Toward a libertarian theory of class". *Social Philosophy and Policy*. **15** (2): 305. "[...] preferring a system of popular self governance via networks of decentralized, local voluntary, participatory, cooperative associations."
202. Masquelier, Charles (2014). *Critical Theory and Libertarian Socialism: Realizing the Political Potential of Critical Social Theory*. New York and London: Bloombury. p. 189. "What is of particular interest here, however, is the appeal to a form of emancipation grounded in decentralized, cooperative and democratic forms of political and economic governance which most libertarian socialist visions, including Cole's, tend to share."
203. Mendes, Silva (1896). *Socialismo Libertário ou Anarchismo*. **1**. "Society should be free through mankind's spontaneous federative affiliation to life, based on the community of land and tools of the trade; meaning: Anarchy will be equality by abolition of private property (while retaining respect for personal property) and liberty by abolition of authority."
204. Leval, Gaston (1959). "Libertarian socialism: a practical outline" (<http://www.revoltlib.com/?id=3329>). "We therefore foresee a Society in which all activities will be coordinated, a structure that has, at the same time, sufficient flexibility to permit the greatest possible autonomy for social life, or for the life of each enterprise, and enough cohesiveness to prevent all disorder. [...] In a well-organized society, all of these things must be systematically accomplished by means of parallel federations, vertically united at the highest levels, constituting one vast organism in which all economic functions will be performed in solidarity with all others and that will permanently preserve the necessary cohesion."
205. Hart, David M.; Chartier, Gary; Kenyon, Ross Miller; Long, Roderick T., eds. (2017). *Social Class and State Power: Exploring an Alternative Radical Tradition*. Palgrave. p. 300. "[...] preferring a system of popular self governance via networks of decentralized, local, voluntary, participatory, cooperative associations-sometimes as a complement to and check on state power [...]."
206. Rocker, Rudolf (2004). *Anarcho-Syndicalism: Theory and Practice*. AK Press. p. 65. ISBN 978-1-902593-92-0.
207. Long, Roderick T. (Summer 1998). "Toward a libertarian theory of class". *Social Philosophy and Policy*. **15** (2): 305. "LibSoc share with LibCap an aversion to any interference to freedom of thought, expression or choice of lifestyle."
208. Diemer, Ulli (Summer 1997). "What is Libertarian Socialism?". *The Red Menace*. **2** (1). "What is implied by the term 'libertarian socialism'? The idea that socialism is first and foremost about freedom and therefore about overcoming the domination, repression, and alienation that block the free flow of human creativity, thought, and action. [...] An approach to socialism that incorporates cultural revolution, women's and children's liberation, and the critique and transformation of daily life, as well as the more traditional concerns of socialist politics. A politics that is completely revolutionary because it seeks to transform all of reality. We do not think that capturing the economy and the state lead automatically to the transformation of the rest of social being, nor do we equate liberation with changing our lifestyles and our heads. Capitalism is a total system that invades all areas of life: socialism must be the overcoming of capitalist reality in its entirety, or it is nothing."
209. Chomsky, Noam (1986). "The Soviet Union Versus Socialism" (http://chomsky.info/1986_1/). *Chomsky.info*. Retrieved 22 November 2015. "Libertarian socialism, furthermore, does not limit its aims to democratic control by producers over production, but seeks to abolish all forms of domination and hierarchy in every aspect of social and personal life, an unending struggle, since progress in achieving a more just society will lead to new insight and understanding of forms of oppression that may be concealed in traditional practice and consciousness."

210. McLaughlin, Paul (2007). *Anarchism and Authority: A Philosophical Introduction to Classical Anarchism*. AshGate. p. 1 (<https://books.google.com/books?id=kkj5i3CeGbQC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage>). "Authority is defined in terms of the right to exercise social control (as explored in the "sociology of power") and the correlative duty to obey (as explored in the "philosophy of practical reason"). Anarchism is distinguished, philosophically, by its scepticism towards such moral relations – by its questioning of the claims made for such normative power – and, practically, by its challenge to those "authoritative" powers which cannot justify their claims and which are therefore deemed illegitimate or without moral foundation."
211. "Principles of The International of Anarchist Federations" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20120105095946/http://www.iaf-ifa.org/principles/english.html>). International of Anarchist Federations. Archived from the original (<http://www.iaf-ifa.org/principles/english.html>) on 5 January 2012. Retrieved 17 December 2012. "The IAF – IFA fights for: the abolition of all forms of authority whether economical, political, social, religious, cultural or sexual."
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213. Tucker, Benjamin (1926). *Individual Liberty* (<http://www.revoltlib.com/?id=2803>). Individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker defined anarchism as opposition to authority as follows: "They found that they must turn either to the right or to the left, – follow either the path of Authority or the path of Liberty. Marx went one way; Warren and Proudhon the other. Thus were born State Socialism and Anarchism. [... Authority, takes many shapes, but, broadly speaking, her enemies divide themselves into three classes: first, those who abhor her both as a means and as an end of progress, opposing her openly, avowedly, sincerely, consistently, universally; second, those who profess to believe in her as a means of progress, but who accept her only so far as they think she will subserve their own selfish interests, denying her and her blessings to the rest of the world; third, those who distrust her as a means of progress, believing in her only as an end to be obtained by first trampling upon, violating, and outraging her. These three phases of opposition to Liberty are met in almost every sphere of thought and human activity. Good representatives of the first are seen in the Catholic Church and the Russian autocracy; of the second, in the Protestant Church and the Manchester school of politics and political economy; of the third, in the atheism of Gambetta and the socialism of Karl Marx."
214. Ward, Colin (1966). "Anarchism as a Theory of Organization" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20100325081119/http://www.panarchy.org/ward/organization.1966.html>). Archived from the original (<http://www.panarchy.org/ward/organization.1966.html>) on 25 March 2010. Retrieved 1 March 2010.
215. Ward, Colin (1966). "Anarchism as a Theory of Organization" (<https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/colin-ward-anarchism-as-a-theory-of-organization>). "Anarchist historian George Woodcock report of Mikhail Bakunin's anti-authoritarianism and shows opposition to both state and non-state forms of authority as follows: "All anarchists deny authority; many of them fight against it." (p. 9) ... "Bakunin did not convert the League's central committee to his full program, but he did persuade them to accept a remarkably radical recommendation to the Berne Congress of September 1868, demanding economic equality and implicitly attacking authority in both Church and State."
216. Brown, L. Susan (2002). "Anarchism as a Political Philosophy of Existential Individualism: Implications for Feminism". *The Politics of Individualism: Liberalism, Liberal Feminism and Anarchism*. Black Rose Books. p. 106.

217. O'Neil, John (1998). *The Market: Ethics, Knowledge and Politics*. Routledge. p. 3. "It is forgotten that the early defenders of commercial society like [Adam] Smith were as much concerned with criticising the associational blocks to mobile labour represented by guilds as they were to the activities of the state. The history of socialist thought includes a long associational and anti-statist tradition prior to the political victory of the Bolshevism in the east and varieties of Fabianism in the west.
218. El-Ojeili, Chamsi (2015). *Beyond post-socialism. Dialogues with the far-left*. Palgrave Macmillan. p. 8. "In some ways, it is perhaps fair to say that if Left communism is an intellectual- political formation, it is so, first and foremost, negatively – as opposed to other socialist traditions. I have labelled this negative pole 'socialist orthodoxy', composed of both Leninists and social democrats. [... What I suggested was that these Left communist thinkers differentiated their own understandings of communism from a strand of socialism that came to follow a largely electoral road in the West, pursuing a kind of social capitalism, and a path to socialism that predominated in the peripheral and semi- peripheral countries, which sought revolutionary conquest of power and led to something like state capitalism. Generally, the Left communist thinkers were to find these paths locked within the horizons of capitalism (the law of value, money, private property, class, the state), and they were to characterize these solutions as statist, substitutionist and authoritarian."
219. Sims, Franwa (2006). *The Anacostia Diaries As It Is*. Lulu Press. p. 160.
220. *An Anarchist FAQ*. "(Benjamin) Tucker referred to himself many times as a socialist and considered his philosophy to be "Anarchistic socialism."
221. Armand, Émile (1907). "Anarchist Individualism as a Life and Activity" (<http://www.spaz.org/~dan/individualist-anarchist/library/emile-armand/life-activity.html>). French individualist anarchist Émile Armand shows clearly opposition to capitalism and centralized economies when he said that the individualist anarchist "inwardly he remains refractory – fatally refractory – morally, intellectually, economically (The capitalist economy and the directed economy, the speculators and the fabricators of single are equally repugnant to him.)"
222. Sabatini, Peter (1994–1995). "Libertarianism: Bogus Anarchy" ([http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Peter Sabatini Libertarianism Bogus Anarchy.html](http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Peter_Sabatini_Libertarianism_Bogus_Anarchy.html)). Anarchist Peter Sabatini reports that in the United States "of early to mid-19th century, there appeared an array of communal and "utopian" counterculture groups (including the so-called free love movement). William Godwin's anarchism exerted an ideological influence on some of this, but more so the socialism of Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. After success of his British venture, Owen himself established a cooperative community within the United States at New Harmony, Indiana during 1825. One member of this commune was Josiah Warren (1798–1874), considered to be the first individualist anarchist."
223. Chartier, Gary; Johnson, Charles W. (2011). *Markets Not Capitalism: Individualist Anarchism Against Bosses, Inequality, Corporate Power, and Structural Poverty*. Brooklyn: Minor Compositions/Autonomedia. Back cover. "It introduces an eye-opening approach to radical social thought, rooted equally in libertarian socialism and market anarchism."
224. "A Mutualist FAQ: A.4. Are Mutualists Socialists?" (<http://www.mutualist.org/id32.html>). Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20090609075437/http://www.mutualist.org/id32.html>) 9 June 2009 at the Wayback Machine
225. Draper, Hal (1966). "The Two Souls of Socialism" (<https://www.marxists.org/archive/draper/1966/twosouls/index.htm>). *New Politics*. **5** (1): 57–84.
226. Hain, Peter (1995). *Ayes to the Left*. Lawrence and Wishart.
227. Masquelier, Charles (2014). *Critical Theory and Libertarian Socialism: Realizing the Political Potential of Critical Social Theory*. New York and London: Bloombury. p. 190. "It is by meeting such a twofold requirement that the libertarian socialism of G.D.H. Cole could be said to offer timely and sustainable avenues for the institutionalization of the liberal value of autonomy [...]."

228. Prichard, Alex; Kinna, Ruth; Pinta, Saku; Berry, Dave, eds. (December 2012). *Libertarian Socialism: Politics in Black and Red*. Palgrave Macmillan. p. 13. "Locating libertarian socialism in a grey area between anarchist and Marxist extremes, they argue that the multiple experiences of historical convergence remain inspirational and that, through these examples, the hope of socialist transformation survives."
229. Boraman, Toby (December 2012). "Carnival and Class: Anarchism and Councilism in Australasia during the 1970s". In Prichard, Alex; Kinna, Ruth; Pinta, Saku; Berry, Dave, eds. *Libertarian Socialism: Politics in Black and Red*. Palgrave Macmillan. p. 268. "Councilism and anarchism loosely merged into 'libertarian socialism', offering a non-dogmatic path by which both council communism and anarchism could be updated for the changed conditions of the time, and for the new forms of proletarian resistance to these new conditions."
230. Bookchin, Murray (1992). "The Ghost of Anarcho-Syndicalism" (<https://www.connexions.org/CxLibrary/Docs/CX6988-BookchinGhost.htm>).
231. Graham, Robert. "The General Idea of Proudhon's Revolution" (<https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/robert-graham-the-general-idea-of-proudhon-s-revolution>).
232. Kropotkin, Peter (1906). *The Conquest of Bread*. Preface by Bromley, Kent. New York City and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. "Kent Bromley, in his preface to Peter Kropotkin's book *The Conquest of Bread*, considered early French utopian socialist Charles Fourier to be the founder of the libertarian branch of socialist thought, as opposed to the authoritarian socialist ideas of Babeuf and Buonarroti."
233. Sperlich, Wolfgang B. (2006). *Noam Chomsky*. Reaktion Books. p. 89. ISBN 978-1-86189-269-0.
234. McGilvray, James (2014). *Chomsky: Language, Mind, Politics* (second ed.). Cambridge: Polity. p. 189. ISBN 978-0-7456-4989-4.
235. Barsky, Robert F. (1997). *Noam Chomsky: A Life of Dissent*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. p. 95. ISBN 978-0-262-02418-1.
236. McGilvray, James (2014). *Chomsky: Language, Mind, Politics* (second ed.). Cambridge: Polity. p. 199. ISBN 978-0-7456-4989-4.
237. McGilvray, James (2014). *Chomsky: Language, Mind, Politics* (second ed.). Cambridge: Polity. p. 210. ISBN 978-0-7456-4989-4.
238. McGilvray, James (2014). *Chomsky: Language, Mind, Politics* (second ed.). Cambridge: Polity. p. 200. ISBN 978-0-7456-4989-4.
239. McGilvray, James (2014). *Chomsky: Language, Mind, Politics* (second ed.). Cambridge: Polity. pp. 197, 202. ISBN 978-0-7456-4989-4.
240. McGilvray, James (2014). *Chomsky: Language, Mind, Politics* (second ed.). Cambridge: Polity. pp. 201–202. ISBN 978-0-7456-4989-4.
241. Leval, Gaston (1959). "Libertarian Socialism: A Practical Outline" (<https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/gaston-leval-libertarian-socialism-a-practical-outline>). Retrieved 22 August 2020 – via The Anarchist Library.
242. "Why is anarchism also called libertarian socialism?" (<http://www.infoshop.org/faq/secA1.html#seca13>) (encyclopedia entry). *An Anarchist FAQ*. Retrieved 2007-08-09.
243. McKay, Iain, ed. (2012) [2008]. "Appendix: Anarchism and 'anarcho'-capitalism". *An Anarchist FAQ*. III. Stirling: AK Press. ISBN 9781849351225.
244. Dana, Charles Anderson. *Proudhon and his "Bank of the People"*. p. 46.

245. Carson, Kevin (28 September 2012). "The Left-Rothbardians, Part I: Rothbard" (<https://c4ss.org/content/12938>). Center for a Stateless Society. "What most people ordinarily identify as the stereotypical "libertarian" privatization proposal, unfortunately, goes something like this: sell it to a giant corporation on terms that are most advantageous to the corporation. Rothbard proposed, instead, was to treat state property as unowned, and allowing it to be homesteaded by those actually occupying it and mixing their labor with it. This would mean transforming government utilities, schools and other services into consumer cooperatives and placing them under the direct control of their present clientele. It would mean handing over state industry to workers' syndicates and transforming it into worker-owned cooperatives". Retrieved 10 January 2020.
246. Raimondo, Justin (2001). *An Enemy of the State: The Life of Murray N. Rothbard*. Amherst: Prometheus.
247. Raimondo, Justin (2001). *An Enemy of the State: The Life of Murray N. Rothbard*. Amherst: Prometheus. pp. 151–209.
248. Doherty, Brian M. (2007). *Radicals for Capitalism: A Freewheeling History of the Modern American Libertarian Movement*. New York: Public Affairs. p. 338.
249. On partnerships between the state and big business and the role of big business in promoting regulation, see Kolko, Gabriel (1977). *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900–1916*. New York: Free.; and Shaffer, Butler (2008). *In Restraint of Trade: The Business Campaign against Competition, 1918–1938*. Auburn: Mises Institute.
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251. Raimondo, Justin (2001). *An Enemy of the State: The Life of Murray N. Rothbard*. Amherst: Prometheus. pp. 277–278.
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253. Rothbard, Murray (5 June 1986). "Letter to David Bergland". In Raimondo, Justin (2001). *An Enemy of the State: The Life of Murray N. Rothbard*. Amherst: Prometheus. pp. 263–264.
254. Schnack, William (13 November 2015). "Panarchy Flourishes Under Geo-Mutualism" (<http://c4ss.org/content/41572>). Center for a Stateless Society. Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20180810111658/https://c4ss.org/content/41572>) 10 August 2018 at the Wayback Machine. Retrieved 10 August 2018.
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259. Verhaegh, Marcus (2006). "Rothbard as a Political Philosopher" (https://mises.org/journals/jls/20_4/20_4_1.pdf) (PDF). *Journal of Libertarian Studies*. **20** (4): 3.
260. Gillis, William (29 November 2015). "The Organic Emergence of Property from Reputation" (<https://c4ss.org/content/41653>). Center for a Stateless Society. Retrieved 8 April 2020
261. Carson, Kevin (2008). *Organization Theory: A Libertarian Perspective*. Charleston: BookSurge.
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External links

-  Media related to Left-libertarianism at Wikimedia Commons
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Left-wing market anarchism

Left-wing market anarchism^{[1][2]} is a strand of free-market anarchism and an individualist anarchist,^[3] left-libertarian^{[2][4]} and libertarian socialist^[5] political philosophy and market socialist^[6] economic theory stressing the value of radically free markets, termed *freed markets* to distinguish them from the common conception which these libertarians believe to be riddled with statist and capitalist privileges.^[7] Proponents of this approach distinguish themselves from right-libertarians and strongly affirm the classical liberal ideas of self-ownership and free markets while maintaining that taken to their logical conclusions these ideas support anti-capitalist, anti-corporatist, anti-hierarchical and pro-labor positions in economics; anti-imperialism in foreign policy; and thoroughly radical views regarding socio-cultural issues.^{[8][9][10][11]} Key theorists in this area include contemporary scholars such as Kevin Carson,^{[12][13]} Gary Chartier,^[14] Charles W. Johnson,^[15] Roderick T. Long,^{[16][17]} Chris Matthew Sciabarra,^[18] Ryan Neugebauer,^[19] Sheldon Richman^{[4][20][21]} and Brad Spangler.^[22]

The genealogy of left-wing market anarchism, sometimes labeled market-oriented or free-market left-libertarianism,^{[2][4]} overlaps to a significant degree with that of Steiner–Vallentyne left-libertarianism as the roots of that tradition are sketched in the book *The Origins of Left-Libertarianism*.^{[23][24]} Carson–Long-style left-libertarianism is rooted in 19th-century mutualism and in the work of figures such as Thomas Hodgskin, French Liberal School thinkers such as Gustave de Molinari and American individualist anarchists such as Benjamin Tucker and Lysander Spooner, among others.^{[4][24]} Several left-wing market anarchists who come from the left-Rothbardian school or tradition cite Murray Rothbard's homestead principle with approval to support worker cooperatives.^{[25][26]} While with notable exceptions libertarians in the United States after the heyday of individualist anarchism tended to ally with the political right, relationships between such libertarians and the New Left thrived in the 1960s, laying the groundwork for modern left-wing market anarchism.^[25]

Left-wing market anarchism identifies with left-libertarianism,^[27] a position which names several related yet distinct approaches to politics, society, culture and political and social theory, stressing both individual freedom and social justice. Unlike right-libertarians, left-libertarians believe that neither claiming nor mixing one's labor with natural resources is enough to generate full private property rights and maintain that all natural resources such as land, oil and gold ought to be held in some egalitarian manner, either unowned or owned collectively.^{[28][29][30][31]} Those left-libertarians who support private property do so under different property norms^{[32][33][34][35]} and theories,^{[36][37][38]} or under the condition that recompense is offered to the local or global community.^[31]

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History

Mutualism

Mutualism began in 18th-century English and French labour movements before taking an anarchist form associated with Pierre-Joseph Proudhon in France and others in the United States.^[39] Proudhon proposed spontaneous order, whereby organisation emerges without central authority, a "positive anarchy" where order arises when everybody does "what he wishes and only what he wishes"^[40] and where "business transactions alone produce the social order".^[41]

Proudhon distinguished between ideal political possibilities and practical governance. For this reason, much in contrast to some of his theoretical statements concerning ultimate spontaneous self-governance, Proudhon was heavily involved in French parliamentary politics and allied himself not with anarchist, but rather with socialist factions of workers movements and in addition to advocating state-protected charters for worker-owned cooperatives he also promoted certain nationalization schemes during his life of public service.

Mutualism is concerned with reciprocity, free association, voluntary contract, federation and credit and currency reform. According to the American mutualist William Batchelder Greene, each worker in the mutualist system would receive "just and exact pay for his work; services equivalent in cost being exchangeable for services equivalent in cost, without profit or discount".^[42] Mutualism has been retrospectively characterised as ideologically situated between individualist and collectivist forms of anarchism.^{[43][44]} Proudhon first characterised his goal as a "third form of society, the synthesis of communism and property".^{[45][46]}

Individualist anarchism in the United States

American individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker identified as a socialist^[47] and argued that the elimination of what he called the four monopolies—the land monopoly, the money and banking monopoly, the monopoly powers conferred by patents and the quasi-monopolistic effects of tariffs—would undermine the power of the wealthy and big business, making possible widespread property ownership and higher



Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, the first self-identified anarchist, supported a free-market anarchism called mutualism

incomes for ordinary people while minimizing the power of would-be bosses and achieving socialist goals without state action. Tucker influenced and interacted with anarchist contemporaries—including Lysander Spooner, Voltairine de Cleyre, Dyer D. Lum and William B. Greene—who have in various ways influenced later left-libertarian thinking.^[48] According to historian James J. Martin, the individualist anarchists were socialists, whose support for the labor theory of value made their libertarian socialist form of mutualism a free-market socialist alternative to both capitalism and Marxism.^{[49][50]}

Rothbard argued that individualist anarchism is different from anarcho-capitalism and other capitalist theories due to the individualist anarchists retaining the labor theory of value and socialist doctrines.^[51] The doyen of modern American market-oriented libertarianism, Austrian School economist Murray Rothbard, was initially an enthusiastic partisan of the Old Right, particularly because of its general opposition to war and imperialism.^[52] However, Rothbard had long embraced a reading of American history that emphasized the role of elite privilege in shaping legal and political institutions—one that was naturally agreeable to many on the left—and came increasingly in the 1960s to seek alliances on the left—especially with members of the New Left—in light of the Vietnam War,^[53] the military draft and the emergence of the Black Power movement.^[54]

Working with other radicals like Ronald Radosh^[55] and Karl Hess,^[56] Rothbard argued that the consensus view of American economic history, according to which a beneficent government has used its power to counter corporate predation, is fundamentally flawed. Rather, he argued, government intervention in the economy has largely benefited established players at the expense of marginalized groups, to the detriment of both liberty and equality. Moreover, the robber baron period, hailed by the right and despised by the left as a heyday of *laissez-faire*, was not characterized by *laissez-faire* at all, but it was in fact a time of massive state privilege accorded to capital.^{[57][58]} In tandem with his emphasis on the intimate connection between state and corporate power, he defended the seizure of corporations dependent on state largesse by workers and others.^[59] While Rothbard himself ultimately broke with the left, allying himself instead with the burgeoning paleoconservative movement,^{[60][61]} that alliance laid the groundwork for modern left-wing market anarchism.^[25]

Anti-capitalist libertarianism was the dominant form of libertarianism in the United States through much of the 19th century and early 20th century, but it declined since the mid-to-late 20th century, although it has recently aroused renewed interest in the early 21st century. The Winter 2006 issue of the *Journal of Libertarian Studies* published by the Mises Institute was dedicated to reviews of Kevin Carson's *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy*.^[62] Drawing on the work of Rothbard during his alliance with the left and on the thought of Hess, some thinkers associated with market-oriented libertarianism came increasingly to identify with the left on a range of issues, including opposition to war, to corporate oligopolies and to state-corporate partnerships as well as an affinity for cultural liberalism. One variety of this kind of libertarianism has been a resurgent mutualism, incorporating modern economic ideas such as marginal utility theory into mutualist theory. Kevin Carson's *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy*,^[63] first published in 2006, helped to stimulate the growth of new-style mutualism, articulating a version of the labor theory of value incorporating ideas drawn from Austrian economics.^[64]

While other market-oriented left-libertarians have declined to embrace mutualist views of real property, they share the left-libertarian opposition to corporate hierarchies and wealth concentration.^[65] Those left-libertarians have placed particular emphasis on the articulation and defense of a libertarian theory of class and class conflict, although considerable work in this area has been performed by libertarians of other persuasions.^[66] The Alliance of the Libertarian Left is a left-wing market anarchist organization that includes a multi-tendency coalition of agorists, geolibertarians, green libertarians, minarchists, mutualists and voluntaryists.^[67]

In the 21st century, the Really Really Free Market movement is a horizontally organized collective of individuals who form a temporary market based on an alternative gift economy. The movement aims to counteract capitalism in a proactive way by creating a positive example to challenge the myths of scarcity and competition. The name is a play on words as it is a reinterpretation and re-envisioning of *free market*, a term which generally refers to an economy of consumerism governed by supply and demand.^[68]

Organizations and theorists

The Center for a Stateless Society

The **Center for a Stateless Society**, or **C4SS** is a left-wing market anarchist think tank and media center, founded in 2006.^[69] It has been recognized as one of the main institutional homes of left-wing market anarchism.^{[71][72]} Its associates include Senior Fellows Roderick Long and Gary Chartier, and its "Karl Hess Chair in Social Theory" Kevin Carson.^[70] Since its founding it has documented more than 2,600 reprints or citations in major news websites and mainstream media.^[73] Some of the center's activities include its recurring *Mutual Exchange Symposiums* on topics such as "Anarchy and Democracy" and "Decentralization and Economic Coordination",^[74] and the podcast *Mutual Exchange Radio*, providing interviews with activists and scholars.^[75]

Kevin Carson

Kevin Carson describes his politics as on "the outer fringes of both free market libertarianism and socialism". He has identified the work of Benjamin Tucker, Thomas Hodgskin, Ralph Borsodi, Paul Goodman, Lewis Mumford, Elinor Ostrom, Peter Kropotkin and Ivan Illich as sources of inspiration for his approach to politics and economics.^[76] In addition to individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker's "big four" monopolies (land, money, tariffs and patents), Carson argues that the state has also transferred wealth to the wealthy by subsidizing organizational centralization in the form of transportation and communication subsidies. He believes that Tucker overlooked this issue due to Tucker's focus on individual market transactions whereas Carson also focuses on organizational issues. The theoretical sections of *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy* are presented as an attempt to integrate marginalist critiques into the labor theory of value.^[77]

Carson has also been highly critical of intellectual property.^[78] The primary focus of his most recent work has been decentralized manufacturing and the informal and household economies.^[79] In response to claims that he uses the term capitalism incorrectly, Carson says he is deliberately choosing to resurrect what he claims to be an old definition of the term in order to "make a point". He claims that "the term 'capitalism,' as it was originally used, did not refer to a free market, but to a type of statist class system in which capitalists controlled the state and the state intervened in the market on their behalf".^[80]

Carson holds that "capitalism, arising as a new class society directly from the old class society of the Middle Ages, was founded on an act of robbery as massive as the earlier feudal conquest of the land. It has been sustained to the present by continual state intervention to protect its system of privilege without which its survival is unimaginable".^[81] Carson argues that in a truly *laissez-faire* system, the ability to extract a profit from labor and capital would be negligible.^[82] Carson coined the pejorative term *vulgar libertarianism*, a phrase that describes the use of a free market rhetoric in defense of corporate capitalism

Center for a Stateless Society

	Center for a Stateless Society A Left Market Anarchist Think Tank & Media Center
Abbreviation	C4SS
Formation	2006 ^[69]
Headquarters	Tulsa, OK ^[70]
Coordinating Director	Alex McHugh ^[70]
Parent organization	Molinari Institute ^[70]
Website	c4ss.org (http://c4ss.org/)

and economic inequality. According to Carson, it is derived from the term *vulgar political economy*, a phrase which Karl Marx described as an economic order that "deliberately becomes increasingly apologetic and makes strenuous attempts to talk out of existence the ideas which contain the contradictions [existing in economic life]".^[83]

Gary Chartier

Gary Chartier offers an understanding of property rights as contingent yet tightly constrained social strategies, reflective of the importance of multiple, overlapping rationales for separate ownership and of natural law principles of practical reasonableness, defending robust but non-absolute protections for these rights in a manner similar to that employed by David Hume.^[84] This account is distinguished both from Lockean and neo-Lockean views which deduce property rights from the idea of self-ownership and from consequentialist accounts that might license widespread *ad hoc* interference with the possessions of groups and individuals.^{[85][86]} Chartier uses this account to ground a clear statement of the natural law basis for the view that solidaristic wealth redistribution by individual persons is often morally required, but as a response by individuals and grass-roots networks to particular circumstances rather than as a state-driven attempt to achieve a particular distributive pattern.^[87] He advances detailed arguments for workplace democracy rooted in such natural law principles as subsidiarity,^[88] defending it as morally desirable and as a likely outcome of the elimination of injustice rather than as something to be mandated by the state.^[89] He discusses natural law approaches to land reform and to the occupation of factories by workers.^[90]

Chartier objects on natural law grounds to intellectual property protections, drawing on his theory of property rights more generally^[91] and develops a general natural law account of boycotts.^[92] He has argued that proponents of genuinely freed markets should explicitly reject capitalism and identify with the global anti-capitalist movement while emphasizing that the abuses the anti-capitalist movement highlights result from state-tolerated violence and state-secured privilege rather than from voluntary cooperation and exchange. According to Chartier, "it makes sense for [left-libertarians] to name what they oppose "capitalism." Doing so [...] ensures that advocates of freedom aren't confused with people who use market rhetoric to prop up an unjust status quo, and expresses solidarity between defenders of freed markets and workers – as well as ordinary people around the world who use "capitalism" as a short-hand label for the world-system that constrains their freedom and stunts their lives".^[81]

Theory

Arguing that vast disparities in wealth and social influence result from the use of force and especially state power to steal and engross land and acquire and maintain special privileges, members of this thought typically urge the abolition of the state. They judge that in a stateless society the kinds of privileges secured by the state will be absent and injustices perpetrated or tolerated by the state can be rectified. These left-libertarians rejects "what critics call "atomistic individualism". With freed markets, they argue that "it is we collectively who decide who controls the means of production", leading to "a society in which free, voluntary, and peaceful cooperation ultimately controls the means of production for the good of all people".^[93] According to libertarian scholar Sheldon Richman, left-libertarians "favor worker solidarity vis-à-vis bosses, support poor people's squatting on government or abandoned property, and prefer that corporate privileges be repealed before the regulatory restrictions on how those privileges may be exercised", seeing Walmart as a "symbol of corporate favoritism" which is "supported by highway subsidies and eminent domain", viewing "the fictive personhood of the limited-liability corporation with suspicion" and "doubt[ing] that Third World sweatshops would be the "best alternative" in the absence of government manipulation". These left-libertarians "tend to eschew electoral politics, having little confidence in strategies that work through the government. They prefer to develop alternative institutions and methods of working around the state".^[4]

Gary Chartier has joined Kevin Carson, Charles W. Johnson and others (echoing the language of Stephen Pearl Andrews, William Batchelder Greene, Thomas Hodgskin, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Lysander Spooner, Benjamin Tucker and Josiah Warren, among others) in maintaining that because of its heritage and its emancipatory goals and potential, radical market anarchism should be seen by its proponents and by others as part of the socialist tradition and that market anarchists can and should call themselves socialists.^[94]

Cultural politics

While adopting familiar libertarian views, including opposition to civil liberties violations, drug prohibition, gun control, imperialism and war, left-libertarians are more likely than most self-identified libertarians to take more distinctively leftist stances on issues as diverse as class, egalitarianism, environmentalism, feminism, gender, immigration, imperialism, race, sexuality and war. Contemporary free-market left-libertarians show markedly more sympathy than American mainstream libertarians or paleolibertarians towards various cultural movements which challenge non-governmental relations of power. Left-libertarians such as Long and Johnson have called for a recovery of the 19th-century alliance with libertarian feminism and radical liberalism.^[95]

Labor rights

There is also a tendency to support labor struggles. Kevin Carson has praised individualist anarchist Dyer Lum's fusion of individualist economics with radical labor activism as "creative" and described him as "more significant than any in the Boston group".^[96] Roderick T. Long is an advocate of "build[ing] worker solidarity. On the one hand, this means formal organisation, including unionization – but I'm not talking about the prevailing model of "business unions," [...] but real unions, the old-fashioned kind, committed to the working class and not just union members, and interested in worker autonomy, not government patronage".^[97] In particular, Long has described the situation as such:

[T]he present status of unions as governmentally privileged labor cartels is in large part the result of legislation supported by big business, inasmuch as the corporate elite found unions less threatening as regulated junior partners in the corporate régime, playing on its terms, than as independent actors. After all, the achievements, much heralded by the Left, which unions won in their heyday, such as the weekend and the eight-hour day, were won primarily by market means, often over strong government resistance; likewise, the most notable victories of unions in recent years have been won mainly by unofficial, disapproved unions, without violence of either the governmental or freelance variety, and outside of the traditional labor-law establishment. By contrast, the influence of mainstream unions has been steadily declining ever since they accepted the devil's bargain of "help" from big-daddy government, with all the regulatory strings that go with it. Thus when left-wingers complain that unions are in decline and that workers are disempowered on the job, they're complaining about a situation created and sustained by government – and once again, we should be pointing that out to them.^[98]

Property rights

Left-wing market anarchism does not have any strict agreement what constitutes legitimate property titles. Arguments have been made for Georgist,^[32] homestead,^[33] Lockean^{[36][37]} mutualist,^[34] neo-Lockean^{[36][38]} and utilitarian^[35] approaches to determining legitimate property claims. Those

discrepancies are resolved through deliberation mechanisms like the polycentric law. They also recognize the importance of property held and managed in common as a way of maintaining common goods.^[99]

Internal disputes and views on property

Left-wing market anarchists state diverse views concerning the path to elimination of the state. This strand of left-libertarianism tends to be rooted either in the mutualist economics conceptualized by Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, American individualist anarchism, or in a left-wing interpretation or extension of the thought of Murray Rothbard.^{[25][100][101]}

Some of these libertarians follow Rothbard and other natural rights theorists and cite the non-aggression axiom as the basis for their economic systems while others follow David D. Friedman and base it on consequentialist ethical theories.^[102] These left-Rothbardian libertarians consider private property rights to be individual natural rights deriving from the primary right of self-ownership. Like Rothbard, they endorse the use of any tactic to bring about market anarchy so long as it does not contradict their libertarian moral principles.^[103]

Tuckerites

Benjamin Tucker originally subscribed to the idea of land ownership associated with mutualism which does not grant that this creates property in land, but rather holds that when people customarily use given land and in some versions goods other people should respect that use or possession. Unlike with property, ownership is no longer recognized when that use stops.^[104] Under mutualism, there would be no market in land that is not in use. The mutualist theory holds that the stopping of use or occupying land reverts it to the commons or to an unowned condition and makes it available for anyone that wishes to use it.^{[105][106]} Tucker would later abandon natural rights theory and argued that land ownership is legitimately transferred through force unless specified otherwise by contracts: "Man's only right to land is his might over it. If his neighbor is mightier than he and takes the land from him, then the land is his neighbor's, until the latter is dispossessed by one mightier still".^[107] He expected that individuals would come to the realization that the "occupancy and use" was a "generally trustworthy guiding principle of action" and that individuals would likely contract to an occupancy and use policy.^[108]



American individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker, known for his libertarian journal Liberty, abandoned the natural rights conception of property rights in free-market anarchism for a Stirnerite egoism

Rothbardians

Classical liberal John Locke argues that as people apply their labor to unowned resources, they make those resources their property. For Locke, there are only two legitimate ways people can acquire new property, namely by mixing their labor with unowned resources or by voluntary trade for created goods. In accordance with Locke's philosophy, Rothbardian free-market anarchists believe that property may only originate by being the product of labor and that its ownership may only legitimately change as a result of exchange or gift. They derive this homestead principle from what they call the principle of self-ownership.^{[37][36]} Locke had a proviso which says that the appropriator of resources must leave "enough and as good in common to others", but Murray Rothbard's followers do not agree with this proviso,

believing instead that the individual may originally appropriate as much as she wishes through the application of her labor and that property thus acquired remains hers until she chooses otherwise,^{[37][36]} terming this as neo-Lockean.^{[36][38]}

Anarcho-capitalists see this as consistent with their opposition to initiatory coercion since only land which is not already owned can be taken without compensation. If something is unowned, there is no person against whom the original appropriator is initiating coercion. They do not think that a claim of and by itself can create ownership, but rather that the application of one's labor to the unowned object as for example beginning to farm unowned land. They accept voluntary forms of common ownership, meaning property open to all individuals to access.^[109] Samuel Edward Konkin III, the founder of agorism and the Movement of the Libertarian Left,^[24] was also a Rothbardian and is considered a prominent figure within the modern left-libertarian movement in the United States.^[110] Konkin considered himself to be to the left of Rothbard.^{[111][112]}

Although anarcho-capitalism has been regarded by some as a form of individualist anarchism,^{[113][114]} individualist anarchism is largely socialistic.^[115] Rothbard argued that individualist anarchism is different from anarcho-capitalism and other capitalist theories due to the individualist anarchists retaining the labor theory of value and socialist doctrines.^[51] Many writers deny that anarcho-capitalism is a form of anarchism at all,^[116] or that capitalism itself is compatible with anarchism.^[117]

See also

- Agorism
- Anarchist schools of thought
- Bleeding-heart libertarianism
- Debates within libertarianism
- Free-market anarchism
- Freiwirtschaft
- Geolibertarianism
- Individualist anarchism
- Issues in anarchism
- Left-libertarianism
- Libertarian socialism
- Market socialism
- Mutualism
- Neoclassical liberalism
- Radicalism (historical)
- Social anarchism

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External links

- [Alliance of the Libertarian Left \(http://all-left.net/\)](http://all-left.net/)
 - [Center for a Stateless Society \(http://c4ss.org/\)](http://c4ss.org/)
 - [Molinari Institute \(http://praxeology.net/molinari.htm\)](http://praxeology.net/molinari.htm)
 - [Mutualist \(http://www.mutualist.org/\)](http://www.mutualist.org/)
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Libertarian conservatism

Libertarian conservatism,^[1] also referred to as **conservative libertarianism**^{[2][3][4]} and **conservatarianism**,^{[5][6]} is a political philosophy that combines conservatism and libertarianism, representing the libertarian wing of conservatism and vice versa.^[7]

Libertarian conservatism advocates the greatest possible economic liberty and the least possible government regulation of social life, mirroring *laissez-faire* classical liberalism, but harnesses this to a belief in a more socially conservative philosophy emphasizing authority, morality and duty.^[1] Originating in the United States, libertarian conservatism prioritizes liberty, promoting free expression, freedom of choice and free-market capitalism to achieve conservative ends and rejects liberal social engineering.^[8]

Libertarian conservatism can also be understood as promoting civil society through conservative institutions and authority—such as family, country, religion and education—in the libertarian quest to reduce state power.^[9]

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Overview

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In political science, *libertarian conservatism* is an ideology that combines the advocacy of economic and legal principles such as fiscal discipline, respect for contracts, defense of private property and free markets,^[7] fewer laws banning minor crimes, and the traditional conservative stress on self-help and freedom of choice under a *laissez-faire* and economically liberal capitalist society with social tenets such as the importance of religion and the value of religious morality^[10] through a framework of limited, constitutional, representative government.^[11] For Margaret Randall, libertarian conservatism began as an expression of liberal individualism and the demand for personal freedom.^{[12][13]} According to Andrew Gilbert, conservative parties such as the British Conservative Party and Republican Party hold a significant

libertarian conservative wing, although Gilbert argues that "it is questionable to what extent conservatism and libertarianism are compatible".^[14] According to Mark A. Graber, libertarian conservatives are "philosophically consistent liberal legal individualists".^[15]

In 1998, George Wescott Carey edited *Freedom and Virtue: The Conservative/Libertarian Debate*, a book which contains essays that Carey describes as representing "the tension between liberty and morality" and "the main fault line dividing the two philosophies".^[16] For Brian Farmer, "Libertarianism is a form of Conservatism often considered separate from the more mainstream conservative ideologies, partially because it is a bit more extreme, and partially because Libertarians often separate themselves from other forms of more mainstream Conservatism".^[17]

In 2004, Thomas DiLorenzo wrote that libertarian conservative constitutionalists believe that the way to limit government is to enforce the United States Constitution. However, DiLorenzo criticized them by writing that "[t]he fatal flaw in the thinking of the libertarian/conservative constitutionalists stems from their unawareness or willful ignorance of how the founders themselves believed the Constitution could be enforced: by the citizens of the free, independent, and sovereign states, not the federal judiciary". DiLorenzo further wrote that the powers accrued to the federal government during the American Civil War overthrew the Constitution of 1787.^[18]

In 2006, Nelson Hultberg wrote that there is "philosophical common ground" between libertarians and conservatives. According to Hultberg, "[t]he true conservative movement was, from the start, a blend of political libertarianism, cultural conservatism, and non-interventionism abroad bequeathed to us via the Founding Fathers". He said that such libertarian conservatism was "hijacked" by neoconservatism, "by the very enemies it was formed to fight – Fabians, New Dealers, welfarists, progressives, globalists, interventionists, militarists, nation builders, and all the rest of the collectivist ilk that was assiduously working to destroy the Founders' Republic of States".^[19]

Economics

Libertarian conservatism subscribes to the libertarian idea of free-market capitalism, advocating minimal to no government interference in the market. A number of libertarian conservatives favor Austrian School economics and are critical of fiat money. Libertarian conservatives also support wherever possible privatizing services traditionally run or provided by the government, from airports and air traffic control systems to toll roads and toll booths.^{[1][8]} Libertarian conservatism advocates economic freedom in the product and capital markets and consumption whilst excluding collective action, collective bargaining and labor organization in general.^[20]

History

In the 1950s, Frank Meyer, a prominent contributor to the National Review, called his own combination of libertarianism and conservatism fusionism.^{[21][22]}

In an 1975 interview with Reason, California Governor Ronald Reagan appealed to libertarians when he stated to "believe the very heart and soul of conservatism is libertarianism".^[23] Ron Paul was one of the first elected officials in the nation to support Reagan's presidential campaign^[24] and actively campaigned for Reagan in 1976 and 1980.^[25] However, Ron Paul quickly became disillusioned with the Reagan administration's policies after Reagan's election in 1980 and later recalled being the only Republican to vote against Reagan budget proposals in 1981,^{[26][27]} aghast that "in 1977, Jimmy Carter proposed a budget with a \$38 billion deficit, and every Republican in the House voted against it. In 1981, Reagan proposed a budget with a \$45 billion deficit—which turned out to be \$113 billion—and Republicans were cheering his great victory. They were living in a storybook land".^[24] Ron Paul expressed his disgust with the political

culture of both major parties in a speech delivered in 1984 upon resigning from the House of Representatives to prepare for a failed run for the Senate and eventually apologized to his libertarian friends for having supported Reagan.^[27] By 1987, Ron Paul was ready to sever all ties to the Republican Party as explained in a blistering resignation letter.^[25] While affiliated with both Libertarian and Republican parties at different times, Ron Paul stated to have always been a libertarian at heart.^{[26][27]}

In the 1980s, libertarians such as Ron Paul and Murray Rothbard^{[28][29]} criticized President Reagan, Reaganomics and policies of the Reagan administration for, among other reasons, having turned the United States' big trade deficit into debt and the United States became a debtor nation for the first time since World War I under the Reagan administration.^{[30][31]} Rothbard argued that the presidency of Reagan has been "a disaster for libertarianism in the United States"^[32] and Ron Paul described Reagan himself as "a dramatic failure".^[25]

Already a radical classical liberal and anti-interventionist strongly influenced by the Old Right, especially its opposition to the managerial state whilst being more unequivocally anti-war and anti-imperialist,^[33] Rothbard had become the doyen of libertarianism in the United States.^{[34][35]} After his departure from the New Left, with which he helped build for a few years a relationship with other libertarians,^{[36][37]} Rothbard had involved the segment of the libertarian movement loyal to him in an alliance with the growing paleoconservative movement,^{[38][39]} seen by many observers, libertarian and otherwise, as flirting with racism and social reaction.^{[40][41][42]} Suggesting that libertarians needed a new cultural profile that would make them more acceptable to socially and culturally conservative people, Rothbard criticized the tendency of proponents of libertarianism to appeal to "'free spirits,' to people who don't want to push other people around, and who don't want to be pushed around themselves" in contrast to "the bulk of Americans", who "might well be tight-assed conformists, who want to stamp out drugs in their vicinity, kick out people with strange dress habits, etc." whilst emphasizing that this was relevant as a matter of strategy. Rothbard argued that the failure to pitch the libertarian message to Middle America might result in the loss of "the tight-assed majority".^[43]

In the 1990s, Rothbard, Lew Rockwell and others described their libertarian conservative views as paleolibertarianism.^[44] In an early statement of this position, Rockwell and Jeffrey Tucker argued for a specifically Christian libertarianism.^[44] Later, Rockwell would no longer consider himself a "paleolibertarian" and was "happy with the term libertarian".^[45] Those libertarians continued their opposition to "all forms of government intervention – economic, cultural, social, international" whilst upholding cultural conservatism in social thought and behavior. Paleolibertarians opposed a licentious libertarianism which advocated "freedom from bourgeois morality, and social authority".^[44] Rockwell later stated to have dropped that self-description because people confused it with paleoconservatism which libertarians such as Rockwell rejected. While distancing himself from the paleolibertarian alliance strategy, Rockwell affirmed paleoconservatives for their "work on the immigration issue", maintaining that "porous borders in Texas and California" could be seen as "reducing liberty, not increasing it, through a form of publicly subsidized right to trespass".^{[46][47]}

In 2001, Edward Feser emphasized that libertarianism does not require individuals to reject traditional conservative values. Libertarianism supports the ideas of liberty, privacy and ending the war on marijuana at the legal level without changing personal values. Defending the fusion of traditionalist conservatism with libertarianism and rejecting the view that libertarianism means support for a liberal culture, Feser implied that a central issue for those who share his viewpoint is "the preservation of traditional morality—particularly traditional sexual morality, with its idealization of marriage and its insistence that sexual activity be confined within the bounds of that institution, but also a general emphasis on dignity and temperance over self-indulgence and dissolute living".^[21]

Hans-Hermann Hoppe is a libertarian conservative, whose belief in rights of property owners to establish private covenant communities, from which homosexuals and political dissidents may be "physically removed",^{[48][49]} has been strongly criticised.^{[40][41][42]} Hoppe also garnered controversy due to his support for restrictive limits on immigration which critics argue is at odds with libertarianism.^[50] In *Democracy: The God That Failed*, first published in 2001, Hoppe argued that "libertarians must be conservatives".^[51] Hoppe acknowledged "the importance, under clearly stated circumstances, of discriminating against communists, democrats, and habitual advocates of alternative, non-family centered lifestyles, including homosexuals".^{[52][53]} In contrast to Walter Block,^[54] Hoppe argued that libertarianism need not be seen as requiring open borders^[55] and attributed "open border enthusiasm" to "egalitarianism".^[56] While defending "market anarchy" in preference to both, Hoppe has argued for the superiority of monarchy to democracy, maintaining that monarchs are likely to be better stewards of the territory they claim to own than democratic politicians, whose time horizons may be shorter.^[57]

Notable people

Richard Epstein, Milton Friedman, Friedrich Hayek, Ludwig von Mises, Albert Jay Nock, Richard Posner, Peter Schiff, Thomas Sowell, David Stockman and Walter E. Williams have been described as libertarian conservatives.^{[8][58]} Former Congressman Ron Paul and his son Senator Rand Paul have been described as combining conservative and libertarian small government ideas and showing how the Constitution of the United States defends the individual and most libertarian views.^[59]

See also

- Democracy promotion
- Empire of Liberty
- Fiscal conservatism
- Freedom Caucus
- Libertarian perspectives on foreign intervention
- Libertarian Republican
- Libertarianism and Objectivism
- Liberty Caucus
- Manifest destiny
- Neoconservatism
- Neoliberalism
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- Objectivism
- Republican Liberty Caucus
- Supply-side economics
- Tea Party movement
- Western conservatism

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Libertarian Marxism

Libertarian Marxism is a broad scope of economic and political philosophies that emphasize the anti-authoritarian and libertarian aspects of Marxism. Early currents of libertarian Marxism such as left communism emerged in opposition to Marxism–Leninism.

Libertarian Marxism is often critical of reformist positions such as those held by social democrats. Libertarian Marxist currents often draw from Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' later works, specifically the *Grundrisse* and *The Civil War in France*,^[1] emphasizing the Marxist belief in the ability of the working class to forge its own destiny without the need for a state or vanguard party to mediate or aid its liberation. Along with anarchism, libertarian Marxism is one of the main currents of libertarian socialism.

Libertarian Marxism includes currents such as autonomism, council communism, De Leonism, Lettrism, parts of the New Left, Situationism, Socialisme ou Barbarie and workerism. Libertarian Marxism has often had a strong influence on both post-left and social anarchists. Notable theorists of libertarian Marxism have included Maurice Brinton, Cornelius Castoriadis, Guy Debord, Raya Dunayevskaya, Daniel Guérin, C. L. R. James, Rosa Luxemburg, Antonio Negri, Anton Pannekoek, Fredy Perlman, Ernesto Screpanti, E. P. Thompson, Raoul Vaneigem and Yanis Varoufakis,^[2] who claims that Marx himself was a libertarian Marxist.^[3]

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Overview

Marxism started to develop a libertarian strand of thought after specific circumstances. According to Chamsy Ojelli, "[o]ne does find early expressions of such perspectives in Morris and the Socialist Party of Great Britain (the SPGB), then again around the events of 1905, with the growing concern at the

bureaucratisation and de-radicalisation of international socialism".^[4]

In December 1884, William Morris established the Socialist League which was encouraged by Friedrich Engels and Eleanor Marx. As the leading figure in the organization, Morris embarked on a relentless series of speeches and talks on street corners as well as in working men's clubs and lecture theatres across England and Scotland. From 1887, anarchists began to outnumber Marxists in the Socialist League.^[5] The 3rd Annual Conference of the League held in London on 29 May 1887 marked the change, with a majority of the 24 branch delegates voting in favor of an anarchist-sponsored resolution declaring: "This conference endorses the policy of abstention from parliamentary action, hitherto pursued by the League, and sees no sufficient reason for altering it".^[6]

Morris played peacemaker, but he ultimately sided with the anti-parliamentarians, who won control of the Socialist League which consequently lost the support of Engels and saw the departure of Eleanor Marx and her partner Edward Aveling to form the separate Bloomsbury Socialist Society.

Theory

For "many Marxian libertarian socialists, the political bankruptcy of socialist orthodoxy necessitated a theoretical break. This break took a number of forms. The Bordigists and the SPGB championed a super-Marxian intransigence in theoretical matters. Other socialists made a return 'behind Marx' to the anti-positivist programme of German idealism. Libertarian socialism has frequently linked its anti-authoritarian political aspirations with this theoretical differentiation from orthodoxy. [...] Karl Korsch [...] remained a libertarian socialist for a large part of his life and because of the persistent urge towards theoretical openness in his work. Korsch rejected the eternal and static, and he was obsessed by the essential role of practice in a theory's truth. For Korsch, no theory could escape history, not even Marxism. In this vein, Korsch even credited the stimulus for Marx's Capital to the movement of the oppressed classes".^[4]

In rejecting both capitalism and the state, some libertarian socialists align themselves with anarchists in opposition to both capitalist representative democracy and to authoritarian forms of Marxism. Although anarchists and Marxists share an ultimate goal of a stateless society, anarchists criticise most Marxists for advocating a transitional phase under which the state is used to achieve this aim. Nonetheless, libertarian Marxist tendencies such as autonomism and council communism have historically been intertwined with the anarchist movement. Anarchist movements have come into conflict with both capitalist and Marxist forces, sometimes at the same time as in the Spanish Civil War, although as in that war Marxists themselves are often divided in support or opposition to anarchism. Other political persecutions under bureaucratic parties have resulted in a strong historical antagonism between anarchists and libertarian Marxists on the one hand and Leninists, Marxist-Leninists and their derivatives such as Maoists on the other. However, in recent history libertarian socialists have repeatedly formed temporary alliances with Marxist-Leninist groups in order to protest institutions they both reject.

Part of this antagonism can be traced to the International Workingmen's Association, the First International, a congress of radical workers, where Mikhail Bakunin (who was fairly representative of anarchist views) and Karl Marx (whom anarchists accused of being an "authoritarian") came into conflict on various issues. Bakunin's viewpoint on the illegitimacy of the state as an institution and the role of electoral politics was starkly counterposed to Marx's views in the First International. Marx and Bakunin's disputes eventually led to Marx taking control of the First International and expelling Bakunin and his followers from the organization. This was the beginning of a long-running feud and schism between libertarian socialists and what they call "authoritarian communists", or alternatively just "authoritarians". Some Marxists have formulated views that closely resemble syndicalism and thus express more affinity with anarchist ideas. Several libertarian socialists, notably Noam Chomsky, believe that anarchism shares much in common with certain variants of Marxism such as the council communism of Marxist Anton Pannekoek. In Chomsky's *Notes on Anarchism*,^[7] he suggests the possibility "that some form of council communism is the natural

form of revolutionary socialism in an industrial society. It reflects the belief that democracy is severely limited when the industrial system is controlled by any form of autocratic elite, whether of owners, managers, and technocrats, a 'vanguard' party, or a State bureaucracy".

History

20th century

According to Chamsy el-Ojeili, "the most important ruptures are to be traced to the insurgency during and after the First World War. Disillusioned with the capitulation of the social democrats, excited by the emergence of workers' councils, and slowly distanced from Leninism, many communists came to reject the claims of socialist parties and to put their faith instead in the masses". For these socialists, "[t]he intuition of the masses in action can have more genius in it than the work of the greatest individual genius". Luxemburg's workerism and spontaneism are exemplary of positions later taken up by the far-left of the period. [...] Pannekoek, Roland Holst and Gorter in the Netherlands, Sylvia Pankhurst in Britain, Gramsci in Italy and Lukacs in Hungary. In these formulations, the dictatorship of the proletariat was to be the dictatorship of a class, "not of a party or of a clique".^[4] However, within this line of thought "[t]he tension between anti-vanguardism and vanguardism has frequently resolved itself in two diametrically opposed ways: the first involved a drift towards the party; the second saw a move towards the idea of complete proletarian spontaneity. [...] The first course is exemplified most clearly in Gramsci and Lukacs. [...] The second course is illustrated in the tendency, developing from the Dutch and German far-lefts, which inclined towards the complete eradication of the party form".^[4]

In the emerging Soviet state, there appeared left-wing uprisings against the Bolsheviks which were a series of rebellions and uprisings against the Bolsheviks led or supported by left wing groups including Socialist Revolutionaries,^[8] Left Socialist Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and anarchists.^[9] Some were in support of the White Movement while some tried to be an independent force. The uprisings started in 1918 and continued through the Russian Civil War and after until 1922. In response, the Bolsheviks increasingly abandoned attempts to get these groups to join the government and suppressed them with force.

The POUM is viewed as being libertarian Marxist due to its anti-Soviet stance in the Civil War in Spain.

Post-World War II

In the mid-20th century, some libertarian socialist groups emerged from disagreements with Trotskyism which presented itself as Leninist anti-Stalinism. As such, the French group Socialisme ou Barbarie emerged from the Trotskyist Fourth International, where Castoriadis and Claude Lefort constituted a Chaulieu–Montal Tendency in the French Parti Communiste Internationaliste in 1946. In 1948, they experienced their "final disenchantment with Trotskyism",^[10] leading them to break away to form Socialisme ou Barbarie, whose journal began appearing in March 1949. Castoriadis later said of this period that "the main audience of the group and of the journal was formed by groups of the old, radical left: Bordigists, council communists, some anarchists and some offspring of the German 'left' of the 1920s".^[11] In the United Kingdom, the group Solidarity was founded in 1960 by a small group of expelled members of the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League. Almost from the start, it was strongly influenced by the



Cornelius Castoriadis, theorist of the group Socialisme ou Barbarie

French Socialisme ou Barbarie group, in particular by its intellectual leader Cornelius Castoriadis, whose essays were among the many pamphlets Solidarity produced. The intellectual leader of the group was Chris Pallis (who wrote under the name Maurice Brinton).^[12]

In the People's Republic of China (PRC) since 1967, the terms ultra-left and left communist refers to political theory and practice self-defined as further left than that of the central Maoist leaders at the height of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). The terms are also used retroactively to describe some early 20th century Chinese anarchist orientations. As a pejorative, the Communist Party of China (CPC) has used the term "ultra-left" more broadly to denounce any orientation it considers further left than the party line. According to the latter usage, in 1978 the CPC Central Committee denounced as ultra-left the line of Mao Zedong from 1956 until his death in 1976. Ultra-left refers to those GPCR rebel positions that diverged from the central Maoist line by identifying an antagonistic contradiction between the CPC-PRC party-state itself and the masses of workers and peasants^[13] conceived as a single proletarian class divorced from any meaningful control over production or distribution. Whereas the central Maoist line maintained that the masses controlled the means of production through the party's mediation, the ultra-left argued that the objective interests of bureaucrats were structurally determined by the centralist state-form in direct opposition to the objective interests of the masses, regardless of however "red" a given bureaucrat's thought might be. Whereas the central Maoist leaders encouraged the masses to criticize reactionary "ideas" and "habits" among the alleged 5% of bad cadres, giving them a chance to "turn over a new leaf" after they had undergone "thought reform", the ultra-left argued that cultural revolution had to give way to political revolution "in which one class overthrows another class".^{[14][15]} The emergence of the New Left in the 1950s and 1960s led to a revival of interest in libertarian socialism.^[16] The New Left's critique of the Old Left's authoritarianism was associated with a strong interest in personal liberty, autonomy (see the thinking of Cornelius Castoriadis) and led to a rediscovery of older socialist traditions, such as left communism, council communism and the Industrial Workers of the World. The New Left also led to a revival of anarchism. Journals like *Radical America* and *Black Mask* in the United States, *Solidarity*, *Big Flame* and *Democracy & Nature*, succeeded by *The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy*^[17] in the United Kingdom, introduced a range of left libertarian ideas to a new generation.

In 1969, French platformist anarcho-communist Daniel Guérin published an essay called "Libertarian Marxism?" in which he dealt with the debate between Marx and Bakunin at the First International and afterwards suggested that "[l]ibertarian marxism [sic] rejects determinism and fatalism, giving the greater place to individual will, intuition, imagination, reflex speeds, and to the deep instincts of the masses, which are more far-seeing in hours of crisis than the reasonings of the 'elites'; libertarian marxism [sic] thinks of the effects of surprise, provocation and boldness, refuses to be cluttered and paralysed by a heavy 'scientific' apparatus, doesn't equivocate or bluff, and guards itself from adventurism as much as from fear of the unknown".^[18]

Autonomist Marxism, neo-Marxism and situationist theory are also regarded as being anti-authoritarian variants of Marxism that are firmly within the libertarian socialist tradition. Related to this were intellectuals who were influenced by Italian left communist Amadeo Bordiga, but who disagreed with his Leninist positions, including Jacques Camatte, editor of the French publication *Invariance*; and Gilles Dauvé, who published *Troploin* with Karl Nestic.

Notable libertarian Marxist tendencies

Within Freudo-Marxism

Two Marxist and Freudian psychoanalytic theorists have received the libertarian label or have been associated with it due to their emphasis on anti-authoritarianism and freedom issues.

Wilhelm Reich^{[20][21][22][23]} was an Austrian psychoanalyst, a member of the second generation of psychoanalysts after Sigmund Freud and one of the most radical figures in the history of psychiatry. He was the author of several influential books and essays, most notably *Character Analysis* (1933), *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* (1933) and *The Sexual Revolution* (1936).^[24] His work on character contributed to the development of Anna Freud's *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence* (1936) and his idea of muscular armour—the expression of the personality in the way the body moves—shaped innovations such as body psychotherapy, Fritz Perls's Gestalt therapy, Alexander Lowen's bioenergetic analysis and Arthur Janov's primal therapy. His writing influenced generations of intellectuals—during the 1968 student uprisings in Paris and Berlin, students scrawled his name on walls and threw copies of *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* at the police.^[25]

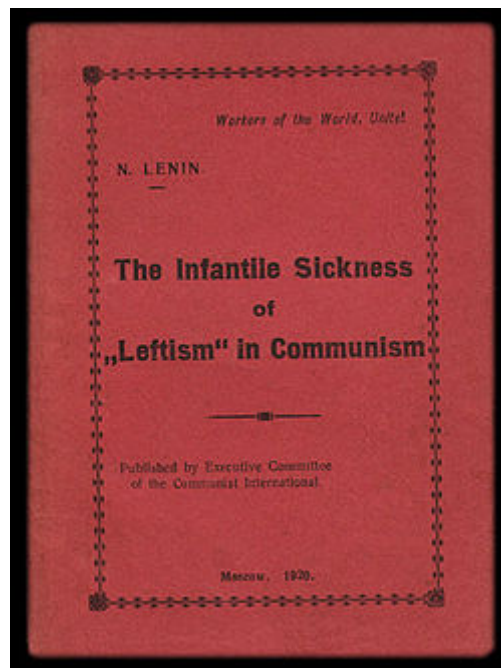
On 23 August, six tons of his books, journals and papers were burned in the 25th Street public incinerator in New York, the Gansevoort incinerator, in response to a violation of a ban on distributing orgone accumulators as medical devices. The burned material included copies of several of his books, including *The Sexual Revolution*, *Character Analysis* and *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*. Though these had been published in German before Reich ever discussed orgone, he had added mention of it to the English editions, so they were caught by the injunction.^[26] As with the accumulators, the FDA was supposed only to observe the destruction. It has been cited as one of the worst examples of censorship in the United States. Reich became a consistent propagandist for sexual freedom going as far as opening free sex-counselling clinics in Vienna for working-class patients^[27] as well as coining the phrase "sexual revolution" in one of his books from the 1940s.^[28]



Herbert Marcuse, associated with the Frankfurt School of critical theory, was an influential libertarian socialist philosopher of the New Left^[29]

On the other hand, Herbert Marcuse was a German philosopher, sociologist and political theorist associated with the Frankfurt School of critical theory. His work *Eros and Civilization* (1955) discusses the social meaning of biology—history seen not as a class struggle, but a fight against repression of our instincts. It argues that "advanced industrial society" (modern capitalism) is preventing us from reaching a non-repressive society "based on a fundamentally different experience of being, a fundamentally different relation between man and nature, and fundamentally

different existential relations".^[30] It contends that Freud's argument that repression is needed by civilization



First English edition of Vladimir Lenin's "Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder (published by the Executive Committee of the Communist International for delegates to its 2nd World Congress)^[19] in which Lenin attacks left communists and council communists



Wilhelm Reich, Freudo-Marxist theorist who wrote the book *The Sexual Revolution* in 1936

to persist is mistaken as Eros is liberating and constructive. Marcuse argues that "the irreconcilable conflict is not between work (reality principle) and Eros (pleasure principle), but between alienated labour (performance principle) and Eros".^[31] Sex is allowed for "the betters" (capitalists) and for workers only when not disturbing performance. Marcuse believes that a socialist society could be a society without needing the performance of the poor and without as strong a suppression of our sexual drives—it could replace alienated labor with "non-alienated libidinal work" resulting in "a non-repressive civilization based on 'non-repressive sublimation'".^[31] During the 1960s, Marcuse achieved world renown as "the guru of the New Left", publishing many articles and giving lectures and advice to student radicals all over the world. He travelled widely and his work was often discussed in the mass media, becoming one of the few American intellectuals to gain such attention. Never surrendering his revolutionary vision and commitments, Marcuse continued to his death to defend the Marxian theory and libertarian socialism.^[32]

Socialisme ou Barbarie

Socialisme ou Barbarie ("Socialism or Barbarism") was a French-based radical libertarian socialist group of the post-World War II period, whose name comes from a phrase Rosa Luxemburg used in her 1916 essay *The Junius Pamphlet*. It existed from 1948 until 1965. The animating personality was Cornelius Castoriadis, also known as Pierre Chaulieu or Paul Cardan.^[33] The group originated in the Trotskyist Fourth International, where Castoriadis and Claude Lefort constituted a Chaulieu–Montal Tendency in the French Parti Communiste Internationaliste in 1946. In 1948, they experienced their "final disenchantment with Trotskyism",^[34] leading them to break away to form Socialisme ou Barbarie, whose journal began appearing in March 1949. Castoriadis later said of this period that "the main audience of the group and of the journal was formed by groups of the old, radical left: Bordigists, council communists, some anarchists and some offspring of the German 'left' of the 1920s".^[35] The group was composed of both intellectuals and workers and agreed with the idea that the main enemies of society were the bureaucracies which governed modern capitalism. They documented and analysed the struggle against that bureaucracy in the group's journal. As an example, the thirteenth issue (January–March 1954) was devoted to the East German revolt of June 1953 and the strikes which erupted amongst several sectors of French workers that summer. Following from the belief that what the working class was addressing in their daily struggles was the real content of socialism, the intellectuals encouraged the workers in the group to report on every aspect of their working lives.



The journal *Socialisme ou Barbarie*

Situationist International

The Situationist International (SI) was a restricted group of international revolutionaries founded in 1957 and which had its peak in its influence on the unprecedented general wildcat strikes of May 1968 in France.

With their ideas rooted in Marxism and the 20th century European artistic avant-gardes, they advocated experiences of life being alternative to those admitted by the capitalist order, for the fulfillment of human primitive desires and the pursuing of a superior passional quality. For this purpose they suggested and experimented with the construction of situations, namely the setting up of environments favorable for the fulfillment of such desires. Using methods drawn from the arts, they developed a series of experimental fields of study for the construction of such situations, like unitary urbanism and psychogeography.

They fought against the main obstacle on the fulfillment of such superior passional living, identified by them in advanced capitalism. Their theoretical work peaked on the highly influential book *The Society of the Spectacle* by Guy Debord. Debord argued in 1967 that spectacular features like mass media and

advertising have a central role in an advanced capitalist society, which is to show a fake reality in order to mask the real capitalist degradation of human life. To overthrow such a system, the Situationist International supported the May 1968 revolts and asked the workers to occupy the factories and to run them with direct democracy through workers' councils composed by instantly revocable delegates.

After publishing in the last issue of the magazine an analysis of the May 1968 revolts and the strategies that will need to be adopted in future revolutions,^[36] the SI was dissolved in 1972.^[37]

Solidarity

Solidarity was a small libertarian socialist organisation from 1960 to 1992 in the United Kingdom. It published a magazine of the same name. Solidarity was close to council communism in its prescriptions and was known for its emphasis on workers' self-organisation and for its radical anti-Leninism. Solidarity was founded in 1960 by a small group of expelled members of the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League. It was initially known as Socialism Reaffirmed. The group published a journal, *Agitator*, which after six issues was renamed *Solidarity*, from which the organisation took its new name. Almost from the start it was strongly influenced by the French Socialisme ou Barbarie group, in particular by its intellectual leader Cornelius Castoriadis, whose essays were among the many pamphlets Solidarity produced. Solidarity existed as a nationwide organisation with groups in London and many other cities until 1981, when it imploded after a series of political disputes. The magazine *Solidarity* continued to be published by the London group until 1992—other former Solidarity members were behind *Wildcat* in Manchester and *Here and Now* magazine in Glasgow. The intellectual leader of the group was Chris Pallis, whose pamphlets (written under the name Maurice Brinton) included *Paris May 1968*, *The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control 1917-21* (<http://libcom.org/library/the-bolsheviks-and-workers-control-solidarity-group>) and *The Irrational in Politics* (<http://libcom.org/library/Irrational-in-politics-Maurice-Brinton>).^[38] Other key Solidarity writers were Andy Anderson (author of *Hungary 1956* (<http://libcom.org/library/hungary-56-andy-anderson>)), Ken Weller (who wrote several pamphlets on industrial struggles and oversaw the group's Motor Bulletins on the car industry), Joe Jacobs (*Out of the Ghetto*), John Quail (*The Slow-Burning Fuse*), Phil Mailer (*Portugal: The Impossible Revolution*) John King (*The Political Economy of Marx, A History of Marxian Economics*), George Williamson (writing as James Finlayson, *Urban Devastation - The Planning of Incarceration*), David Lamb (*Mutinies*) and Liz Willis (*Women in the Spanish Revolution*).^[39]

Autonomism

Autonomism refers to a set of left-wing political and social movements and theories close to the socialist movement. As an identifiable theoretical system, it first emerged in Italy in the 1960s from workerist (*operaismo*) communism. Later, post-Marxist and anarchist tendencies became significant after influence from the Situationists, the failure of Italian far-left movements in the 1970s and the emergence of a number of important theorists including Antonio Negri, who had contributed to the 1969 founding of *Potere Operaio*, Mario Tronti and Paolo Virno.^[40]

Through translations made available by Danilo Montaldi and others, the Italian autonomists drew upon previous activist research in the United States by the Johnson–Forest Tendency and in France by the group Socialisme ou Barbarie.

It influenced the German and Dutch Autonomens, the worldwide social centre movement and today is influential in Italy, France and to a lesser extent the English-speaking countries. Those who describe themselves as autonomists now vary from Marxists to post-structuralists and anarchists. The autonomist



Antonio Negri, main theorist of Italian autonomism

Marxist and autonomen movements provided inspiration to some on the revolutionary left in English speaking countries, particularly among anarchists, many of whom have adopted autonomist tactics. Some English-speaking anarchists even describe themselves as autonomists. The Italian *operaismo* ("workerism") movement also influenced Marxist academics such as Harry Cleaver, John Holloway, Steve Wright and Nick Dyer-Witthford.

See also

- Democracy in Marxism

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21. "In an earlier article ("Some Thoughts on Libertarianism," *Broadsheet* No. 35), I argued that to define a position as "anti-authoritarian" is not, in fact, to define the position at all "but merely to indicate a relationship of opposition to another position, the authoritarian one...On the psychoanalytic side, Wilhelm Reich (*The Sexual Revolution*, Peter Neville-Vision Press, London, 1951| *Character Analysis*, Orgone Institute Press, N.Y., 1945; and *The Function of the Orgasm*, Orgone Institute Press, N.Y., 1942) was preferred to Freud because, despite his own weaknesses – his Utopian tendencies and his eventual drift into "orgones" and "bions" – Reich laid more emphasis on the social conditions of mental events than did Freud (see, e.g., A.J. Baker, "Reich's Criticism of Freud," *Libertarian* No. 3, January 1960)." "A Reading List for Libertarians" by David Iverson. *Broadsheet* No. 39
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23. "In the summer of 1950-51, numerous member of the A.C.C. and other interested people held a series of meetings in the Ironworkers' Hall with a view to forming a downtown political society. Here a division developed between a more radical wing (including e.g. Waters and Grahame Harrison) and a more conservative wing (including e.g. Stove and Eric Dowling). The general orientation of these meetings may be judged from the fact that when Harry Hooton proposed "Anarchist" and some of the conservative proposed "Democratic" as the name for the new Society, both were rejected and "Libertarian Society" was adopted as an acceptable title. Likewise then accepted as the motto for this Society - and continued by the later Libertarian society - was the early Marx quotation used by Wilhelm Reich as the motto for his *The Sexual Revolution*, vis: "Since it is not for us to create a plan for the future that will hold for all time, all the more surely what we contemporaries have to do is the uncompromising critical evaluation of all that exists, uncompromising in the sense that our criticism fears neither its own results nor the conflict with the powers that be." "SYDNEY LIBERTARIANISM & THE PUSH" by A.J. Baker, in *Broadsheet*, No 81, March, 1975. (abridged)

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 - Turner 2011, p. 114: "[Reich's mobile clinic was] perhaps the most radical, politically engaged psychoanalytic enterprise to date."
 - For the publication and significance of *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* and *Character Analysis*, see [Sharaf 1994 \(https://books.google.com/books?id=ddlMl4jJgh0C&pg=PA163\)](https://books.google.com/books?id=ddlMl4jJgh0C&pg=PA163), pp. 163–164, 168.
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 - [Young-Bruehl 2008 \(https://books.google.com/books?id=OcoQTQwTDu8C&pg=PA157&lpg=PA157\)](https://books.google.com/books?id=OcoQTQwTDu8C&pg=PA157&lpg=PA157), p. 157: "Reich, a year and a half younger than Anna Freud, was the youngest instructor at the Training Institute, where his classes on psychoanalytic technique, later presented in a book called *Character Analysis*, were crucial to his whole group of contemporaries."
 - [Sterba 1982 \(https://books.google.com/books?id=uaFaiUZsFD4C&pg=PA35\)](https://books.google.com/books?id=uaFaiUZsFD4C&pg=PA35), p. 35: "This book [*Character Analysis*] serves even today as an excellent introduction to psychoanalytic technique. In my opinion, Reich's understanding of and technical approach to resistance prepared the way for Anna Freud's *Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence* (1936)."
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- [For Communism – John Gray WebSite: large online library of libertarian communist texts](https://web.archive.org/web/20121105184256/http://www.geocities.com/~johngray/) (https://web.archive.org/web/20121105184256/http://www.geocities.com/~johngray/).
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Libertarian paternalism

Libertarian paternalism is the idea that it is both possible and legitimate for private and public institutions to affect behavior while also respecting freedom of choice, as well as the implementation of that idea. The term was coined by behavioral economist [Richard Thaler](#) and legal scholar [Cass Sunstein](#) in a 2003 article in the *American Economic Review*.^[1] The authors further elaborated upon their ideas in a more in-depth article published in the *University of Chicago Law Review* that same year.^[2] They propose that libertarian paternalism is [paternalism](#) in the sense that "it tries to influence choices in a way that will make choosers better off, as judged by themselves" (p. 5); note and consider, the concept paternalism specifically requires a restriction of choice. It is [libertarian](#) in the sense that it aims to ensure that "people should be free to opt out of specified arrangements if they choose to do so" (p. 1161). The possibility to opt out is said to "preserve freedom of choice" (p. 1182). Thaler and Sunstein published *Nudge*, a book-length defense of this political doctrine, in 2008 (new edition 2009).^[3]

Libertarian paternalism is similar to asymmetric paternalism, which refers to policies designed to help people who behave irrationally and so are not advancing their own interests, while interfering only minimally with people who behave rationally.^[4] Such policies are also asymmetric in the sense that they should be acceptable both to those who believe that people behave rationally and to those who believe that people often behave irrationally.

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Examples of policies

Setting the default in order to exploit the [default effect](#) is a typical example of a soft paternalist policy. Countries that have an "opt-out" system for voluntary [organ donation](#) (anyone who did not explicitly refuse to donate their organs in the case of accident is considered a donor) experience dramatically higher levels of organ donation consent, than countries with an opt-in system. [Austria](#), with an opt-out system, has a consent rate of 99.98%, while [Germany](#), with a very similar culture and economic situation, but an opt-in system, has a consent rate of only 12%.^[5]

Cab drivers in [New York City](#) have seen an increase in tips from 10% to 22% after passengers had the ability to pay using credit cards on a device installed in the cab whose screen presented them with three default tip options, ranging from 15% to 30%.^[6]

Until recently, the default contribution rate for most tax-deferred retirement savings plans in the United States was zero, and despite the enormous tax advantages, many people took years to start contributing if they ever did. Behavioral economists attribute this to the "status quo bias", the common human resistance to changing one's behavior, combined with another common problem: the tendency to procrastinate. Research by behavioral economists demonstrated, moreover, that firms which raised the default rate instantly and dramatically raised the contribution rates of their employees.^[7]

Raising default contribution rates is also an example of asymmetric paternalism. Those who are making an informed deliberate choice to put aside zero percent of their income in tax deferred savings still have this option, but those who were not saving simply out of inertia or due to procrastination are helped by higher default contribution rates. It is also asymmetric in the second sense: If you do not believe that defaults matter, because you believe that people will make rational decisions about something as important as retirement saving, then you should not care about the default rate. If you believe that defaults matter, on the other hand, you should want to set defaults at the level that you believe will be best for the largest number of people.

Criticism of the choice of term

There has been much criticism of the ideology behind the term, *libertarian paternalism*. For example, it has been argued that it fails to appreciate the traditional libertarian concern with coercion in particular, and instead focuses on freedom of choice in a wider sense.^[8] Others have argued that, while libertarian paternalism aims to promote wellbeing, there may be more libertarian aims that could be promoted, such as maximizing future liberty.^[9]

See also

- Choice architecture
- List of cognitive biases
- Tax choice – soft paternalism approach to taxation

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External links

- [Interview with Richard Thaler about libertarian paternalism \(http://www.econtalk.org/archives/2006/11/richard_thaler_1.html\)](http://www.econtalk.org/archives/2006/11/richard_thaler_1.html). An EconTalk podcast
- [Interview with Cass Sunstein about libertarian paternalism \(http://www.grist.org/article/2009-green-nudges-an-interview-with-obama-re\)](http://www.grist.org/article/2009-green-nudges-an-interview-with-obama-re). Grist.com.

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Libertarian socialism

Libertarian socialism,^[1] also referred to as **anarcho-socialism**,^{[2][3]} **anarchist socialism**,^[4] **free socialism**,^[5] **stateless socialism**,^[6] **socialist anarchism**^[7] and **socialist libertarianism**,^[8] is an anti-authoritarian, anti-statist and libertarian^{[9][10]} political philosophy within the socialist movement which rejects the state socialist conception of socialism as a statist form where the state retains centralized control of the economy.^[11] Overlapping with anarchism and libertarianism,^{[12][13]} libertarian socialists criticize wage slavery relationships within the workplace,^[14] emphasizing workers' self-management^[15] and decentralized structures of political organization.^{[16][17][18]} As a broad socialist tradition and movement, libertarian socialism includes anarchist, Marxist and anarchist or Marxist-inspired thought as well as other left-libertarian tendencies.^[19] Anarchism and libertarian Marxism are the main currents of libertarian socialism.^{[20][21]}

Libertarian socialism generally rejects the concept of a state^[15] and asserts that a society based on freedom and justice can only be achieved with the abolition of authoritarian institutions that control certain means of production and subordinate the majority to an owning class or political and economic elite.^[22] Libertarian socialists advocate for decentralized structures based on direct democracy and federal or confederal associations^[23] such as citizens'/popular assemblies, cooperatives, libertarian municipalism, trade unions and workers' councils.^{[24][25]} This is done within a general call for liberty^[26] and free association^[27] through the identification, criticism and practical dismantling of illegitimate authority in all aspects of human life.^{[28][29][30][31][32][33][34][35]} Libertarian socialism is distinguished from the authoritarian and vanguardist approach of Bolshevism/Leninism and the reformism of Fabianism/social democracy.^{[36][37]}

A form and socialist wing of left-libertarianism,^{[8][10][38]} past and present currents and movements commonly described as libertarian socialist include anarchism (especially anarchist schools of thought such as anarcho-communism, anarcho-syndicalism,^[39] collectivist anarchism, green anarchism, individualist anarchism,^{[40][41][42][43]} mutualism^[44] and social anarchism) as well as communalism, some forms of democratic socialism, guild socialism,^[45] libertarian Marxism^[46] (autonomism, council communism,^[47] left communism and Luxemburgism, among others),^{[48][49]} participism, revolutionary syndicalism and some versions of utopian socialism.^[50]

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Overview

Definition

Libertarian socialism is a Western philosophy with diverse interpretations, although some general commonalities can be found in its many incarnations. It advocates a worker-oriented system of production and organization in the workplace that in some aspects radically departs from neoclassical economics in favor of democratic cooperatives or common ownership of the means of production (socialism).^[51] They propose that this economic system be executed in a manner that attempts to maximize the liberty of individuals and minimize concentration of power or authority (libertarianism). Adherents propose achieving this through decentralization of political and economic power, usually involving the socialization of most large-scale private property and enterprise (while retaining respect for personal property). Libertarian socialism tends to deny the legitimacy of most forms of economically significant private property, viewing capitalist property relation as a form of domination that is antagonistic to individual freedom.^[52]



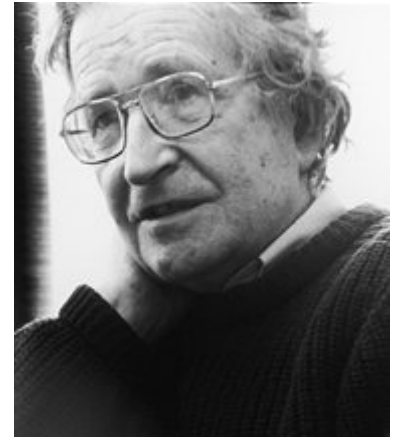
The 17 August 1860 edition of French libertarian communist publication Le Libertaire edited by Joseph Déjacque

The first anarchist journal to use the term *libertarian* was Le Libertaire, Journal du Mouvement Social and it was published in New York City between 1858 and 1861 by French libertarian communist Joseph Déjacque.^[53] The next recorded use of the term was in Europe, when *libertarian communism* was used at a French regional anarchist Congress at Le Havre (16–22 November 1880). January 1881 saw a French manifesto issued on "Libertarian or Anarchist Communism". Finally, 1895 saw leading anarchists Sébastien Faure and Louise Michel publish Le Libertaire in France.^[53] The term itself stems from the French cognate *libertaire* which was used to evade the French ban on anarchist publications.^[54] In this tradition, the term *libertarianism* is generally used as a synonym for anarchism, the original meaning of the term.^[55] In the context of the European socialist movement, the term *libertarian* has been conventionally used to describe socialists who opposed authoritarianism and state socialism such as Mikhail Bakunin and largely overlaps with social anarchism,^{[56][57]} although individualist anarchism is also libertarian socialist.^[58] Non-Lockean individualism encompasses socialism, including libertarian socialism.^[59]

The association of socialism with libertarianism predates that of capitalism and many anti-authoritarians still decry what they see as a mistaken association of capitalism with libertarianism in the United States.^[60] As Noam Chomsky put it, a consistent libertarian "must oppose private ownership of the means of production and wage slavery, which is a component of this system, as incompatible with the principle that labor must be freely undertaken and under the control of the producer".^[61] Terms such as *anarchist socialism*, *anarcho-socialism*, *free socialism*, *stateless socialism*, *socialist anarchism* and *socialist libertarianism* have all been used to refer to the anarchist-wing of libertarian socialism,^[8] or vis-à-vis authoritarian forms of socialism.^{[62][63]}

In a chapter of his *Economic Justice and Democracy* (2005) recounting the history of libertarian socialism, economist Robin Hahnel relates that the period where libertarian socialism has had its greatest impact was at the end of the 19th century through the first four decades of the 20th century. According to Hahnel, "libertarian socialism was as powerful a force as social democracy and communism" in the early 20th

century. The Anarchist St. Imier International, referred by Hahnel as the Libertarian International, was founded at the 1872 Congress of St. Imier a few days after the split between Marxist and libertarians at The Hague Congress of the First International, referred by Hahnel as the Socialist International. This Libertarian International "competed successfully against social democrats and communists alike for the loyalty of anticapitalist activists, revolutionaries, workers, unions and political parties for over fifty years". For Hahnel, libertarian socialists "played a major role in the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917. Libertarian socialists played a dominant role in the Mexican Revolution of 1911. Twenty years after World War I was over, libertarian socialists were still strong enough to spearhead the social revolution that swept across Republican Spain in 1936 and 1937".^[64] On the other hand, a libertarian trend also developed within Marxism which gained visibility around the late 1910s mainly in reaction against Bolshevism and Leninism rising to power and establishing the Soviet Union.^{[65][66][67]} Libertarian socialists argue these states were in the process of transitioning from capitalism to socialism following Leninist doctrine and never reached further stages of development.^[68] Libertarian socialists seek the abolition of the state without going through a state capitalist transitional stage.^[69]



Noam Chomsky is one of the most well-known contemporary libertarian socialist thinkers.

In his preface to Peter Kropotkin's book The Conquest of Bread, Kent Bromley considered French utopian socialist Charles Fourier to be the founder of the libertarian branch of socialist thought as opposed to the authoritarian socialist ideas of the French François-Noël Babeuf and the Italian Philippe Buonarroti.^[50]

Anti-capitalism

According to John O'Neil, "[i]t is forgotten that the early defenders of commercial society like [Adam] Smith were as much concerned with criticising the associational blocks to mobile labour represented by guilds as they were to the activities of the state. The history of socialist thought includes a long associational and anti-statist tradition prior to the political victory of the Bolshevism in the east and varieties of Fabianism in the west".^[70]

Libertarian socialism is anti-capitalist and can be distinguished from capitalist and right-libertarian principles which concentrate economic power in the hands of those who own the most capital. Libertarian socialism aims to distribute power more widely among members of society. Libertarian socialism and right-libertarian ideologies such as neoliberalism differ in that advocates of the former generally believe that one's degree of freedom is affected by one's economic and social status whereas advocates of the latter believe in the freedom of choice within a capitalist framework, specifically under capitalist private property.^[71] This is sometimes characterized as a desire to maximize free creativity in a society in preference to free enterprise.^[72]

Within anarchism, there emerged a critique of wage slavery which refers to a situation perceived as quasi-voluntary slavery,^[73] where a person's livelihood depends on wages, especially when the dependence is total and immediate.^{[74][75]} It is a negatively connoted term used to draw an analogy between slavery and wage labor by focusing on similarities between owning and renting a person. The term "wage slavery" has been used to criticize economic exploitation and social stratification, with the former seen primarily as unequal bargaining power between labor and capital (particularly when workers are paid comparatively low wages, e.g. in sweatshops)^[76] and the latter as a lack of workers' self-management, fulfilling job choices and leisure in an economy.^{[77][78][79]} Libertarian socialists believe that by valuing freedom society works towards a system in which individuals have the power to decide economic issues along with political

issues. Libertarian socialists seek to replace unjustified authority with direct democracy, voluntary federation and popular autonomy in all aspects of life,^[80] including physical communities and economic enterprises. With the advent of the Industrial Revolution, thinkers such as Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and Karl Marx elaborated the comparison between wage labor and slavery in the context of a critique of societal property not intended for active personal use.^{[81][82]} Luddites emphasized the dehumanization brought about by machines while later Emma Goldman famously denounced wage slavery by saying: "The only difference is that you are hired slaves instead of block slaves".^[83]

Many libertarian socialists believe that large-scale voluntary associations should manage industrial production while workers retain rights to the individual products of their labor.^[84] They see a distinction between concepts of private property and personal possession. Private property grants an individual exclusive control over a thing whether it is in use or not; and regardless of its productive capacity, possession grants no rights to things that are not in use.^[85] Furthermore, "the separation of work and life is questioned and alternatives suggested that are underpinned by notions of dignity, self-realization and freedom from domination and exploitation. Here, a freedom that is not restrictively negative (as in neo-liberal conceptions) but is, as well, positive – connected, that is, to views about human flourishing – is important, a profoundly embedded understanding of freedom, which ties freedom to its social, communal conditions and, importantly, refuses to separate questions of freedom from those of equality".^[86]

Anti-authoritarianism and opposition to the state

Libertarian philosophy generally regard concentrations of power as sources of oppression that must be continually challenged and justified. Most libertarian socialists believe that when power is exercised as exemplified by the economic, social, or physical dominance of one individual over another, the burden of proof is always on the authoritarian to justify their action as legitimate when taken against its effect of narrowing the scope of human freedom.^[87] Libertarian socialists typically oppose rigid and stratified structures of authority, be they political, economic, or social.^[88]

In lieu of corporations and states, libertarian socialists seek to organize society into voluntary associations (usually collectives, communes, municipalities, cooperatives, commons, or syndicates) that use direct democracy or consensus for their decision-making process. Some libertarian socialists advocate combining these institutions using rotating, recallable delegates to higher-level federations.^[89] Spanish anarchism is a major example of such federations in practice.

Contemporary examples of libertarian socialist organizational and decision-making models in practice include a number of anti-capitalist and global justice movements^[90] including Zapatista Councils of Good Government and the global Indymedia network (which covers 45 countries on six continents). There are also many examples of indigenous societies around the world whose political and economic systems can be accurately described as anarchist or libertarian socialist, each of which is uniquely suited to the culture that birthed it.^[91] For libertarians, that diversity of practice within a framework of common principles is proof of the vitality of those principles and of their flexibility and strength.

Contrary to popular opinion, libertarian socialism has not traditionally been a utopian movement, tending to avoid dense theoretical analysis or prediction of what a future society would or should look like. The tradition instead has been that such decisions cannot be made now and must be made through struggle and experimentation, so that the best solution can be arrived at democratically and organically; and to base the direction for struggle on established historical example. They point out that the success of the scientific method comes from its adherence to open rational exploration, not its conclusions, in sharp contrast to dogma and predetermined predictions. Noted anarchist Rudolf Rocker once stated: "I am an anarchist not because I believe anarchism is the final goal, but because there is no such thing as a final goal".^[92]

Because libertarian socialism encourages exploration and embraces a diversity of ideas rather than forming a compact movement, there have arisen inevitable controversies over individuals who describe themselves as libertarian socialists yet disagree with some of the core principles of libertarian socialism. Peter Hain interprets libertarian socialism as minarchist rather than anarchist, favoring radical decentralization of power without going as far as the complete abolition of the state.^[93] Libertarian socialist Noam Chomsky supports dismantling all forms of unjustified social or economic power while also emphasizing that state intervention should be supported as a temporary protection while oppressive structures remain in existence.^[94] Similarly, Peter Marshall includes "the decentralist who wishes to limit and devolve State power, to the syndicalist who wants to abolish it altogether. It can even encompass the Fabians and the social democrats who wish to socialize the economy but who still see a limited role for the State".^[19]

Proponents are known for opposing the existence of states or government and refusing to participate in coercive state institutions. In the past, many refused to swear oaths in court or to participate in trials, even when they faced imprisonment^[95] or deportation.^[96] For Chamsy el-Ojeili, "it is frequently to forms of working-class or popular self-organization that Left communists look in answer to the questions of the struggle for socialism, revolution and post-capitalist social organization. Nevertheless, Left communists have often continued to organize themselves into party-like structures that undertake agitation, propaganda, education and other forms of political intervention. This is a vexed issue across Left communism and has resulted in a number of significant variations – from the absolute rejection of separate parties in favour of mere study or affinity groups, to the critique of the naivety of pure spontaneism and an insistence on the necessary, though often modest, role of disciplined, self-critical and popularly connected communist organizations".^[97]

Civil liberties and individual freedom

Libertarian socialists have been strong advocates and activists of civil liberties (including freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly, and other civil liberties ^[98]) that provide an individual specific rights such as the freedom in issues of love and sex (free love) and of thought and conscience (freethought). In this activism, they have clashed with state and religious institutions which have limited such rights. Anarchism has been an important advocate of free love since its birth. A strong tendency of free love later appeared alongside anarcha-feminism and advocacy of LGBT rights. In recent times, anarchism has also voiced opinions and taken action around certain sex related subjects such as pornography,^[99] BDSM^[100] and the sex industry.^[100]

Anarcha-feminism developed as a synthesis of radical feminism and anarchism that views patriarchy (male domination over women) as a fundamental manifestation of compulsory government. It was inspired by the late 19th-century writings of early feminist anarchists such as Lucy Parsons, Emma Goldman, Voltairine de Cleyre and Virginia Bolten. Like other radical feminists, anarcha-feminists criticise and advocate the abolition of traditional conceptions of family, education and gender roles. Council communist Sylvia Pankhurst was also a feminist activist as well as a libertarian Marxist. Anarchists also took a pioneering interest in issues related to LGBTI persons. An important current within anarchism is free love.^[101] Free love advocates sometimes traced their roots back to the early anarchist Josiah Warren and to experimental communities, viewed sexual freedom as a clear, direct expression of an individual's self-ownership. Free love particularly stressed women's rights since most sexual laws discriminated against women: for example, marriage laws and anti-birth control measures.^[101]

Libertarian socialists have traditionally been skeptical of and opposed to organized religion.^[102] Freethought is a philosophical viewpoint that holds opinions should be formed on the basis of science, logic and reason; and should not be influenced by authority, tradition, or other dogmas.^{[103][104]} The cognitive application of freethought is known as freethinking and practitioners of freethought are known as freethinkers.^[103] In the United States, freethought was an anti-Christian and anti-clerical movement,



American anarchist Emma Goldman, prominent anarcho-feminist, free love and freethought activist

"whose purpose was to make the individual politically and spiritually free to decide for himself on religious matters". A number of contributors to the anarchist journal *Liberty* were prominent figures in both anarchism and freethought. The individualist anarchist George MacDonald was co-editor of both *Freethought* and *The Truth Seeker*. E. C. Walker was also co-editor of *Lucifer, the Light-Bearer*, another free love and freethought journal.^[105] *Free Society* (1895–1897 as *The Firebrand*; 1897–1904 as *Free Society*) was a major anarchist newspaper in the United States at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.^[106] The publication staunchly advocated free love and women's rights and critiqued comstockery—ensorship of sexual information. In 1901, Catalan anarchist and freethinker Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia established modern or progressive schools in Barcelona in defiance of an educational system controlled by the Catholic Church.^[107] The schools' stated goal was to "educate the working class in a rational, secular and non-coercive setting". Fiercely anti-clerical, Ferrer believed in "freedom in education", education free from the authority of church and state.^[108]

Later in the 20th century, Austrian Freudo-Marxist Wilhelm Reich, who coined the phrase sexual revolution in one of his books from the 1940s,^[109] became a consistent propagandist for sexual freedom, going as far as opening free sex-counseling clinics in Vienna for working-class patients (Sex-Pol stood for the German Society of Proletarian Sexual Politics). According to Elizabeth Danto, Reich offered a mixture of "psychoanalytic counseling, Marxist advice and contraceptives" and "argued for sexual expressiveness for all, including the young and the unmarried, with a permissiveness that unsettled both the political left and the psychoanalysts". The clinics were immediately overcrowded by people seeking help.^[110] During the early 1970s, the English anarchist and pacifist Alex Comfort achieved international celebrity for writing the sex manuals *The Joy of Sex*^[111] and *More Joy of Sex*.^[112]

Violent and non-violent means

Some libertarian socialists see violent revolution as necessary in the abolition of capitalist society while others advocate non-violent methods. Along with many others, Errico Malatesta argued that the use of violence was necessary. As he put it in *Umanità Nova* (no. 125, September 6, 1921):

It is our aspiration and our aim that everyone should become socially conscious and effective; but to achieve this end, it is necessary to provide all with the means of life and for development, and it is therefore necessary to destroy with violence, since one cannot do otherwise, the violence that denies these means to the workers.^[113]

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon argued in favor of a non-violent revolution through a process of dual power in which libertarian socialist institutions would be established and form associations enabling the formation of an expanding network within the existing state capitalist framework with the intention of eventually rendering both the state and the capitalist economy obsolete. The progression towards violence in anarchism stemmed in part from the massacres of some of the communes inspired by the ideas of Proudhon and others. Many anarcho-communists began to see a need for revolutionary violence to counteract the violence inherent in both capitalism and government.^[114]

Anarcho-pacifism is a tendency within the anarchist movement which rejects the use of violence in the struggle for social change.^{[115][116]} The main early influences were the thought of Henry David Thoreau^[116] and Leo Tolstoy.^{[115][116]} It developed "mostly in Holland [*sic*], Britain, and the United

States, before and during the Second World War".^[117] Opposition to the use of violence has not prohibited anarcho-pacifists from accepting the principle of resistance or even revolutionary action, provided it does not result in violence; it was in fact their approval of such forms of opposition to power that lead many anarcho-pacifists to endorse the anarcho-syndicalist concept of the general strike as the great revolutionary weapon. Anarcho-pacifists have also come to endorse the non-violent strategy of dual power.

Other anarchists have believed that violence (especially self-defense) is justified as a way to provoke social upheaval which could lead to a social revolution.

Environmental issues

Green anarchism is a school of thought within anarchism which puts a particular emphasis on environmental issues. An important early influence was the thought of the American anarchist Henry David Thoreau and his book Walden^[118] as well as Leo Tolstoy^[119] and Élisée Reclus.^{[120][121]} In the late 19th century, there emerged anarcho-naturism as the fusion of anarchism and naturist philosophies within individualist anarchist^{[122][123][124]} circles in Cuba^[125] France,^{[126][127]} Portugal^{[118][119]} and Spain.^{[119][127][128][129][130]}

Important contemporary currents are anarcho-primitivism and social ecology.^[131] An important meeting place for international libertarian socialism in the early 1990s was the journal Democracy & Nature in which prominent activists and theorists such as Takis Fotopoulos, Noam Chomsky,^[132] Murray Bookchin and Cornelius Castoriadis wrote.^[133]

Political roots

Within early modern socialist thought

Peasant revolts in the post-Reformation era

For Roderick T. Long, libertarian socialists claim the 17th century English Levellers among their ideological forebears.^[134] Various libertarian socialist authors have identified the written work of English Protestant social reformer Gerrard Winstanley and the social activism of his group (the Diggers) as anticipating this line of thought.^{[135][136]} For anarchist historian George Woodcock, although Pierre-Joseph Proudhon was the first writer to call himself an anarchist, at least two predecessors outlined systems that contain all the basic elements of anarchism. The first was Gerrard Winstanley (1609 – c. 1660), a linen draper who led the small movement of the Diggers during the Commonwealth. Winstanley and his followers protested in the name of a radical Christianity against the economic distress that followed the English Civil War and against the inequality that the grandees of the New Model Army seemed intent on preserving.^[137]

In 1649–1650, the Diggers squatted on stretches of common land in southern England and attempted to set up communities based on work on the land and the sharing of goods. The communities failed, but a series of pamphlets by Winstanley survived, of which The New Law of Righteousness (1649) was the most important. Advocating a rational Christianity, Winstanley equated Christ with "the universal liberty" and declared the universally corrupting nature of authority. He saw "an equal privilege to share in the blessing of liberty" and detected an intimate link between the institution of property and the lack of freedom.^[137]

Murray Bookchin stated: "In the modern world, anarchism first appeared as a movement of the peasantry and yeomanry against declining feudal institutions. In Germany its foremost spokesman during the Peasant Wars was Thomas Muenzer. The concepts held by Muenzer and Winstanley were superbly attuned to the needs of their time – a historical period when the majority of the population lived in the countryside and when the most militant revolutionary forces came from an agrarian world. It would be painfully academic to argue whether Muenzer and Winstanley could have achieved their ideals. What is of real importance is that they spoke to their time; their anarchist concepts followed naturally from the rural society that furnished the bands of the peasant armies in Germany and the New Model in England".^[138]

Age of Enlightenment



William Godwin

For Long, libertarian socialists also often share a view of ancestry in the 18th-century French Encyclopédistes alongside Thomas

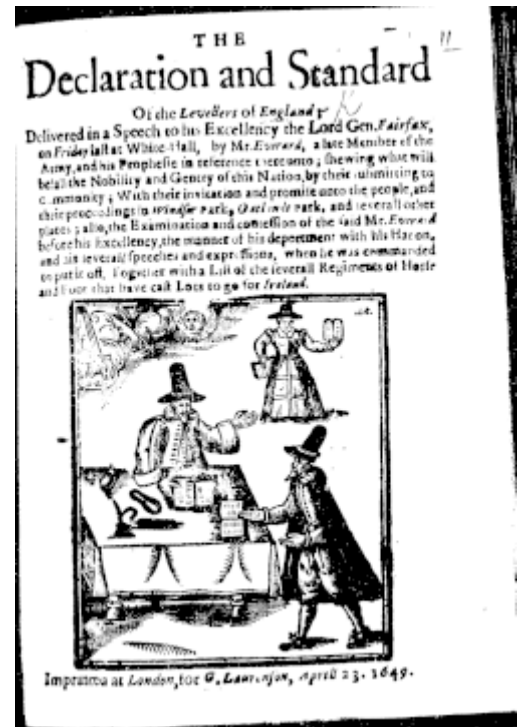
Jefferson^{[139][140][141]} and Thomas Paine.^[134] A more often mentioned name is that of English enlightenment thinker William Godwin.^[142]

For Woodcock, a more elaborate sketch of anarchism—although still without the name—was provided by William Godwin in his Enquiry Concerning Political Justice (1793). Godwin was a gradualist anarchist rather than a revolutionary anarchist as he differed from most later anarchists in preferring above revolutionary action the gradual and—as it

seemed to him—more natural process of discussion among men of good will, by which he hoped truth would eventually triumph through its own power. Godwin, who was influenced by the English tradition of Dissent and the French philosophy of the Enlightenment, put forward in a developed form the basic anarchist criticisms of the state, of accumulated property and of the delegation of authority through democratic procedure.^[137]

Noam Chomsky considers libertarian socialism to be "the proper and natural extension" of classical liberalism "into the era of advanced industrial society".^[143] Chomsky sees libertarian socialist ideas as the descendants of the classical liberal ideas of the Age of Enlightenment,^{[144][145]} arguing that his ideological position revolves around "nourishing the libertarian and creative character of the human being".^[146] Chomsky envisions an anarcho-syndicalist future with direct worker control of the means of production and government by workers' councils which would select representatives to meet together at general assemblies.^[147] The point of this self-governance is to make each citizen, in Jefferson's words, "a direct participator in the government of affairs".^[148] Chomsky believes that there will be no need for political parties.^[149] By controlling their productive life, Chomsky believes that individuals can gain job satisfaction and a sense of fulfillment and purpose.^[150] Chomsky argues that unpleasant and unpopular jobs could be fully automated, carried out by workers who are specially remunerated, or shared among everyone.^[151]

During the French Revolution, Sylvain Maréchal demanded "the communal enjoyment of the fruits of the earth" in his Manifesto of the Equals (1796) and looked forward to the disappearance of "the revolting distinction of rich and poor, of great and small, of masters and valets, of governors and



Woodcut from a Leveller document by William Everard

governed".^{[48][49][152]} The term *anarchist* first entered the English language in 1642 during the English Civil War as a term of abuse, used by Royalists against their Roundhead opponents.^[153] By the time of the French Revolution, some such as the Enragés began to use the term positively^[154] in opposition to Jacobin centralisation of power, seeing revolutionary government as oxymoronic.^[153] By the turn of the 19th century, the English term *anarchism* had lost its initial negative connotation.^[153]

Romantic era and utopian socialism

In his preface to Peter Kropotkin's book *The Conquest of Bread*, Kent Bromley considered early French socialist Charles Fourier to be the founder of the libertarian branch of socialist thought as opposed to the authoritarian socialist ideas of François-Noël Babeuf and Philippe Buonarroti.^[50] Anarchist Hakim Bey describes Fourier's ideas as follows: "In Fourier's system of Harmony all creative activity including industry, craft, agriculture, etc. will arise from liberated passion – this is the famous theory of "attractive labor." Fourier sexualizes work itself – the life of the Phalanstery is a continual orgy of intense feeling, intellection, & activity, a society of lovers & wild enthusiasts". Fourierism manifested itself in the middle of the 19th century, where hundreds of communes (phalansteries) were founded on Fourierist principles in France, North America, Mexico, South America, Algeria, and Yugoslavia. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Friedrich Engels and Peter Kropotkin all read him with fascination as did André Breton and Roland Barthes.^[155] In his influential work *Eros and Civilization*, Herbert Marcuse praised Fourier by saying that he "comes closer than any other utopian socialist to elucidating the dependence of freedom on non-repressive sublimation".^[156]



Charles Fourier

Anarchist Peter Sabatini reports that in the United States of early to mid-19th century, "there appeared an array of communal and "utopian" counterculture groups (including the so-called free love movement). William Godwin's anarchism exerted an ideological influence on some of this, but more so the socialism of Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. After success of his British venture, Owen himself established a cooperative community within the United States at New Harmony, Indiana during 1825. One member of this commune was Josiah Warren (1798–1874), considered to be the first individualist anarchist".^[157]

Within modern socialist thought

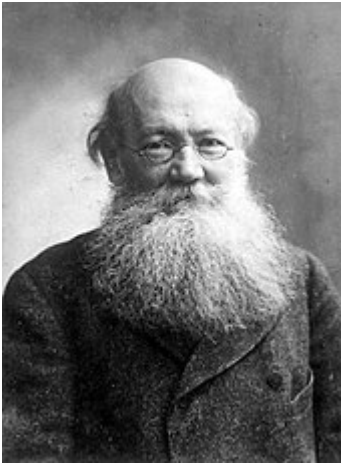
Anarchism

As Albert Meltzer and Stuart Christie stated in their book *The Floodgates of Anarchy*:

[Anarchism] has its particular inheritance, part of which it shares with socialism, giving it a family resemblance to certain of its enemies. Another part of its inheritance it shares with liberalism, making it, at birth, kissing-cousins with American-type radical individualism, a large part of which has married out of the family into the Right Wing and is no longer on speaking terms.^[158]

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, who is often considered the father of modern anarchism, coined the phrase "Property is theft!" to describe part of his view on the complex nature of ownership in relation to freedom. When he said property is theft, he was referring to the capitalist who he believed stole profit from laborers.

For Proudhon, the capitalist's employee was "subordinated, exploited: his permanent condition is one of obedience".^[159]



Peter Kropotkin, main theorist of anarcho-communism

Seventeen years (1857) after Proudhon first called himself an anarchist (1840), anarcho-communist Joseph Déjacque was the first person to describe himself as a libertarian.^[160] Outside the United States, the term libertarian generally refers to anti-authoritarian anti-capitalist ideologies.^[161]

Libertarian socialism has its roots in both classical liberalism and socialism, though it is often in conflict with liberalism (especially neoliberalism and right-libertarianism) and authoritarian state socialism simultaneously. While libertarian socialism has roots in both socialism and liberalism, different forms have different levels of influence from the two traditions. For instance, mutualist anarchism is more influenced by liberalism while communist and syndicalist anarchism are more influenced by socialism. However, mutualist anarchism has its origins in 18th- and 19th-century European socialism (such as Fourierian socialism)^{[162][163]} while communist and syndicalist anarchism has its earliest origins in early 18th century liberalism (such as the French Revolution).^[152]

Anarchism posed an early challenge to the vanguardism and statism it detected in important sectors of the socialist movement. As such: "The consequences of the growth of parliamentary action, ministerialism, and party life, charged the anarchists, would be de-radicalism and embourgeoisement. Further, state politics would subvert both true individuality and true community. In response, many anarchists refused Marxist-type organisation, seeking to dissolve or undermine power and hierarchy by way of loose political-cultural groupings, or by championing organisation by a single, simultaneously economic and political administrative unit (Ruhle, syndicalism). The power of the intellectual and of science were also rejected by many anarchists: "In conquering the state, in exalting the role of parties, they [intellectuals] reinforce the hierarchical principle embodied in political and administrative institutions". Revolutions could only come through force of circumstances and/or the inherently rebellious instincts of the masses (the "instinct for freedom") (Bakunin, Chomsky), or in Bakunin's words: "All that individuals can do is to clarify, propagate, and work out ideas corresponding to the popular instinct".^[164]

Marxism

Marxism started to develop a libertarian strand of thought after specific circumstances. Chamsy Ojeili said: "One does find early expressions of such perspectives in William Morris and the Socialist Party of Great Britain (the SPGB), then again around the events of 1905, with the growing concern at the bureaucratisation and de-radicalisation of international socialism".^[164] Morris established the Socialist League in December 1884, which was encouraged by Friedrich Engels and Eleanor Marx. As the leading figure in the organization, Morris embarked on a relentless series of speeches and talks on street corners in working men's clubs and lecture theatres across England and Scotland. From 1887, anarchists began to outnumber socialists in the Socialist League.^[165] The 3rd Annual Conference of the League, held in London on 29 May 1887, marked the change with a majority of the 24 branch delegates voting in favor of an anarchist-sponsored resolution declaring: "This conference endorses the policy of abstention from parliamentary action, hitherto pursued by the League, and sees no sufficient reason for altering it".^[166] Morris played peacemaker, but he



William Morris, early English libertarian Marxist

sided with the anti-Parliamentarians, who won control of the League, which consequently lost the support of Engels and saw the departure of Eleanor Marx and her partner Edward Aveling to form the separate Bloomsbury Socialist Society.



Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg

However, "the most important ruptures are to be traced to the insurgency during and after the First World War. Disillusioned with the capitulation of the social democrats, excited by the emergence of workers' councils, and slowly distanced from Leninism, many communists came to reject the claims of socialist parties and to put their faith instead in the masses". For these socialists, "[t]he intuition of the masses in action can have more genius in it than the work of the greatest individual genius". Rosa Luxemburg's workerism and spontaneism are exemplary of positions later taken up by the far-left of the period—Antonie Pannekoek, Roland Holst and Herman Gorter in the Netherlands, Sylvia Pankhurst in Britain, Antonio Gramsci in Italy and György Lukács in Hungary. In these formulations, the dictatorship of the proletariat was to be the dictatorship of a class, "not of a party or of a clique".^[164] However, within this line of thought "[t]he tension between anti-vanguardism and vanguardism has frequently resolved itself in two diametrically opposed ways: the first involved a drift towards the party; the second saw a move towards the idea of complete proletarian spontaneity. [...] The first course is exemplified most clearly in Gramsci and Lukacs. [...] The second

course is illustrated in the tendency, developing from the Dutch and German far-lefts, which inclined towards the complete eradication of the party form".^[164]

In the emerging Soviet Union, there appeared left-wing uprisings against the Bolsheviks which were a series of rebellions and uprisings against the Bolsheviks led or supported by left-wing groups including Socialist Revolutionaries,^[167] Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and anarchists.^[168] Some were in support of the White Movement while some tried to be an independent force. The uprisings started in 1918 and continued through the Russian Civil War and after until 1922. In response, the Bolsheviks increasingly abandoned attempts to get these groups to join the government and suppressed them with force. "Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder is a work by Vladimir Lenin himself attacking assorted critics of the Bolsheviks who claimed positions to their left.

For many Marxian libertarian socialists, "the political bankruptcy of socialist orthodoxy necessitated a theoretical break. This break took a number of forms. The Bordigists and the SPGB championed a super-Marxian intransigence in theoretical matters. Other socialists made a return "behind Marx" to the anti-positivist programme of German idealism. Libertarian socialism has frequently linked its anti-authoritarian political aspirations with this theoretical differentiation from orthodoxy. [...] Karl Korsch [...] remained a libertarian socialist for a large part of his life and because of the persistent urge towards theoretical openness in his work. Korsch rejected the eternal and static, and he was obsessed by the essential role of practice in a theory's truth. For Korsch, no theory could escape history, not even Marxism. In this vein, Korsch even credited the stimulus for Marx's Capital to the movement of the oppressed classes".^[164]

In rejecting both capitalism and the state, some libertarian Marxists align themselves with anarchists in opposition to both capitalist representative democracy and to authoritarian forms of Marxism. Although anarchists and Marxists share an ultimate goal of a stateless society, anarchists criticise most Marxists for advocating a transitional phase under which the state is used to achieve this aim. Nonetheless, libertarian Marxist tendencies such as autonomist Marxism and council communism have historically been intertwined with the anarchist movement. Anarchist movements have come into conflict with both capitalist and Marxist forces, sometimes at the same time—as in the Spanish Civil War—though as in that war Marxists

themselves are often divided in support or opposition to anarchism. Other political persecutions under bureaucratic parties have resulted in a strong historical antagonism between anarchists and libertarian Marxists on the one hand and Leninist Marxists and their derivatives such as Maoists on the other. In recent history, libertarian socialists have repeatedly formed temporary alliances with Marxist–Leninist groups for the purposes of protest against institutions they both reject. Part of this antagonism can be traced to the International Workingmen's Association, the First International, a congress of radical workers, where Mikhail Bakunin, who was fairly representative of anarchist views; and Karl Marx, whom anarchists accused of being an "authoritarian", came into conflict on various issues. Bakunin's viewpoint on the illegitimacy of the state as an institution and the role of electoral politics was starkly counterposed to Marx's views in the First International. Marx and Bakunin's disputes eventually led to Marx taking control of the First International and expelling Bakunin and his followers from the organization. This was the beginning of a long-running feud and schism between libertarian socialists and what they call "authoritarian communists", or alternatively just "authoritarians". Some Marxists have formulated views that closely resemble syndicalism and thus express more affinity with anarchist ideas. Several libertarian socialists, notably Noam Chomsky, believe that anarchism shares much in common with certain variants of Marxism such as the council communism of Marxist Anton Pannekoek. In his *Notes on Anarchism*, Chomsky suggests the possibility "that some form of council communism is the natural form of revolutionary socialism in an industrial society. It reflects the belief that democracy is severely limited when the industrial system is controlled by any form of autocratic elite, whether of owners, managers, and technocrats, a 'vanguard' party, or a State bureaucracy".^[169]

In the mid-20th century, some libertarian socialist groups emerged from disagreements with Trotskyism which presented itself as Leninist anti-Stalinism. As such, the French group Socialisme ou Barbarie emerged from the Trotskyist Fourth International, where Cornelius Castoriadis and Claude Lefort constituted a Chaulieu–Montal tendency in the French Parti Communiste Internationaliste in 1946. In 1948, they experienced their "final disenchantment with Trotskyism",^[170] leading them to break away to form Socialisme ou Barbarie, whose journal began appearing in March 1949. Castoriadis later said of this period that "the main audience of the group and of the journal was formed by groups of the old, radical left: Bordigists, council communists, some anarchists and some offspring of the German "left" of the 1920s".^[171] Also in the United Kingdom, the group Solidarity was founded in 1960 by a small group of expelled members of the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League. Almost from the start it was strongly influenced by the French Socialisme ou Barbarie group, in particular by its intellectual leader Cornelius Castoriadis, whose essays were among the many pamphlets Solidarity produced. The intellectual leader of the group was Chris Pallis, who wrote under the name Maurice Brinton.^[172]

In the People's Republic of China (PRC) since 1967, the terms ultra-left and left communist refers to political theory and practice self-defined as further left than that of the central Maoist leaders at the height of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). The terms are also used retroactively to describe some early 20th century Chinese anarchist orientations. As a slur, the Communist Party of China (CPC) has used the term "ultra-left" more broadly to denounce any orientation it considers further left than the party line. According to the latter usage, in 1978 the CPC Central Committee denounced as ultra-left the line of Mao Zedong from 1956 until his death in 1976. The term ultra-left refers to those GPCR rebel positions that diverged from the central Maoist line by identifying an antagonistic contradiction between the CPC-PRC party-state itself and the masses of workers and peasants^[173] conceived as a single proletarian class divorced from any meaningful control over production or distribution. Whereas the central Maoist line maintained that the masses controlled the means of production through the party's mediation, the ultra-left argued that the objective interests of bureaucrats were structurally determined by the centralist state-form in direct opposition to the objective interests of the masses, regardless of however socialists a given bureaucrat's thought might be. Whereas the central Maoist leaders encouraged the masses to criticize reactionary ideas and habits among the alleged 5% of bad cadres, giving them a chance to "turn over a new leaf" after they had undergone "thought reform", the ultra-left argued that cultural revolution had to give way to political revolution "in which one class overthrows another class".^{[174][175]}

In 1969, French platformist anarcho-communist Daniel Guérin published an essay called "Libertarian Marxism?" in which he dealt with the debate between Karl Marx and Mikhail Bakunin at the First International and afterwards he suggested that "Libertarian [M]arxism rejects determinism and fatalism, giving the greater place to individual will, intuition, imagination, reflex speeds, and to the deep instincts of the masses, which are more far-seeing in hours of crisis than the reasonings of the 'elites'; libertarian [M]arxism thinks of the effects of surprise, provocation and boldness, refuses to be cluttered and paralysed by a heavy 'scientific' apparatus, doesn't equivocate or bluff, and guards itself from adventurism as much as from fear of the unknown".^[176] In the United States, there existed from 1970 to 1981 the publication *Root & Branch*^[177] which had as a subtitle "A Libertarian Marxist Journal".^[178] In 1974, the journal *Libertarian Communism* was started in the United Kingdom by a group inside the SPGB.^[179]

Autonomist Marxism, neo-Marxism and Situationist theory are also regarded as being anti-authoritarian variants of Marxism that are firmly within the libertarian socialist tradition. As such, "[i]n New Zealand, no situationist group was formed, despite the attempts of Grant McDonagh. Instead, McDonagh operated as an individual on the periphery of the anarchist milieu, co-operating with anarchists to publish several magazines, such as Anarchy and KAT. The latter called itself 'an anti-authoritarian spasmodical' of the 'libertarian ultra-left (situationists, anarchists and libertarian socialists)'"^[180] For libcom.org: "In the 1980s and 90s, a series of other groups developed, influenced also by much of the above work. The most notable are Kolinko, Kurasje and Wildcat in Germany, *Aufheben* in England, Theorie Communiste in France, TPTG in Greece and Kamunist Kranti in India. They are also connected to other groups in other countries, merging autonomia, operaismo, Hegelian Marxism, the work of the JFT, Open Marxism, the ICO, the Situationist International, anarchism and post-68 German Marxism".^[181] Related to this were intellectuals who were influenced by Italian left communist Amadeo Bordiga, but who disagreed with his Leninist positions and so these included the French publication *Invariance* edited by Jacques Camatte, published since 1968 and Gilles Dauvé who published *Troploin* with Karl Nesic.

Notable tendencies

Anarchist

Historically, anarchism and libertarian socialism have been largely synonymous.^[182] Principally this regards the currents of classical anarchism, developed in the 19th century, in their commitments to autonomy and freedom, decentralization, opposing hierarchy, and opposing the vanguardism of authoritarian socialism.

Anarcho-syndicalist Gaston Leval explained: "We therefore foresee a Society in which all activities will be coordinated, a structure that has, at the same time, sufficient flexibility to permit the greatest possible autonomy for social life, or for the life of each enterprise, and enough cohesiveness to prevent all disorder. [...] In a well-organised society, all of these things must be systematically accomplished by means of parallel federations, vertically united at the highest levels, constituting one vast organism in which all economic functions will be performed in solidarity with all others and that will permanently preserve the necessary cohesion".^[183]

Mutualism

Mutualism began as a 19th century socialist movement adopted and developed by Pierre-Joseph Proudhon into the first anarchist economic theory. Mutualism is based on a version of the labor theory of value holding that when labor or its product is sold it ought to receive in exchange goods or services embodying "the amount of labor necessary to produce an article of exactly similar and equal utility",^[184] and considers anything less to be exploitation, theft of labor, or usury. Mutualists advocate social ownership and believe

that a free labor market would allow for conditions of equal income in proportion to exerted labor.^{[185][186]} As Jonathan Beecher puts it, the mutualist aim was to "emancipate labor from the constraints imposed by capital".^[187] Proudhon believed that an individual only had a right to land while he was using or occupying it. If the individual ceases doing so, it reverts to unowned land.^[188]



Pierre-Joseph Proudhon

Some individualist anarchists such as Benjamin Tucker were influenced by Proudhon's mutualism, but they did not call for association in large enterprises like him.^[189] Mutualist ideas found a fertile ground in the 19th century in Spain. In Spain, Ramón de la Sagra established anarchist journal *El Porvenir* in La Coruña in 1845 which was inspired by Proudhon's ideas.^[190] The Catalan politician Francesc Pi i Margall became the principal translator of Proudhon's works into Spanish^[191] and later briefly became president of Spain in 1873 while being the leader of the Democratic Republican Federal Party.

According to George Woodcock, "[t]hese translations were to have a profound and lasting effect on the development of Spanish anarchism after 1870, but before that time Proudhonian ideas, as interpreted by Pi, already provided much of the inspiration for the federalist movement which sprang up in the early 1860's".^[191] According to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "[d]uring the Spanish revolution of 1873, Pi y Margall attempted to establish a decentralized, or 'cantonalist,' political system on Proudhonian lines".^[190] Kevin Carson is a contemporary mutualist theorist who is the author of *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy*.^[192]

Social anarchism



Errico Malatesta, influential Italian activist and theorist of anarcho-communism

Social anarchism is a branch of anarchism emphasizing social ownership, mutual aid and workers' self-management. Social anarchism has been the dominant form of classical anarchism and includes the major collectivist, communist and syndicalist schools of anarchist thought. As a term, social anarchism is used in contrast to individualist anarchism to describe the theory that places an emphasis on the communitarian and cooperative aspects in anarchist theory while also opposing authoritarian forms of communitarianism associated with groupthink and collective conformity, favoring a reconciliation between individuality and sociality.

Social anarchists oppose private ownership of the means of production, seeing it as a source of inequality and instead advocate social ownership be it through collective ownership as with Bakuninists and collectivist anarchists; common ownership as with communist anarchists; and cooperative ownership as with syndicalist anarchists; or other forms. Social anarchism comes in both peaceful and insurrectionary tendencies as well as both platformist and anti-organizationalist tendencies. It has operated heavily within workers' movements, trade unions and labour syndicates, emphasizing the liberation of workers through class struggle.

To date, the best-known examples of social anarchist societies are the Free Territory after the Russian Revolution, the Korean People's Association in Manchuria and the anarchist territories of the Spanish Revolution.^[193]

Individualist anarchism

Individualist anarchism is a set of several traditions of thought within the anarchist movement that emphasize the individual and their will over external determinants such as groups, society, traditions and ideological systems.^{[194][195]} Anarchists such as Luigi Galleani and Errico Malatesta have seen no contradiction between individualist anarchism and social anarchism,^[196] with the latter especially seeing issues not between the two forms of anarchism, but between anarchists and non-anarchists.^[197] Anarchists such as Benjamin Tucker argued that it was "not Socialist Anarchism against Individualist Anarchism, but of Communist Socialism against Individualist Socialism".^[198] Tucker further noted that "the fact that State Socialism has overshadowed other forms of Socialism gives it no right to a monopoly of the Socialistic idea".^[199]



Mikhail Bakunin, Russian revolutionary socialist and collectivist anarchist

Josiah Warren is widely regarded as the first American anarchist^[200] and the four-page weekly paper he edited during 1833, *The Peaceful Revolutionist*, was the first anarchist periodical published.^[201] For American anarchist historian Eunice Minette Schuster, "[i]t is apparent [...] that Proudhonian Anarchism was to be found in the United States at least as early as 1848 and that it was not conscious of its affinity to the Individualist Anarchism of Josiah Warren and Stephen Pearl Andrews [...]. William B. Greene presented this Proudhonian Mutualism in its purest and most systematic form".^[202] Later, the American individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker "was against both the state and capitalism, against both oppression and exploitation. While not against the market and property he was firmly against capitalism as it was, in his eyes, a state-supported monopoly of social capital (tools, machinery, etc.) which allows owners to exploit their employees, i.e., to avoid paying workers the full value of their labour. He thought that the "labouring classes are deprived of their earnings by usury in its three forms, interest, rent and profit", therefore "Liberty will abolish interest; it will abolish profit; it will abolish monopolistic rent; it will abolish taxation; it will abolish the exploitation of labour; it will abolish all means whereby any labourer can be deprived of any of his product". This stance puts him squarely in the libertarian socialist tradition and Tucker referred to himself many times as a socialist and considered his philosophy to be anarchistic socialism.^{[203][204]}

French individualist anarchist Émile Armand shows clearly opposition to capitalism and centralized economies when he said that the individualist anarchist "inwardly he remains refractory – fatally refractory – morally, intellectually, economically (The capitalist economy and the directed economy, the speculators and the fabricators of single are equally repugnant to him)".^[205] The Spanish individualist anarchist Miguel Giménez Igualada thought that "capitalism is an effect of government; the disappearance of government means capitalism falls from its pedestal vertiginously...That which we call capitalism is not something else but a product of the State, within which the only thing that is being pushed forward is profit, good or badly acquired. And so to fight against capitalism is a pointless task, since be it State capitalism or Enterprise capitalism, as long as Government exists, exploiting capital will exist. The fight, but of consciousness, is against the State".^[206] His view on class division and technocracy are as follows: "Since when no one works for another, the profiteer from wealth disappears, just as government will disappear when no one pays attention to those who learned four things at universities and from that fact they pretend to govern men. Big industrial enterprises will be transformed by men in big associations in which everyone will work and enjoy the product of their work. And from those easy as well as beautiful problems anarchism deals with and he who puts them in practice and lives them are anarchists. [...] The priority which without rest an anarchist must make is that in which no one has to exploit anyone, no man to no man, since that non-exploitation will lead to the limitation of property to individual needs".^[207]



Oscar Wilde, famous anarchist Irish writer who published the libertarian socialist work titled *The Soul of Man Under Socialism*

The anarchist^[208] writer and Bohemian Oscar Wilde wrote in his famous essay *The Soul of Man Under Socialism* that "[a]rt is individualism, and individualism is a disturbing and disintegrating force. There lies its immense value. For what it seeks is to disturb monotony of type, slavery of custom, tyranny of habit, and the reduction of man to the level of a machine".^[209] For anarchist historian George Woodcock, "Wilde's aim in *The Soul of Man Under Socialism* is to seek the society most favorable to the artist [...] for Wilde art is the supreme end, containing within itself enlightenment and regeneration, to which all else in society must be subordinated. [...] Wilde represents the anarchist as aesthete".^[210] In a socialist society, people will have the possibility to realise their talents as "each member of the society will share in the general prosperity and happiness of the society". Wilde added that "upon the other hand, Socialism itself will be of value simply because it will lead to individualism" since individuals will no longer need to fear poverty or starvation. This individualism would, in turn, protect against governments "armed with economic power as they are now with political power" over their citizens. However, Wilde advocated non-capitalist individualism, saying that "of course, it might be said that the Individualism generated under conditions of private property is not always, or even as a rule, of a fine or wonderful type" a critique which is "quite true".^[211] In Wilde's imagination, in this way socialism would free men from manual labour and

allow them to devote their time to creative pursuits, thus developing their soul. He ended by declaring: "The new individualism is the new hellenism".^[211]

Marxist

Libertarian Marxism is a broad scope of economic and political philosophies that emphasize the anti-authoritarian aspects of Marxism.^[212] Early currents of libertarian Marxism, known as left communism,^[213] emerged in opposition to Marxism–Leninism^[214] and its derivatives such as Stalinism, Maoism and Trotskyism.^[215] Libertarian Marxism is also critical of reformist positions such as those held by social democrats.^[216] Libertarian Marxist currents often draw from Marx and Engels' later works, specifically the *Grundrisse* and *The Civil War in France*;^[217] emphasizing the Marxist belief in the ability of the working class to forge its own destiny without the need for a revolutionary party or state to mediate or aid its liberation.^[218] Along with anarchism, libertarian Marxism is one of the main currents of libertarian socialism.^[219]

Libertarian Marxism includes such currents as Luxemburgism, council communism, left communism, Socialisme ou Barbarie, the Johnson–Forest tendency, world socialism, Lettrism/Situationism and autonomism/workerism and New Left.^[220] Libertarian Marxism has often had a strong influence on both post-left and social anarchists. Notable theorists of libertarian Marxism have included Anton Pannekoek, Raya Dunayevskaya, C. L. R. James, Antonio Negri, Cornelius Castoriadis, Maurice Brinton, Guy Debord, Daniel Guérin, Ernesto Screpanti and Raoul Vaneigem.

De Leonism

De Leonism is a form of syndicalist Marxism developed by Daniel De Leon. De Leon was an early leader of the first United States socialist political party, the Socialist Labor Party of America. De Leon combined the rising theories of syndicalism in his time with orthodox Marxism. According to De Leonist theory,

militant industrial unions (specialized trade unions) and a party promoting industrial unionist ideas are the vehicles of class struggle.

Industrial unions serving the interests of the proletariat will bring about the change needed to establish a socialist system. The only way this differs from some currents in anarcho-syndicalism is that according to De Leonist thinking a revolutionary political party is also necessary to fight for the proletariat on the political field. De Leonism also lies outside the Leninist tradition of communism. It predates Leninism as De Leonism's principles developed in the early 1890s with De Leon's assuming leadership of the SLP whereas Leninism and its vanguard party idea took shape after the 1902 publication of Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?*

The highly decentralized and democratic nature of the proposed De Leonist government is in contrast to the democratic centralism of Marxism–Leninism and what they see as the dictatorial nature of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and other communist states. The success of the De Leonist plan depends on achieving majority support among the people both in the workplaces and at the polls in contrast to the Leninist notion that a small vanguard party should lead the working class to carry out the revolution.

Council communism

Council communism is a radical left-wing movement originating in Germany and the Netherlands in the 1920s. Its primary organization was the Communist Workers Party of Germany (KAPD). Council communism continues today as a theoretical and activist position within Marxism and also within libertarian socialism. In contrast to those of social democracy and Leninist communism, the central argument of council communism is that workers' councils arising in the factories and municipalities are the natural and legitimate form of working class organisation and government power. This view is opposed to the reformist and Bolshevik stress on vanguard parties, parliaments, or the state. The core principle of council communism is that the state and the economy should be managed by workers' councils, composed of delegates elected at workplaces and recallable at any moment. As such, council communists oppose state-run bureaucratic socialism. They also oppose the idea of a revolutionary party since council communists believe that a revolution led by a party will necessarily produce a party dictatorship. Council communists support a workers' democracy, which they want to produce through a federation of workers' councils.

The Russian term for council is soviet and during the early years of the revolution worker's councils were politically significant in Russia. It was to take advantage of the aura of workplace power that the word became used by Vladimir Lenin for various political organs. The name Supreme Soviet, by which the parliament was called; and that of the Soviet Union itself make use of this terminology, but they do not imply any decentralization. Furthermore, council communists held a critique of the Soviet Union as a capitalist state, believing that the Bolshevik revolution in Russia became a "bourgeois revolution" when a party bureaucracy replaced the old feudal aristocracy. Although most felt the Russian Revolution was working class in character, they believed that since capitalist relations still existed (because the workers had no say in running the economy), the Soviet Union ended up as a state capitalist country, with the state replacing the individual capitalist. Council communists support workers' revolutions, but they oppose one-party dictatorships. Council communists also believed in diminishing the role of the party to one of agitation and propaganda, rejected all participation in elections or parliament and argued that workers should leave the reactionary trade unions and form one big revolutionary union.

Left communism

Left communism is the range of communist viewpoints held by the communist left, which criticizes the political ideas of the Bolsheviks at certain periods, from a position that is asserted to be more authentically Marxist and proletarian than the views of Leninism held by the Communist International after its first and during its second congress. Left communists see themselves to the left of Leninists (whom they tend to see

as the "left of capital", not socialists), anarchists (some of whom they consider internationalist socialists) as well as some other revolutionary socialist tendencies (for example, De Leonists, who they tend to see as being internationalist socialists only in limited instances). Although she lived before left communism became a distinct tendency, Rosa Luxemburg has heavily influenced most left communists, both politically and theoretically. Proponents of left communism have included Amadeo Bordiga, Herman Gorter, Anton Pannekoek, Otto Rühle, Karl Korsch, Sylvia Pankhurst and Paul Mattick.

Prominent left communist groups existing today include the International Communist Current and the Internationalist Communist Tendency. Different factions from the old Bordigist International Communist Party are also considered left communist organizations.

Johnson–Forest tendency

The Johnson–Forest tendency is a radical left tendency in the United States associated with Marxist humanist theorists C.L.R. James and Raya Dunayevskaya, who used the pseudonyms J. R. Johnson and Freddie Forest respectively. They were joined by Grace Lee Boggs, a Chinese American woman who was considered the third founder. After leaving the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, Johnson–Forest founded their own organization for the first time, called Correspondence. This group changed its name to the Correspondence Publishing Committee the next year. However, tensions that had surfaced earlier presaged a split, which took place in 1955. Through his theoretical and political work of the late 1940s, James had concluded that a vanguard party was no longer necessary because its teachings had been absorbed in the masses. In 1956, James would see the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 as confirmation of this. Those who endorsed the politics of James took the name Facing Reality after the 1958 book by James co-written with Grace Lee Boggs and Pierre Chaulieu (a pseudonym for Cornelius Castoriadis) on the Hungarian working class revolt of 1956.

Socialisme ou Barbarie



Cornelius Castoriadis,
libertarian socialist theorist

Socialisme ou Barbarie (Socialism or Barbarism) was a French-based radical libertarian socialist group of the post-World War II period (the name comes from a phrase Friedrich Engels used and was cited by Rosa Luxemburg in the 1916 essay *The Junius Pamphlet*).^[221] It existed from 1948 until 1965. The animating personality was Cornelius Castoriadis, also known as Pierre Chaulieu or Paul Cardan.^[222] Because he explicitly both rejected Leninist vanguardism and criticised spontaneism, for Castoriadis "the emancipation of the mass of people was the task of those people; however, the socialist thinker could not simply fold his or her arms". Castoriadis argued that the special place accorded to the intellectual should belong to each autonomous citizen. However, he rejected *attentisme*, maintaining that in the struggle for a new society intellectuals needed to "place themselves at a distance from the everyday and from the real".^[164] Political philosopher Claude Lefort was impressed by Cornelius

Castoriadis when he first met him. They published *On the Regime and Against the Defence of the USSR*, a critique of both the Soviet Union and its Trotskyist supporters. They suggested that the Soviet Union was dominated by a social layer of bureaucrats and that it consisted of a new kind of society as aggressive as Western European societies. Later, he also published in *Socialisme ou Barbarie*.

Situationist International

The Situationist International was a restricted group of international revolutionaries founded in 1957 and which had its peak in its influence on the unprecedented general wildcat strikes of May 1968 in France. With their ideas rooted in Marxism and the 20th century European artistic avant-gardes, they advocated experiences of life being alternative to those admitted by the capitalist order, for the fulfillment of human primitive desires and the pursuing of a superior passional quality. For this purpose, they suggested and experimented with the "construction of situations", namely the setting up of environments favorable for the fulfillment of such desires. Using methods drawn from the arts, they developed a series of experimental fields of study for the construction of such situations, like unitary urbanism and psychogeography. In this vein, a major theoretical work which emerged from this group was Raoul Vaneigem's *The Revolution of Everyday Life*.^[223]

They fought against the main obstacle on the fulfillment of such superior passional living, identified by them in advanced capitalism. Their critical theoretical work peaked on the highly influential book *The Society of the Spectacle* by Guy Debord. Debord argued in 1967 that spectacular features like mass media and advertising have a central role in an advanced capitalist society, which is to show a fake reality in order to mask the real capitalist degradation of human life. To overthrow such a system, the Situationist International supported the May 1968 revolts and asked the workers to occupy the factories and to run them with direct democracy through workers' councils composed by instantly revocable delegates.

After publishing in the last issue of the magazine an analysis of the May 1968 revolts and the strategies that will need to be adopted in future revolutions,^[224] the Situationist International was dissolved in 1972.^[225]

Autonomism

Autonomism is a set of left-wing political and social movements and theories close to the socialist movement. As an identifiable theoretical system it first emerged in Italy in the 1960s from workerist (*operaismo*) communism. Through translations made available by Danilo Montaldi and others, the Italian autonomists drew upon previous activist research in the United States by the Johnson–Forest tendency and in France by the group Socialisme ou Barbarie. Later, post-Marxist and anarchist tendencies became significant after influence from the Situationists, the failure of Italian far-left movements in the 1970s and the emergence of a number of important theorists including Antonio Negri, who had contributed to the 1969 founding of *Potere Operaio* as well as Mario Tronti, Paolo Virno and Franco "Bifo" Berardi.



Antonio Negri, main theorist of Italian autonomism

Unlike other forms of Marxism, autonomist Marxism emphasises the ability of the working class to force changes to the organization of the capitalist system independent of the state, trade unions or political parties. Autonomists are less concerned with party political organization than other Marxists, focusing instead on self-organized action outside of traditional organizational structures. Autonomist Marxism is thus a "bottom up" theory which draws attention to activities that autonomists see as everyday working class resistance to capitalism, for example absenteeism, slow working and socialization in the workplace.

All this influenced the German and Dutch autonomen, the worldwide Social Centre movement and today is influential in Italy, France and to a lesser extent the English-speaking countries. Those who describe themselves as autonomists now vary from Marxists to post-structuralists and anarchists. The autonomist Marxist and autonomen movements provided inspiration to some on the revolutionary left in English-speaking countries, particularly among anarchists, many of whom have adopted autonomist tactics. Some

English-speaking anarchists even describe themselves as autonomists. The Italian *operaismo* movement also influenced Marxist academics such as Harry Cleaver, John Holloway, Steve Wright and Nick Dyer-Witford. Today, it is associated also with the publication Multitudes.^[226]

Other

Other libertarian socialist currents include post-classical anarchist tendencies as well as tendencies which cannot be easily classified within the anarchist/Marxist division.

Within the labour movement and parliamentary politics

Democratic socialism



Francesc Pi i Margall, Catalan follower and translator of Proudhon and libertarian socialist theorist who briefly became president of Spain

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon ran for the French constituent assembly in April 1848, but he was not elected although his name appeared on the ballots in Paris, Lyon, Besançon and Lille. He was successful in the complementary elections of June 4. The Catalan politician Francesc Pi i Margall became the principal translator of Proudhon's works into Spanish and later briefly became president of Spain in 1873 while being the leader of the Federal Democratic Republican Party.^[191]

For prominent anarcho-syndicalist Rudolf Rocker:

The first movement of the Spanish workers was strongly influenced by the ideas of Pi y Margall, leader of the Spanish Federalists and disciple of Proudhon. Pi y Margall was one of the outstanding theorists of his time and had a powerful influence on the development of libertarian ideas in Spain. His political ideas had much in common with those of Richard Price, Joseph



Salvador Seguí, Catalan libertarian socialist within the anarcho-syndicalist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Priestly [sic],
Thomas Paine,
Jefferson, and
other
representatives
of the Anglo-
American
liberalism of the
first period. He
wanted to limit
the power of the
state to a
minimum and
gradually replace
it by a Socialist
economic
order.^[227]

Pi i Margall was a dedicated theorist in his own right, especially through book-length works such as *La reacción y la revolución* (*Reaction and revolution*, from 1855), *Las nacionalidades* (*Nationalities*, 1877) and *La Federación* (*Federation*) from 1880. On the other hand, Fernín Salvochea was a mayor of the city of Cádiz and a president of the province of Cádiz. He was one of the main propagators of anarchist thought in that area in the late 19th century and is considered to be perhaps the most beloved figure in the Spanish anarchist movement of the 19th century.^{[228][229]} Ideologically, he was influenced by Charles Bradlaugh, Robert Owen and Thomas Paine, whose works he had studied during his stay in England as well as by Peter Kropotkin, whom he read later. In Spain, he had contact with the anarchist thinkers and members of the Bakuninist Alliance, including Anselmo Lorenzo and Francisco Mora.^[228]

In 1950, a clandestine group formed within the Francophone Anarchist Federation (FA) called Organisation Pensée Bataille (OPB) led by the platformist George Fontenis.^[230] The OPB pushed for a move which saw the FA change its name into the Fédération Communiste Libertaire (FCL) after the 1953 Congress in Paris while an article in *Le Libertaire* indicated the end of the cooperation with the French Surrealist Group led by André Breton. The new decision-making process was founded on unanimity as each person had a right of veto on the orientations of the federation. The FCL published the same year the *Manifeste du communisme libertaire*. Several groups quit the FCL in December 1955, disagreeing with the decision to present "revolutionary candidates" at the legislative elections. On 15–20 August 1954, the 5th intercontinental plenum of the CNT took place. A group called Entente anarchiste (Anarchist Agreement) appeared, which was formed of militants who did not like the new ideological orientation that the OPB was giving the FCL, considering it authoritarian and almost Marxist.^[231] The FCL lasted until 1956 just after it participated in state legislative elections with ten candidates. This move alienated some members of the FCL and thus led to the end of the organization.^[230]

There was a strong left-libertarian current in the British labour movement and the term "libertarian socialist" has been applied to a number of democratic socialists, including some prominent members of the British Labour Party. The Socialist League was formed in 1885 by William Morris and others critical of the authoritarian socialism of the Social Democratic Federation. It was involved in the new unionism, the rank-and-file union militancy of the 1880s–1890s, which anticipated syndicalism in some key ways (Tom Mann, a New Unionist leader, was one of the first British syndicalists). The Socialist League was dominated by anarchists by the 1890s.^[232] The Independent Labour Party (ILP) formed at that time drew more on the nonconformist religious traditions in the British working class than on Marxist theory and had a libertarian socialist strain. Others in the tradition of the ILP and described as libertarian socialists included Michael

Foot and most importantly, G. D. H. Cole. Labour Party minister Peter Hain^[233] has written in support of libertarian socialism, identifying an axis involving a "bottom-up vision of socialism, with anarchists at the revolutionary end and democratic socialists [such as himself] at its reformist end" as opposed to the axis of state socialism with Marxist–Leninists at the revolutionary end and social democrats at the reformist end.^[234] Another recent mainstream Labour politician who has been described as a libertarian socialist is Robin Cook.^[235] Defined in this way, libertarian socialism in the contemporary political mainstream is distinguished from modern social democracy and democratic socialism principally by its political decentralism rather than by its economics. The multi-tendency Socialist Party USA also has a strong libertarian socialist current.

Katja Kipping and Julia Bonk in Germany, Femke Halsema^[236] in the Netherlands and Ufuk Uras and the Freedom and Solidarity Party in Turkey are examples of a contemporary libertarian socialist politicians and parties operating within mainstream parliamentary democracies. In Chile, the autonomist organization Izquierda Autónoma (Autonomous Left) in the 2013 Chilean general election gained a seat in the Chilean Parliament through Gabriel Boric, ex-leader of the 2011–2013 Chilean student protests.^[237] In 2016, Boric, alongside other persons such as Jorge Sharp, left the party in order to establish the Movimiento Autonomista.^[238] In the Chilean municipal elections of October 2016, Sharp was elected Mayor of Valparaíso with a vote of 53%.^{[238][239]} Currently in the United States, there is a caucus within the larger Democratic Socialists of America called the Libertarian Socialist Caucus: "The LSC promotes a vision of 'libertarian socialism'—a traditional name for anarchism—that goes beyond the confines of traditional social democratic politics".^[240] In the Spanish autonomous community of Catalonia, Jacobin reports about the contemporary political party Candidatura d'Unitat Popular (CUP) as follows:

A libertarian socialist and even anarcho-syndicalist character permeates CUP, in the anti-authoritarian tradition of the Catalan left — embodied by Civil War-era organizations like the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), which was anarcho-syndicalist, or Trotskyists like Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM). [...] cooperatives and popular cultural centers (*casals* and *ateneus populars*) flourished in the late 1990s and 2000s as safe havens for radical socialist communities, economic alternatives, and ideological formations. Many revolutionary youth organizations were born in these cultural centers. [...] In addition to the network of popular cultural centers, the emergence of squatted houses — also known as "self-managed social centers" — further extended this radical sensibility in Catalonia. While not all squatted houses are aligned with separatist socialism, some of the most emblematic houses are more identified with the separatist movement, like the squatted house of Can Vies in Barcelona. [...] Every local assembly represents the essential unit of this popular unity. It represents the neighborhood, the village, the town. [...] Assemblies are sovereign and potentially powerful. They are the cradle of participatory democracy. In some of the towns where CUP holds the power, these open assemblies have received extra responsibilities and "devolved" powers.^[241]

Libertarian possibilism

Libertarian possibilism was a political current within the early 20th-century Spanish anarchist movement which advocated achieving the anarchist ends of ending the state and capitalism with participation inside structures of contemporary parliamentary democracy.^[242] The name of this political position appeared for the first time between 1922–1923 within the discourse of catalan anarcho-syndicalist Salvador Seguí when he said: "We have to intervene in politics in order to take over the positions of the bourgeoisie".^[243]



Federica Montseny (here in Barcelona, 1977) was minister of health during the Spanish Second Republic.

During the autumn of 1931, the "Manifesto of the 30" was published by militants of the anarchist trade union Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT). Among those who signed it there was the CNT general secretary (1922–1923) Joan Peiro, Ángel Pestaña (general secretary in 1929) and Juan Lopez Sanchez.



Anarcha-feminist militia of Mujeres Libres during the libertarian socialist Spanish Revolution of 1936

Their current was called *treintismo* and they called for a more moderate political line within the Spanish anarchist movement. In 1932, they established the Syndicalist Party which participated in the 1936 Spanish general election and proceeded to be a part of the leftist coalition of parties known as the Popular Front, obtaining two congressmen (Pestaña and Benito Pabon). In 1938, Horacio Prieto, general secretary of the CNT, proposed that the Iberian Anarchist Federation transform itself into a libertarian socialist party and that it participate in national elections.^[244]

In November 1936, the Popular Front appointed the prominent anarcha-feminist Federica Montseny as minister of health, becoming the first woman in Spanish history to be a cabinet minister.^[245] When the Republican forces lost the Spanish Civil War, the city of Madrid was turned over to the Francoist forces in 1939 by the last non-Francoist mayor of the city, the anarchist Melchor Rodríguez García.^[246]

Eco-socialism

Merging aspects of anarchism, ecology, environmentalism, green politics, Marxism and socialism, eco-socialists generally believe that the capitalist system is the cause of social exclusion, inequality and environmental degradation. Eco-socialists criticise many within the Green movement for not going far enough in their critique of the current world system and for not being overtly anti-capitalist. At the same time, eco-socialists would blame the traditional left for overlooking or not properly addressing ecological problems.^[247] Eco-socialists are anti-globalisation. Joel Kovel sees globalisation as a force driven by capitalism. In turn, the rapid economic growth encouraged by globalisation causes acute ecological crises.^[248] Agrarian socialism is another variant of eco-socialism. A 17th-century movement called the Diggers based their ideas on agrarian socialism.^[249]

Eco-socialism goes beyond a criticism of the actions of large corporations and targets the inherent properties of capitalism. Such an analysis follows Marx's theories about the contradiction between use values and exchange values. Within a market economy, goods are not produced to meet needs but are produced to be exchanged for money that we then use to acquire other goods. As we have to keep selling to keep buying, we must persuade others to buy our goods just to ensure our survival, which leads to the production of goods with no previous use that can be sold to sustain our ability to buy other goods. Eco-socialists like Kovel stress that this contradiction has reached a destructive extent, where certain essential activities such as caring for relatives full-time and basic subsistence are unrewarded while unnecessary economic activities earn certain individuals huge fortunes.^[248]

Green anarchism is a school of thought within anarchism which puts a particular emphasis on environmental issues.^{[250][251]} An important early influence was the thought of the American individualist anarchist Henry David Thoreau and his book Walden^[118] as well as Leo Tolstoy^[119] and Élisée

Reclus.^[120] In the late 19th century, there emerged a naturist current within individualist anarchist^{[122][123][124]} circles in Cuba^[125] France,^{[126][127]} Portugal^{[118][119]} and Spain.^{[119][127][128][130]}

Some contemporary green anarchists can be described as anarcho-primitivists, or anti-civilization anarchists, although not all green anarchists are primitivists. Likewise, there is a strong critique of modern technology among green anarchists, although not all reject it entirely. Important contemporary currents are anarcho-primitivism and social ecology. Notable contemporary writers espousing green anarchism include Murray Bookchin, Daniel Chodorkoff, anthropologist Brian Morris and people around the Institute for Social Ecology; and those critical of technology such as Layla AbdelRahim, Derrick Jensen, George Draffan and John Zerzan; and others such as Alan Carter.^[252]

Social ecologists often criticize the main currents of socialism for their focus and debates about politics and economics instead of a focus on eco-system (human and environmental). This theory promotes libertarian municipalism and green technology. Anarcho-primitivists often criticize mainstream socialism for supporting civilization and modern technology which they believe are inherently based on domination and exploitation. They instead advocate the process of rewilding or reconnecting with the natural environment. Veganarchism is the political philosophy of veganism (more specifically animal liberation) and green anarchism.^[253] This encompasses viewing the state as unnecessary and harmful to both human and animals whilst practising a vegan lifestyle.^[253]

Georgism

Georgism is an economic philosophy and ideology which holds that people own what they create, but that things found in nature, most importantly land, belong equally to all.^[254] The Georgist philosophy is based on the writings of the economist Henry George (1839–1897) and is usually associated with the idea of a single tax on the value of land. His most famous work is Progress and Poverty (1879), a treatise on inequality, the cyclic nature of industrialized economies and the use of the land value tax as a remedy. Georgists argue that a tax on land value is economically efficient, fair and equitable; and that it can generate sufficient revenue so that other taxes (e.g. taxes on profits, sales or income), which are less fair and efficient, can be reduced or eliminated. A tax on land value has been described by many as a progressive tax since it would be paid primarily by the wealthy and would reduce economic inequality.^[255]

Georgist ideas heavily influenced the politics of the early 20th century. Political parties that were formed based on Georgist ideas include the Commonwealth Land Party, the Justice Party of Denmark, the Henry George Justice Party and the Single Tax League. Several communities were also initiated with Georgist principles during the height of the philosophy's popularity. Two such communities that still exist are Arden, Delaware, which was founded in 1900 by Frank Stephens and Will Price; and Fairhope, Alabama, which was founded in 1894 by the auspices of the Fairhope Single Tax Corporation.^[256] Christian anarchist Leo Tolstoy was enthused by the economic thinking of Henry George, incorporating it approvingly into later works such as Resurrection, the book that played a major factor in his excommunication.^[257]

Guild socialism

Guild socialism is a political movement advocating workers' control of industry through the medium of trade-related guilds "in an implied contractual relationship with the public".^[258] It originated in the United Kingdom and was at its most influential in the first quarter of the 20th century.^[258] It was strongly associated with G. D. H. Cole and influenced by the ideas of William Morris.

Guild socialism was partly inspired by the guilds of craftsmen and other skilled workers which had existed in England during the Middle Ages. In 1906, Arthur Penty published *Restoration of the Gild System* in which he opposed factory production and advocated a return to an earlier period of artisanal production organised through guilds. The following year, the journal *The New Age* became an advocate of guild socialism, although in the context of modern industry rather than the medieval setting favoured by Penty. The guild socialists "stood for state ownership of industry, combined with "workers' control" through delegation of authority to national guilds organized internally on democratic lines. About the state itself they differed, some believing it would remain more or less in its existing form and others that it would be transformed into a federal body representing the workers' guilds, consumers' organizations, local government bodies, and other social structures".^[258]

In 1914, Samuel George Hobson, a leading contributor to *The New Age*, published *National Guilds: An Inquiry into the Wage System and the Way Out*. In this work, guilds were presented as an alternative to state-control of industry or conventional trade union activity. Unlike the existing trade unions, guilds would not confine their demands to matters of wages and conditions, but would seek to obtain control of industry for the workers whom they represented. Ultimately, industrial guilds would serve as the organs through which industry would be organised in a future socialist society. The theory of guild socialism was developed and popularised by G. D. H. Cole who formed the National Guilds League in 1915 and published several books on guild socialism, including *Self-Government in Industry* (1917) and *Guild Socialism Restated* (1920). For scholar Charles Masquerade, "[i]t is by meeting such a twofold requirement that the libertarian socialism of G.D.H. Cole could be said to offer timely and sustainable avenues for the institutionalization of the liberal value of autonomy...By setting out to 'destroy this predominance of economic factors' (Cole 1980, 180) through the re-organization of key spheres of life into forms of associative action and coordination capable of giving the 'fullest development of functional organisation'...Cole effectively sought to turn political representation into a system actually capable of giving direct recognition to the multiplicity of interests making up highly complex and differentiated societies".^[259]

Revolutionary syndicalism

Revolutionary syndicalism is a type of economic system proposed as a replacement for capitalism and an alternative to state socialism, which uses federations of collectivised trade unions or industrial unions. It is a form of socialist economic corporatism that advocates interest aggregation of multiple non-competitive categorised units to negotiate and manage an economy.^[260] For adherents, labour unions are the potential means of both overcoming economic aristocracy and running society fairly in the interest of the majority through union democracy. Industry in a syndicalist system would be run through co-operative confederations and mutual aid. Local syndicates would communicate with other syndicates through the Bourse du Travail (labor exchange) which would manage and transfer commodities.

Syndicalism is also used to refer to the tactic of bringing about this social arrangement, typically expounded by anarcho-syndicalism and De Leonism in which a general strike begins and workers seize their means of production and organise in a federation of trade unionism, such as the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT).^[261] Throughout its history, the reformist section of syndicalism has been overshadowed by its revolutionary section, typified by the Confédération Générale du Travail in France, the Industrial Workers of the World, the Federación Anarquista Ibérica section of the CNT,^[262] the Unione Sindacale Italiana and the Central Organisation of the Workers of Sweden.

Christian anarchism



Leo Tolstoy, important theorist of Christian anarchism and anarcho-pacifism

Christian anarchism is a movement in political theology that combines anarchism and Christianity.^[263] It is the belief that there is only one source of authority to which Christians are ultimately answerable, the authority of God as embodied in the teachings of Jesus. More than any other Bible source, the Sermon on the Mount and Jesus' call to not resist evil but turn the other cheek, are used as the basis for Christian anarchism.^[264]

Christian anarchists are pacifists and oppose the use of violence, such as war.^[265] The foundation of Christian anarchism is a rejection of violence, with Leo Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* regarded as a key text.^{[265][266]} Christian anarchists denounce the state as they claim it is violent, deceitful and when glorified a form of idolatry.^{[265][267]}

The Tolstoyans were a small Christian anarchist group formed by Tolstoy's companion Vladimir Chertkov (1854–1936) to spread Tolstoy's religious teachings. Prince Peter Kropotkin wrote of Tolstoy in the article on anarchism in the 1911 *Encyclopædia Britannica* while in hundreds of essays over the last twenty years of his life Tolstoy reiterated the anarchist critique of the state and recommended books by Kropotkin and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon to his readers whilst rejecting anarchism's espousal of violent revolutionary means.^[268]

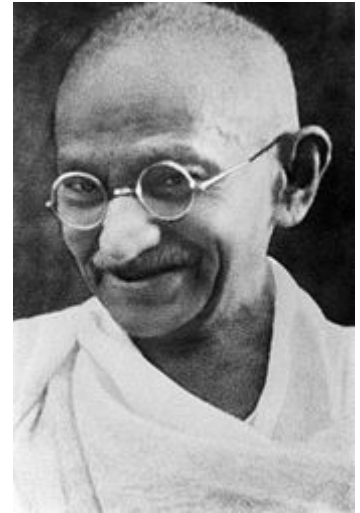
Dorothy Day was an American journalist, social activist and devout Catholic convert who advocated the Catholic economic theory of distributism. Day "believed all states were inherently totalitarian"^[269] and was a self-labeled anarchist.^{[270][271][272]} In the 1930s, Day worked closely with fellow activist Peter Maurin to establish the Catholic Worker Movement, a nonviolent, pacifist movement that continues to combine direct aid for the poor and homeless with nonviolent direct action on their behalf. The importance of Day within Catholicism goes to the extent that the cause for Day's canonization is open in the Catholic Church and she is thus formally referred to as a Servant of God.^[273]

Ammon Hennacy was an Irish American pacifist, Christian, anarchist and social activist member of the Catholic Worker Movement and a Wobbly. He established the Joe Hill House of Hospitality in Salt Lake City, Utah.^[274]

Gandhism

Gandhism is the collection of inspirations, principles, beliefs and philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi, who was a major political leader of India and the Indian independence movement. It is a body of ideas and principles that describes the inspiration, vision and the life work of Gandhi. It is particularly associated with his contributions to the idea and practice of nonviolent resistance, sometimes also called civil resistance. Gandhian economics are the socio-economic principles expounded by Gandhi. It is largely characterised by its affinity to the principles and objectives of nonviolent humanistic socialism, but with a rejection of violent class war and promotion of socio-economic harmony. Gandhi's economic ideas also aim to promote spiritual development and harmony with a rejection of materialism. The term Gandhian economics was coined by J. C. Kumarappa, a close supporter of Gandhi.^[275] Gandhian economics places importance to means of achieving the aim of development and this means must be non-violent, ethical and truthful in all economic spheres. In order to achieve this means, he advocated trusteeship, decentralization of economic activities, labour intensive technology and priority to weaker sections. Gandhi also had letter communication with Christian anarchist Leo Tolstoy and saw himself as his disciple.^[276]

Gandhi challenged future Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the modernizers in the late 1930s who called for rapid industrialization on the Soviet model, which Gandhi denounced as dehumanizing and contrary to the needs of the villages where the great majority of the people lived.^[277] After Gandhi's death, Nehru led India to large-scale planning that emphasized modernization and heavy industry while modernizing agriculture through irrigation. Historian Kuruville Pandikattu says that "it was Nehru's vision, not Gandhi's, that was eventually preferred by the Indian State".^[278] Gandhi was a self-described philosophical anarchist^[279] and his vision of India meant an India without an underlying government.^[280] He once said that "the ideally nonviolent state would be an ordered anarchy".^[281] While political systems are largely hierarchical, with each layer of authority from the individual to the central government have increasing levels of authority over the layer below, Gandhi believed that society should be the exact opposite, where nothing is done without the consent of anyone, down to the individual. His idea was that true self-rule in a country means that every person rules his or herself and that there is no state which enforces laws upon the people.^[282]



Mahatma Gandhi

Gandhian activists such as Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan were involved in the Sarvodaya movement, which sought to promote self-sufficiency amidst India's rural population by encouraging land redistribution, socio-economic reforms and promoting cottage industries. The movement sought to combat the problems of class conflict, unemployment and poverty while attempting to preserve the lifestyle and values of rural Indians, which were eroding with industrialisation and modernisation. Sarvodaya also included Bhoodan, or the gifting of land and agricultural resources by the landlords (called zamindars) to their tenant farmers in a bid to end the medieval system of zamindari. *The Conquest of Violence: An Essay on War and Revolution* is a book written by dutch anarcho-pacifist Bart de Ligt which deals with nonviolent resistance in part inspired by the ideas of Gandhi.^[283] Anarchist historian George Woodcock reports that *The Conquest of Violence* "was read widely by British and American pacifists during the 1930s and led many of them to adopt an anarchistic point of view".^[284]

Platformism

Platformism is a tendency within the wider anarchist movement based on the organisational theories in the tradition of Dielo Truda's Organizational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists (Draft).^[285]

Within the New Left

The emergence of the New Left in the 1950s and 1960s led to a revival of interest in libertarian socialism.^[287] The New Left's critique of the Old Left's authoritarianism was associated with a strong interest in personal liberty and autonomy (see the thinking of Cornelius Castoriadis) which led to a rediscovery of older socialist traditions, such as left communism, council communism, and the Industrial Workers of the World. In the United States, this was caused by a renewal of anarchism from the 1950s forward through writers such as Paul Goodman and anarcho-pacifism which became influential in the anti-nuclear movement and anti war movements of the time and which incorporated both the influences of Gandhism and Tolstoyan Christian anarchism.^[288]

In Australia, the Sydney Push was a predominantly left-wing intellectual subculture in Sydney from the late 1940s to the early 1970s which became associated with the label "Sydney libertarianism".^[289] The New Left also led to a revival of anarchism in the 1960s in the United States. Journals like *Radical America* and *Black Mask* in the United States and *Solidarity*, *Big Flame* and *Democracy & Nature*, succeeded by *The*



Herbert Marcuse, associated with the Frankfurt School of critical theory, was an influential libertarian socialist philosopher of the New Left.^[286]

International Journal of Inclusive Democracy,^[290] in the United Kingdom introduced a range of left-libertarian ideas to a new generation. social ecology, autonomism and more recently participatory economics and Inclusive Democracy emerged from this. The New Left in the United States also included anarchist, countercultural and hippie-related radical groups such as the Yippies who were led by Abbie Hoffman, The Diggers,^[291] Up Against the Wall Motherfuckers and the White Panther Party. By late 1966, The Diggers opened free stores which simply gave away their stock, provided free food, distributed free drugs, gave away money, organized free music concerts and performed works of political art.^[292] The Diggers took their name from the original English Diggers led by Gerrard Winstanley^[293] and sought to create a mini-society free of money and capitalism.^[294] On the other hand, the Yippies employed theatrical gestures, such as advancing a pig ("Pigasus the Immortal") as a candidate for President in 1968, to mock the social *status quo*.^[295] They have been described as a highly theatrical, anti-authoritarian and anarchist^[296] youth movement of "symbolic politics".^[297] Since they were well known for street theater and politically themed pranks, many of the "old school" political left either ignored or denounced them. According to ABC News: "The group was known for street theater pranks and was once referred to as the 'Groucho Marxists'".^[298]

Communalism and social ecology

Social ecology is closely related to the work and ideas of Murray Bookchin and influenced by anarchist Peter Kropotkin. Social ecologists assert that the present ecological crisis has its roots in human social problems and that the domination of human-over-nature stems from the domination of human-over-human.^[299]

Bookchin later developed a political philosophy to complement social ecology which he called Communalism (spelled with a capital C to differentiate it from other forms of communalism). While originally conceived as a form of social anarchism, he later developed Communalism into a separate ideology which incorporates what he saw as the most beneficial elements of anarchism, Marxism, syndicalism and radical ecology.

Politically, Communalists advocate a network of directly democratic citizens' assemblies in individual communities or cities organized in a confederated fashion. The method used to achieve this is called libertarian municipalism and involves the establishment of face-to-face democratic institutions which grow and expand confederally with the goal of eventually replacing the nation-state. Unlike anarchists, Communalists are not opposed to taking part in parliamentary politics—especially municipal elections—as long as candidates are libertarian socialist and anti-statist in outlook.

Democratic confederalism

Democratic confederalism is the proposal of a libertarian socialist political system that "is open towards other political groups and factions. It is flexible, multi-cultural, anti-monopolistic, and consensus-oriented".^[300] Abdullah Öcalan, who is the leader of the Kurdistan Workers' Party, founded this ideology while in prison. While originally a Marxist–Leninist organization, the organization modified their views as Öcalan began corresponding with Murray Bookchin and incorporating his ideology. The central pillars of democratic confederalism are social ecology and anarcha-feminism.^[301] According to Öcalan, his ideology is rooted in participatory democracy and autonomy at the local level. In his book, he says: "The stronger the

participation the more powerful is this kind of democracy. While the nation-state is in contrast to democracy, and even denies it, democratic confederalism constitutes a continuous democratic process".^[302]



Female fighters of the YPJ play a significant combat role in Rojava.

Participism

Participism is a 21st century form of libertarian socialism. It comprises two related economic and political systems called participatory economics or "parecon" and participatory politics or "parpolity".

Parecon is an economic system proposed primarily by activist and political theorist Michael Albert and radical economist Robin Hahnel, among others. It uses participatory decision making as an economic mechanism to guide the production, consumption and allocation of resources in a given society. Proposed as an alternative to contemporary capitalist market economies and also an alternative to centrally planned socialism or coordinatorism, it is described as "an anarchistic economic vision" and it could be considered a form of socialism as under parecon the means of production are owned by the workers. It proposes to attain these ends mainly through the following principles and institutions: workers' and consumers' councils utilizing self-managerial methods for decision making, balanced job complexes, remuneration according to effort and sacrifice and participatory planning. Under parecon, the current monetary system would be replaced with a system of non-transferable "credit" which would cease to exist upon purchase of a commodity.

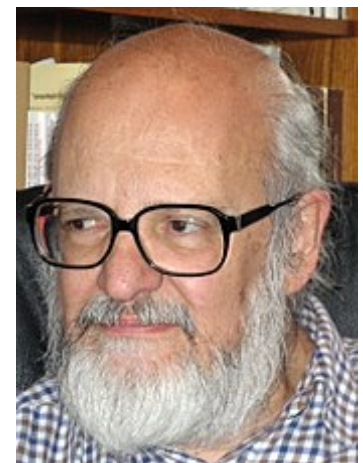


Michael Albert

Parpolity is a theoretical political system proposed by Stephen R. Shalom. It was developed as a political vision to accompany parecon. Participism as a whole is critical of aspects of modern representative democracies and capitalism arguing that the level of political control by the people is not sufficient. To address this problem, parpolity suggests a system of "Nested Councils", which would include every adult member of a given society. Under participism, the state as such would dissolve into a mere coordinating body made up of delegates which would be recallable at any time by the nested council below them.

Inclusive Democracy

Inclusive Democracy is a political theory and political project that aim for direct democracy, economic democracy in a stateless, moneyless and marketless economy, self-management (democracy in the social realm) and ecological democracy. As distinguished from the political project which is part of the democratic and autonomy traditions, the theoretical project of Inclusive Democracy emerged from the work of political philosopher, former academic and activist Takis Fotopoulos in *Towards An Inclusive Democracy* and was further developed by him and other writers in the journal *Democracy & Nature* and its successor *The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy*, an electronic journal freely available and published by the International Network for Inclusive Democracy.



Takis Fotopoulos

According to Arran Gare, *Towards an Inclusive Democracy* "offers a powerful new interpretation of the history and destructive dynamics of the market and provides an inspiring new vision of the future in place of both

neo-liberalism and existing forms of socialism".^[303] As David Freeman points out, although Fotopoulos' approach "is not openly anarchism, yet anarchism seems the formal category within which he works, given his commitment to direct democracy, municipalism and abolition of state, money and market economy".^[304]

An artificial market is proposed by this tendency as a solution to the problem of maintaining freedom of choice for the consumer within a marketless and moneyless economy, an artificial market operates in much the same way as traditional markets, but uses labour vouchers or personal credit in place of traditional money. According to Takis Fotopoulos, an artificial market "secures real freedom of choice, without incurring the adverse effects associated with real markets".^[305]

Insurrectionary anarchism

Insurrectionary anarchism is a revolutionary theory, practice and tendency within the anarchist movement which emphasizes the theme of insurrection within anarchist practice. It is critical of formal organizations such as labor unions and federations that are based on a political programme and periodic congresses. Instead, insurrectionary anarchists advocate informal organization and small affinity group-based organization. Insurrectionary anarchists put value in attack, permanent class conflict and a refusal to negotiate or compromise with class enemies.

Contemporary insurrectionary anarchism inherits the views and tactics of anti-organizational anarcho-communism^[306] and illegalism. Between 1880 and 1890,^[307] with the "perspective of an immanent revolution",^[307] who was "opposed to the official workers' movement", which was then in the process of formation (general social democratisation). They were opposed not only to political and statist struggles, but also to strikes which put forward wage or other claims, or which were organised by trade unions.^[307] However, "[w]hile they were not opposed to strikes as such—they were opposed to trade unions and the struggle for the eight-hour day. This anti-reformist tendency was accompanied by an anti-organisational tendency, and its partisans declared themselves in favour of agitation amongst the unemployed for the expropriation of foodstuffs and other articles, for the expropriatory strike and, in some cases, for 'individual recuperation' or acts of terrorism".^[307] A resurgence of such ideas happened "in the peculiar conditions of postwar Italy and Greece".^[308]

Magonism and neo-Zapatismo

The Zapatista Army of National Liberation (*Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional*, EZLN) often referred to as the *zapatistas* is a revolutionary leftist group based in Chiapas, the southernmost state of Mexico. Since 1994, the group has been in a declared war "against the Mexican state", though this war has been primarily nonviolent and defensive against military, paramilitary and corporate incursions into Chiapas. Their social base is mostly rural indigenous people, but they have some supporters in urban areas and internationally. Their former spokesperson was Subcomandante Marcos (also known as Delegate Zero in relation to The Other Campaign). Unlike other Zapatist spokespeople, Marcos is not an indigenous Maya. Since December 1994, the Zapatistas had been gradually forming several autonomous municipalities, called Rebel Zapatista Autonomous Municipalities (MAREZ). In these municipalities, an assembly of local representatives forms the *Juntas de Buen Gobierno* or Councils of Good Government (JBGs). These are not recognized by the federal or state



Subcomandante Marcos

governments and they oversee local community programs on food, health and education as well as taxation. The EZLN political formations have happened in two phases generally called *Aquascalientes* and *Caracoles*.

The group takes its name from Emiliano Zapata (the agrarian reformer^[309] and commander of the Liberation Army of the South during the Mexican Revolution) and sees itself as his ideological heir. Zapatista originally referred to a member of the revolutionary guerrilla movement founded about 1910 by Zapata. His Liberation Army of the South (*Ejército Libertador del Sur*) fought during the Mexican Revolution for the redistribution of agricultural land. Zapata and his army and allies, including Pancho Villa, fought for agrarian reform in Mexico. Specifically, they wanted to establish communal land rights for Mexico's indigenous population, which had mostly lost its land to the wealthy elite of European descent. Zapata was partly influenced by an anarchist from Oaxaca named Ricardo Flores Magón. The influence of Flores Magón on Zapata can be seen in the Zapatist' Plan de Ayala, but even more noticeably in their slogan (this slogan was never used by Zapata) *Tierra y libertad* or "Land and liberty", the title and maxim of Flores Magón's most famous work. Zapata's introduction to anarchism came via a local schoolteacher, Otilio Montaña Sánchez—later a general in Zapata's army, executed on 17 May 1917—who exposed Zapata to the works of Peter Kropotkin and Flores Magón at the same time as Zapata was observing and beginning to participate in the struggles of the peasants for the land.

In reference to inspirational figures, in nearly all EZLN villages exist murals accompanying images of Zapata, Che Guevara and Subcomandante Marcos.^[310] The ideology of the Zapatista movement, Zapatism, synthesizes traditional Mayan practices with elements of libertarian socialism, anarchism^{[311][312]} and Marxism.^[313] The historical influence of Mexican anarchists and various Latin American socialists is apparent on Zapatism as with the positions of Subcomandante Marcos also adding a distinct Marxist element to the movement according to *The New York Times*.^[314] A Zapatist slogan is in harmony with the concept of mutual aid: "For everyone, everything. For us, nothing" (*Para todos, todo. Para nosotros, nada*).

Left-wing market anarchism

Left-wing market anarchism is a left-libertarian and individualist anarchist^[315] form of libertarian socialism^{[316][317]} associated with scholars such as Kevin Carson,^{[318][319]} Roderick T. Long,^{[320][321]} Charles W. Johnson,^[322] Brad Spangler,^[323] Samuel Edward Konkin III,^[324] Chris Matthew Sciabarra^[325] and Gary Chartier,^[326] who stress the value of radically free markets, termed freed markets to distinguish them from the common conception which these libertarians believe to be riddled with statist and capitalist privileges.^[327] Referred to as left-wing market anarchists^[328] or market-oriented left-libertarians,^[329] proponents of this approach strongly affirm the classical liberal ideas of self-ownership and free markets while maintaining that taken to their logical conclusions, these ideas support anti-capitalist,^{[330][331]} anti-corporatist, anti-hierarchical, pro-labor positions in economics; anti-imperialism in foreign policy; and thoroughly liberal or radical views regarding cultural and social issues such as gender, sexuality and race.

The genealogy of contemporary market-oriented left-libertarianism, sometimes labeled left-wing market anarchism,^[332] overlaps to a significant degree with that of Steiner–Vallentyne left-libertarianism as the roots of that tradition are sketched in the book *The Origins of Left-Libertarianism*.^[333] Carson–Long-style left-libertarianism is rooted in 19th century mutualism and in the work of figures such as Thomas Hodgskin and the individualist anarchists Benjamin Tucker and Lysander Spooner. While with notable exceptions market-oriented libertarians after Tucker tended to ally with the political right, relationships between such libertarians and the New Left thrived in the 1960s, laying the groundwork for modern left-wing market anarchism.^[334] Left-wing market anarchism identifies with left libertarianism (or left-wing libertarianism)^[335] which names several related yet distinct approaches to politics, society, culture and

political and social theory, which stress both individual freedom and social justice. Unlike right-libertarians, they believe that neither claiming nor mixing one's labor with natural resources is enough to generate full private property rights^{[336][337]} and maintain that natural resources (land, oil, gold and trees) ought to be held in some egalitarian manner, either unowned or owned collectively.^[337] Those left-libertarians who support private property do so under the condition that recompense is offered to the local community.

Communization

Communization is a contemporary communist theory in which we find a "mixing-up of insurrectionist anarchism, the communist ultra-left, post-autonomists, anti-political currents, groups like the Invisible Committee, as well as more explicitly 'communizing' currents, such as *Théorie Communiste* and *Endnotes*. Obviously at the heart of the word is communism and, as the shift to communization suggests, communism as a particular activity and process".^[338]

The association of the term communization with a self-identified ultra-left was cemented in France in the 1970s, where it came to describe not a transition to a higher phase of communism, but a vision of communist revolution itself. The 1975 Pamphlet *A World Without Money* thus states: "insurrection and communisation are intimately linked. There would not be first a period of insurrection and then later, thanks to this insurrection, the transformation of social reality. The insurrectional process derives its force from communisation itself".^[339] The term is still used in this sense in France today and has spread into English usage as a result of the translation of texts by Gilles Dauvé and *Théorie Communiste*, two key figures in this tendency. In collaboration with other left communists such as François Martin and Karl Nesic, Dauvé has attempted to fuse, critique and develop different left communist currents, most notably the Italian movement associated with Amadeo Bordiga (and its heretical journal *Invariance*), German Dutch council communism and the French perspectives associated with Socialisme ou Barbarie and the Situationist International.^[340]

In the late 1990s, a close yet not identical sense of communization was developed by the French post-situationist group Tiqqun. In keeping with their ultra-left predecessors, Tiqqun's predilection for the term seems to be its emphasis on communism as an immediate process rather than a far-off goal, but for Tiqqun it is no longer synonymous with the revolution, considered as an historical event, but rather becomes identifiable with all sorts of activities—from squatting and setting up communes to simply sharing—that would typically be understood as pre-revolutionary.^[341] From an ultra-left perspective, such a politics of "dropping-out" or, as Tiqqun put it, "desertion"—setting up spaces and practices that are held to partially autonomous from capitalism—is typically dismissed as either naive or reactionary.^[342] Due to the popularity of the Tiqqun-related works *Call* and *The Coming Insurrection* in the American anarchist circles, it tended to be this latter sense of "communization" that was employed in American anarchist and insurrectionist communiques, notably within the Californian student movement of 2009–2010.^[343]

Contemporary libertarian socialism

A surge of popular interest in libertarian socialism occurred in Western nations during the 1960s and 1970s.^[344] Anarchism was influential in the counterculture of the 1960s^{[345][346][347]} and anarchists actively participated in the late 1960s students and workers revolts.^[348] In 1968, the International of Anarchist Federations was founded during an international anarchist conference held in Carrara by the three existing European federations of France, the Italian and the Iberian Anarchist Federation as well as the Bulgarian Anarchist Federation in French exile.^{[349][350]} The uprisings of May 1968 also led to a small resurgence of interest in left communist ideas. Various small left communist groups emerged around the world, predominantly in the leading capitalist countries. A series of conferences of the communist left began in 1976, with the aim of promoting international and cross-tendency discussion, but these petered out in the 1980s without having increased the profile of the movement or its unity of ideas.^[351] Prominent left communist groups existing today include the International Communist Party, International Communist

Current and the Internationalist Communist Tendency. The housing and employment crisis in most of Western Europe led to the formation of communes and squatter movements like that of Barcelona, Spain. In Denmark, squatters occupied a disused military base and declared the Freetown Christiania, an autonomous haven in central Copenhagen.



The global Occupy movement is noted to have distinct libertarian socialist principles.

Around the turn of the 21st century, libertarian socialism grew in popularity and influence as part of the anti-war, anti-capitalist and anti-globalisation movements.^[352] Anarchists became known for their involvement in protests against the meetings of the World Trade Organization (WTO), Group of Eight (G8) and the World Economic Forum (WEF). Some anarchist factions at these protests engaged in rioting, property destruction and violent confrontations with police. These actions were precipitated by *ad hoc*, leaderless, anonymous cadres known as black blocs—other organisational tactics pioneered in this time include security culture, affinity groups and the use of decentralised technologies such as the internet.^[352] A significant event of this period was the confrontations at WTO conference in Seattle in 1999.^[352] For English anarchist scholar Simon Critchley, "contemporary anarchism can be seen as a powerful critique of the pseudo-libertarianism of contemporary neo-liberalism...One might say that contemporary anarchism is about responsibility, whether sexual, ecological or socio-economic; it flows from an experience of conscience about the manifold ways in which the West ravages the rest; it is an ethical outrage at the yawning inequality, impoverishment and disenfranchisement that is so palpable locally and globally".^[353] This might also have been motivated by "the collapse of 'really existing socialism' and the capitulation to neo-liberalism of Western social democracy".^[354]

International anarchist federations in existence include the International of Anarchist Federations (IAF), the International Workers' Association (IWA) and International Libertarian Solidarity (ILS). The largest organised anarchist movement today is in Spain in the form of the Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT) and the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT). CGT membership was estimated to be around 100,000 for 2003.^[355]

Libertarian socialists in the early 21st century have been involved in the alter-globalization movement, squatter movement; social centers; infoshops; anti-poverty groups such as Ontario Coalition Against Poverty and Food Not Bombs; tenants' unions; housing cooperatives; intentional communities generally and egalitarian communities; anti-sexist organizing; grassroots media initiatives; digital media and computer activism; experiments in participatory economics; anti-racist and anti-fascist groups like Anti-Racist Action and Anti-Fascist Action; activist groups protecting the rights of immigrants and promoting the free movement of people, such as the No Border network; worker co-operatives, countercultural and artist groups; and the peace movement. Libertarian socialism has also more recently played a large part in the global Occupy movement,^[356] in particular its focus on direct participatory democracy.

Libertarian socialist periodicals

- Ongoing
 - Anarcho-Syndicalist Review (United States, 1986–present)^[357]
 - Brand (Sweden, 1898–present)
 - Freedom (United Kingdom, 1886–1930s; 1930s–2014; 2014–present)
 - The Libertarian Communist (United Kingdom, 2008–present)
 - New Internationalist (United Kingdom, 1973–present)

- *Red and Black Notes* (Canada, 1997; 2006–present; features the works of Cajo Brendel, Cornelius Castoriadis, Martin Glaberman, C. L. R. James and Larry Gambone)^[358]
- *Red & Black Revolution* (Ireland, 1994–present; publication of the Workers Solidarity Movement)
- *Red Pepper* (United Kingdom, 1995–present)^[359]
- *ROAR Magazine* (2010–present)
- *Social Anarchism* (1981–present; Baltimore-based journal)
- *Socialist Standard* (United Kingdom, 1904–present)
- *Turnusol* (Turkey, 2008)^[360]
- *Workers Solidarity* (Ireland, 1994–present; publication of the Workers Solidarity Movement)
- *Z Magazine* (United States, 1987–present)
- Discontinued
 - *Against the Grain* (United States, 1976–1978)^[361]
 - *Big Flame* (United Kingdom, 1960s–1970s)
 - *Catamount Tavern News* (2002–2009; publication of the Vermont-based Green Mountain Anarchist Collective)
 - *Comment: New Perspectives in Libertarian Thought* (United States, 1960s; edited by Murray Bookchin)^[362]
 - *The Commune* (United Kingdom, 2008–2013)^[363]
 - *Contemporary Issues* (United States, 1947–1997; magazine for The Movement For a Democracy of Content published by Joseph Weber, Murray Bookchin's mentor)^[364]
 - *Democracy & Nature* (United States/United Kingdom; it was succeeded by *The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy*)
 - *Flash Point* (Canada, 1970s)^[361]
 - *Heatwave* (United Kingdom, 1960s)^[365]
 - *The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy* (United States/United Kingdom, 2004–present; within the direct democratic, libertarian socialist and autonomy traditions)^[366]
 - *Leeds Other Paper* (United Kingdom, 1974–1991)^[367]
 - *Libertarian Communism* (United Kingdom, 1974–1976)
 - *Liberty* (United States, 1881–1908)
 - *Mother Earth* (United States, 1907–1915)
 - *Organized Thoughts* (United States, 1990s)^[368]
 - *Our Generation* (Canada, 1961–1994; historical and theoretical journal, originally titled *Our Generation Against Nuclear War*)
 - *Rebelles* (Canada, 1990s)^[369]
 - *Root and Branch* (United States, 1970–present; features the work of Paul Mattick and others)^[370]
 - *Socialisme ou Barbarie* (France)
 - *Solidarity* (United Kingdom, 1960s–1970s)^[371]
 - *Der Sozialist*, (Germany, 1900s; co-edited by Gustav Landauer and Margarethe Hardegger)^[372]
 - *Tegen de Stroom* (Netherlands, 1990s)^[373]
 - *Zenit* (Sweden, 1958–1970; magazine by Syndikalistiska Grupprörelsen)

See also

- *Freiwirtschaft*
- Mao-Spontex
- Sociocracy

References

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3. McNally, David (1993). *Against the Market: Political Economy, Market Socialism and the Marxist Critique*. "Proudhon did Enormous Mischief: Marx's Critique of the First Market Socialists" (<https://books.google.com/books?id=tDsui1AA7mIC&pg=PA139&dq=anarcho-socialism&hl=it&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjH4cm2kOjjAhUrxAYKHfzdDjwQ6AEIUzAF#v=onepage&q=anarcho-socialism&f=false>). Verso Books.
4. Davidson, John Morrison (1896). *Anarchist Socialism vs. State Socialism at the London International Labour Congress (1896)*. W. Reeves.
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8. Carlson, Jennifer D. (2012). "Libertarianism". In Miller, Wilburn R., ed. *The Social History of Crime and Punishment in America*. London: SAGE Publications. p. 1006. ISBN 1412988764. "There exist three major camps in libertarian thought: right-libertarianism, socialist libertarianism, and left-libertarianism; the extent to which these represent distinct ideologies as opposed to variations on a theme is contested by scholars. [...] [S]ocialist libertarians view any concentration of power into the hands of a few (whether politically or economically) as antithetical to freedom and thus advocate for the simultaneous abolition of both government *and* capitalism".
9. McKay, Iain, ed. (2012) [2008]. "What Is Anarchism? Isn't libertarian socialism an oxymoron?". *An Anarchist FAQ*. II. Stirling: AK Press. ISBN 978-1-84935-122-5. "It implies a classless and anti-authoritarian (i.e. libertarian) society in which people manage their own affairs."
10. Long, Roderick T. (2012). "Anarchism". In Gaus, Gerald F.; D'Agostino, Fred, eds. *The Routledge Companion to Social and Political Philosophy*. p. 223. "In the meantime, anarchist theories of a more communist or collectivist character had been developing as well. One important pioneer is French anarcho-communists Joseph Déjacque (1821–1864), who [...] appears to have been the first thinker to adopt the term 'libertarian' for this position; hence 'libertarianism' initially denoted a communist rather than a free-market ideology."

11. Long, Roderick T. (1998). "Toward a Libertarian Theory of Class" (<http://praxeology.net/libclass-theory-part-1.pdf>) (PDF). *Social Philosophy and Policy*. **15** (2): 303–349. doi:10.1017/S0265052500002028 (<https://doi.org/10.1017%2FS0265052500002028>). p. 305: "Yet, unlike other socialists, they tend (to various different degrees, depending on the thinker) to be skeptical of centralized state intervention as the solution to capitalist exploitation [...]."
12. Bookchin, Murray; Biehl, Janet (1997). *The Murray Bookchin Reader*. Cassell. p. 170. ISBN 0-304-33873-7.
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14. "I1. Isn't libertarian socialism an oxymoron?" (<http://www.infoshop.org/an-anarchist-faq-i-1-isnt-libertarian-socialism-an-oxymoron/>) Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20191009074531/http://www.infoshop.org/an-anarchist-faq-i-1-isnt-libertarian-socialism-an-oxymoron/>) 9 October 2019 at the Wayback Machine. In *An Anarchist FAQ*. "Therefore, rather than being an oxymoron, "libertarian socialism" indicates that true socialism must be libertarian and that a libertarian who is not a socialist is a phoney. As true socialists oppose wage labour, they must also oppose the state for the same reasons. Similarly, libertarians must oppose wage labour for the same reasons they must oppose the state."
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16. Prichard, Alex; Kinna, Ruth; Pinta, Saku; Berry, Dave, eds. (December 2012). *Libertarian Socialism: Politics in Black and Red*. Palgrave Macmillan. p. 13. "Their analysis treats libertarian socialism as a form of anti-parliamentary, democratic, antibureaucratic grass roots socialist organisation, strongly linked to working class activism."
17. Long, Roderick T. (1998). "Toward a Libertarian Theory of Class" (<http://praxeology.net/libclass-theory-part-1.pdf>) (PDF). *Social Philosophy and Policy*. **15** (2): 303–349. doi:10.1017/S0265052500002028 (<https://doi.org/10.1017%2FS0265052500002028>). p. 305: "[...] preferring a system of popular self-governance via networks of decentralized, local, voluntary, participatory, cooperative associations [...]"
18. Masquelier, Charles (2014). *Critical Theory and Libertarian Socialism: Realizing the Political Potential of Critical Social Theory*. New York and London: Bloombury. p. 189. "What is of particular interest here, however, is the appeal to a form of emancipation grounded in decentralized, cooperative and democratic forms of political and economic governance which most libertarian socialist visions, including Cole's, tend to share."
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37. El-Ojeili, Chamsi (2015). *Beyond Post-Socialism: Dialogues with the Far-Left*. Palgrave Macmillan. p. 8. "In some ways, it is perhaps fair to say that if Left communism is an intellectual- political formation, it is so, first and foremost, negatively – as opposed to other socialist traditions. I have labelled this negative pole 'socialist orthodoxy', composed of both Leninists and social democrats. [...] What I suggested was that these Left communist thinkers differentiated their own understandings of communism from a strand of socialism that came to follow a largely electoral road in the West, pursuing a kind of social capitalism, and a path to socialism that predominated in the peripheral and semi- peripheral countries, which sought revolutionary conquest of power and led to something like state capitalism. Generally, the Left communist thinkers were to find these paths locked within the horizons of capitalism (the law of value, money, private property, class, the state), and they were to characterize these solutions as statist, substitutionist and authoritarian."
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40. [An Anarchist FAQ](#). "(Benjamin) Tucker referred to himself many times as a socialist and considered his philosophy to be "Anarchistic socialism."
41. [Armand, Émile \(1907\). "Anarchist Individualism as a Life and Activity" \(http://www.spaz.org/~dan/individualist-anarchist/library/emile-armand/life-activity.html\)](http://www.spaz.org/~dan/individualist-anarchist/library/emile-armand/life-activity.html). French individualist anarchist Émile Armand shows clearly opposition to capitalism and centralized economies when he said that the individualist anarchist "inwardly he remains refractory – fatally refractory – morally, intellectually, economically (The capitalist economy and the directed economy, the speculators and the fabricators of single are equally repugnant to him.)"
42. [Sabatini, Peter \(1994–1995\). "Libertarianism: Bogus Anarchy" \(http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Peter_Sabatini_Libertarianism_Bogus_Anarchy.html\)](http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Peter_Sabatini_Libertarianism_Bogus_Anarchy.html). Anarchist Peter Sabatini reports that in the United States "of early to mid-19th century, there appeared an array of communal and "utopian" counterculture groups (including the so-called free love movement). William Godwin's anarchism exerted an ideological influence on some of this, but more so the socialism of Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. After success of his British venture, Owen himself established a cooperative community within the United States at New Harmony, Indiana during 1825. One member of this commune was Josiah Warren (1798–1874), considered to be the first individualist anarchist."
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[Archived \(https://web.archive.org/web/20090609075437/http://www.mutualist.org/id32.html\)](https://web.archive.org/web/20090609075437/http://www.mutualist.org/id32.html)
9 June 2009 at the [Wayback Machine](#).
45. Masquelier, Charles (2014). *Critical Theory and Libertarian Socialism: Realizing the Political Potential of Critical Social Theory*. New York and London: Bloombury. p. 190. "It is by meeting such a twofold requirement that the libertarian socialism of G.D.H. Cole could be said to offer timely and sustainable avenues for the institutionalization of the liberal value of autonomy [...]."

46. Prichard, Alex; Kinna, Ruth; Pinta, Saku; Berry, Dave, eds. (December 2012). *Libertarian Socialism: Politics in Black and Red*. Palgrave Macmillan. p. 13. "Locating libertarian socialism in a grey area between anarchist and Marxist extremes, they argue that the multiple experiences of historical convergence remain inspirational and that, through these examples, the hope of socialist transformation survives."
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119. "**EL NATURISMO LIBERTARIO EN LA PENÍNSULA IBÉRICA (1890–1939)** by Jose Maria Rosello" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20160102181805/http://www.soliobrera.org/pdefs/cuaderno4.pdf>) (PDF). Archived from the original (<http://www.soliobrera.org/pdefs/cuaderno4.pdf#search=%22Antonia%20Maym%C3%B3n%22>) (PDF) on 2016-01-02. Retrieved 2013-10-11.
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122. "Los anarco-individualistas, G.I.A...Una escisión de la FAI producida en el IX Congreso (Carrara, 1965) se produjo cuando un sector de anarquistas de tendencia humanista rechazan la interpretación que ellos juzgan disciplinaria del "pacto asociativo" clásico, y crean los GIA (Gruppi di Iniziativa Anarchica). Esta pequeña federación de grupos, hoy nutrida sobre todo de veteranos anarco-individualistas de orientación pacifista, naturista, etcétera defiende la autonomía personal y rechaza a rajatabla toda forma de intervención en los procesos del sistema, como sería por ejemplo el sindicalismo. Su portavoz es L'Internazionale con sede en Ancona. La escisión de los GIA prefiguraba, en sentido contrario, el gran debate que pronto había de comenzar en el seno del movimiento ""El movimiento libertario en Italia" by *Bicicleta*. *REVISTA DE COMUNICACIONES LIBERTARIAS* Year 1 No. Noviembre, 1 1977 (<http://eljorobado.enlucha.info/bicicleta/bicicleta/ciclo/01/17.htm>) Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20131012054206/http://eljorobado.enlucha.info/bicicleta/bicicleta/ciclo/01/17.htm>) 12 October 2013 at the Wayback Machine
123. "Proliferarán así diversos grupos que practicarán el excursionismo, el naturismo, el nudismo, la emancipación sexual o el esperantismo, alrededor de asociaciones informales vinculadas de una manera o de otra al anarquismo. Precisamente las limitaciones a las asociaciones obreras impuestas desde la legislación especial de la Dictadura potenciarán indirectamente esta especie de asociacionismo informal en que confluirá el movimiento anarquista con esta heterogeneidad de prácticas y tendencias. Uno de los grupos más destacados, que será el impulsor de la revista individualista *Ética* será el Ateneo Naturista Ecléctico, con sede en Barcelona, con sus diferentes secciones la más destacada de las cuales será el grupo excursionista Sol y Vida.""La insumisión voluntaria: El anarquismo individualista español durante la Dictadura y la Segunda República (1923–1938)" by Xavier Díez (<http://www.acracia.org/1-23a58lainsumision.pdf>) Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20110723130358/http://www.acracia.org/1-23a58lainsumision.pdf>) 23 July 2011 at the Wayback Machine
124. "Les anarchistes individualistes du début du siècle l'avaient bien compris, et intégraient le naturisme dans leurs préoccupations. Il est vraiment dommage que ce discours se soit peu à peu effacé, d'antan plus que nous assistons, en ce moment, à un retour en force du puritanisme (conservateur par essence).""Anarchisme et naturisme, aujourd'hui." by Cathy Ytak (<http://ytak.club.fr/natytak.html>) Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20090225212442/http://ytak.club.fr/natytak.html>) 25 February 2009 at the Wayback Machine
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126. Recension des articles de l'En-Dehors consacrés au naturisme et au nudisme (<http://ytak.club.fr/natbiblioarmand.html>) Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20081014165702/http://ytak.club.fr/natbiblioarmand.html>) 14 October 2008 at the Wayback Machine
127. "La insumisión voluntaria: El anarquismo individualista español durante la Dictadura y la Segunda República (1923–1938)" by Xavier Díez (<http://www.acracia.org/1-23a58lainsumision.pdf>) Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20110723130358/http://www.acracia.org/1-23a58lainsumision.pdf>) 23 July 2011 at the Wayback Machine
128. "Anarchism and the different Naturist views have always been related.""Anarchism – Nudism, Naturism" by Carlos Ortega at Asociación para el Desarrollo Naturista de la Comunidad de Madrid. Published on *Revista ADN*. Winter 2003 (<http://www.naturismo.org/adn/ediciones/2003/invierno/7e.html>)

129. "In many of the alternative communities established in Britain in the early 1900s, nudism, anarchism, vegetarianism and free love were accepted as part of a politically radical way of life. In the 1920s the inhabitants of the anarchist community at Whiteway, near Stroud in Gloucestershire, shocked the conservative residents of the area with their shameless nudity." "Nudism the radical tradition" by Terry Phillips (<http://www.radical.org.uk/nudism/radical.htm>) Archived (<https://archive.today/20120911041132/http://www.radical.org.uk/nudism/radical.htm>) 11 September 2012 at archive.today
130. "LA INSUMISIÓN VOLUNTARIA. EL ANARQUISMO INDIVIDUALISTA ESPAÑOL DURANTE LA DICTADURA Y LA SEGUNDA REPÚBLICA (1923–1938)" by Xavier Diez (<http://www.acracia.org/xdiez.html>) Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20060526224800/http://www.acracia.org/xdiez.html>) 26 May 2006 at the [Wayback Machine](http://www.archive.org)
131. "While almost all forms of modern anarchism consider themselves to have an ecological dimension, the specifically eco-anarchist thread within anarchism has two main focal points, Social Ecology and "primitivist"." [2] (<http://anarchism.pageabode.com/afaq/secA3.html#seca33>) Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20180615004526/http://anarchism.pageabode.com/afaq/secA3.html#seca33>) 2018-06-15 at the [Wayback Machine](http://www.archive.org). An Anarchist FAQ by various authors.
132. "Noam Chomsky, "Nationalism and the New World Order: An Interview by Takis Fotopoulos" at *Democracy and Nature* Vol. 2, No. 2 (Issue 5), 1994, pp. 1–7 (<http://www.democracynature.org/vol2/vol2.htm>)
133. "It was with sadness and a certain frustration that I read in *Democracy and Nature* (Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 198–202) that Murray Bookchin and Janet Biehl have resigned from the D&N International Advisory Board, Murray complaining, among other things, that the journal has become too "Castoriadian" in its orientation. The sadness stems from the fact that I found inherently appealing D&N's effort to examine what it considered the best of Bookchin and Castoriadis so as to encourage the emergence of a "new liberatory project." "On the Bookchin/Biehl Resignations and the Creation of a New Liberatory Project" by David Ames Curtis at *Agora International* website (<http://agorainternational.org/dnweb1.html>) and reply by the Editorial Committee of the journal: "On a distorted view of the Inclusive Democracy project" at *Democracy & Nature* website (http://www.democracynature.org/vol5/fotopoulos_distorted.htm) (D&N Vol.5, No.1, March 1999).
134. Long, Roderick T. (1998). "Toward a Libertarian Theory of Class" (<http://praxeology.net/libclass-theory-part-1.pdf>) (PDF). *Social Philosophy and Policy*. **15** (2): 303–349. doi:10.1017/S0265052500002028 (<https://doi.org/10.1017%2FS0265052500002028>). p. 310: "LibSocs and LibCaps can both claim the seventeenth-century English Levellers and the eighteenth-century French Encyclopedists among their ideological forebears [...]."
135. "It was in these conditions of class struggle that, among a whole cluster of radical groups such as the Fifth Monarchy Men, the Levellers and the Ranters, there emerged perhaps the first real proto-anarchists, the Diggers, who like the classical 19th-century anarchists identified political and economic power and who believed that a social, rather than political revolution was necessary for the establishment of justice. Gerrard Winstanley, the Diggers' leader, made an identification with the word of God and the principle of reason, an equivalent philosophy to that found in Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is Within You*. In fact, it seems likely Tolstoy took much of his own inspiration from Winstanley "Marlow. "Anarchism and Christianity" (http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Marlow__Anarchism_and_Christianity.html)

136. "While the ideal commonwealth conceived by James Harrington tried to combine the existence of a powerful state with respect for the political rights of the citizens, Thomas Hobbes] and Gerrard Winstanley, for opposite reasons, denied the possibility of power being shared between the state and the people...Before defining the government of a true Commonwealth Winstanley denounces the kingly government based on property and like Proudhon he believes that "property is theft". Marie Louise Berneri ""Utopias of the English Revolution" (http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Marie_Louise_Beneri_Utopias_of_the_English_Revolution.html#toc10)
137. George Woodcock "Anarchism" (http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/George_Woodcock_Anarchism.html). *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*
138. Lewis Herber. (Murray Bookchin) "Ecology and Revolutionary Thought" (http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Lewis_Herber_Murray_Bookchin_Ecology_and_Revolutionary_Thought.html). Theanarchistlibrary.org (2009-04-27). Retrieved on 2011-12-28.
139. Rudolf Rocker. *Pioneers of American Freedom: Origin of Liberal and radical thought in America*. J. J. Little Ives & Ives Company, New York. 1949. p. 13. "It was the great service of liberal thinkers like Jefferson and Paine that they recognized the natural limitations of every form of government. That is why they did not want to see the state become a terrestrial Providence which in its infallibility would make on its own every decision, thereby not only blocking the road to higher forms of social development, but also crippling the natural sense of responsibility of the people which is the essential condition for every prosperous society."
140. "The Anarchists are simply unterrified Jeffersonian Democrats. They believe that the best government is that which governs least," and that that which governs least is no government at all." Benjamin Tucker. *Individual Liberty*. New York. Vanguard Press. MCMXXVI. p. 13.
141. "At one end of an institutional continuum one can place the total institutions that routinely destroy the autonomy and initiative of their subjects. At the other end of this continuum lies, perhaps, some ideal version of Jeffersonian democracy composed of independent, self-reliant, self-respecting, landowning farmers, managers of their own small enterprises, answerable to themselves, free of debt, and more generally with no institutional reason for servility or deference. Such free-standing farmers, Jefferson thought, were the basis of a vigorous and independent public sphere where citizens could speak their mind without fear or favor. Somewhere in between these two poles lies the contemporary situation of most citizens of Western democracies: a relatively open public sphere but a quotidian institutional experience that is largely at cross purposes with the implicit assumptions behind this public sphere and encouraging and often rewarding caution, deference, servility, and conformity." James C. Scott. *Two Cheers for Anarchism: Six Easy Pieces on Autonomy, Dignity, and Meaningful Work and Play*. Princeton University Press, 2012, pp. 79-80
142. Kenneth C. Wenzler "Godwin's Place in the Anarchist Tradition – a Bicentennial Tribute" (http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Kenneth_C_Wenzler_Godwin_s_Place_in_the_Anarchist_Tradition_a_Bicentennial_Tribute.html). The anarchist library (2011-02-12). Retrieved on 2011-12-28.
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148. McGilvray, James (2014). *Chomsky: Language, Mind, Politics* (second ed.). Cambridge: Polity. p. 210. ISBN 978-0-7456-4989-4.
149. McGilvray, James (2014). *Chomsky: Language, Mind, Politics* (second ed.). Cambridge: Polity. p. 200. ISBN 978-0-7456-4989-4.
150. McGilvray, James (2014). *Chomsky: Language, Mind, Politics* (second ed.). Cambridge: Polity. pp. 197, 202. ISBN 978-0-7456-4989-4.
151. McGilvray, James (2014). *Chomsky: Language, Mind, Politics* (second ed.). Cambridge: Polity. pp. 201–202. ISBN 978-0-7456-4989-4.
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203. "Benjamin Tucker: Capitalist or Anarchist" (<http://infoshop.org/page/AnarchistFAQSectionG5>) Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20120107013451/http://www.infoshop.org/page/AnarchistFAQSectionG5>) 2012-01-07 at the Wayback Machine in *An Anarchist FAQ* by Various Authors
204. "The economic principles of Modern Socialism are a logical deduction from the principle laid down by Adam Smith in the early chapters of his "Wealth of Nations," – namely, that labor is the true measure of price...Half a century or more after Smith enunciated the principle above stated, Socialism picked it up where he had dropped it, and in following it to its logical conclusions, made it the basis of a new economic philosophy...This seems to have been done independently by three different men, of three different nationalities, in three different languages: Josiah Warren, an American; Pierre J. Proudhon, a Frenchman; Karl Marx, a German Jew...That the work of this interesting trio should have been done so nearly simultaneously would seem to indicate that Socialism was in the air, and that the time was ripe and the conditions favorable for the appearance of this new school of thought...So far as priority of time is concerned, the credit seems to belong to Warren, the American, – a fact which should be noted by the stump orators who are so fond of declaiming against Socialism as an imported article." Benjamin Tucker. *Individual Liberty* (<http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/benjamin-tucker-individual-liberty>)

205. " "Anarchist Individualism as a Life and Activity" by Emile Armand" (<http://www.spaz.org/~dan/individualist-anarchist/library/emile-armand/life-activity.html>). Spaz.org. March 1, 2002. Retrieved October 11, 2013.
206. "el capitalismo es sólo el efecto del gobierno; desaparecido el gobierno, el capitalismo cae de su pedestal vertiginosamente.... Lo que llamamos capitalismo no es otra cosa que el producto del Estado, dentro del cual lo único que se cultiva es la ganancia, bien o mal habida. Luchar, pues, contra el capitalismo es tarea inútil, porque sea Capitalismo de Estado o Capitalismo de Empresa, mientras el Gobierno exista, existirá el capital que explota. La lucha, pero de conciencias, es contra el Estado." *Anarquismo* by Miguel Giménez Igualada (<http://www.kclibertaria.comyr.com/lpdf/l125.pdf>)
207. "¿La propiedad? ¡Bah! No es problema. Porque cuando nadie trabaje para nadie, el acaparador de la riqueza desaparece, como ha de desaparecer el gobierno cuando nadie haga caso a los que aprendieron cuatro cosas en las universidades y por ese sólo hecho pretenden gobernar a los hombres. Porque si en la tierra de los ciegos el tuerto es rey, en donde todos ven y juzgan y disciernen, el rey estorba. Y de lo que se trata es de que no haya reyes porque todos sean hombres. Las grandes empresas industriales las transformarán los hombres en grandes asociaciones donde todos trabajen y disfruten del producto de su trabajo. Y de esos tan sencillos como hermosos problemas trata el anarquismo y al que lo cumple y vive es al que se le llama anarquista...El hincapié que sin cansancio debe hacer el anarquista es el de que nadie debe explotar a nadie, ningún hombre a ningún hombre, porque esa no-explotación llevaría consigo la limitación de la propiedad a las necesidades individuales." *Anarquismo* by Miguel Giménez Igualada (<http://www.kclibertaria.comyr.com/lpdf/l125.pdf>)
208. "The most ambitious contribution to literary anarchism during the 1890s was undoubtedly Oscar Wilde *The Soul of Man Under Socialism*. Wilde, as we have seen, declared himself an anarchist on at least one occasion during the 1890s, and he greatly admired Kropotkin, whom he had met. Later, in *De Profundis*, he described Kropotkin's life as one "of the most perfect lives I have come across in my own experience" and talked of him as "a man with a soul of that beautiful white Christ that seems coming out of Russia." But in *The Soul of Man Under Socialism*, which appeared in 1890, it is Godwin rather than Kropotkin whose influence seems dominant." George Woodcock. *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*. 1962. (p. 447)
209. "The Soul of Man Under Socialism by Oscar Wilde" (https://web.archive.org/web/20130914032335/http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/hist_texts/wilde_soul.html). Flag.blackened.net. Archived from the original (http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/hist_texts/wilde_soul.html) on 2013-09-14. Retrieved 2013-10-11.
210. George Woodcock. *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*. 1962. (p. 447)
211. "The Soul of Man" (<http://libcom.org/library/soul-of-man-under-socialism-oscar-wilde>). Libcom.org. 2005-09-08. Retrieved 2013-10-11.

212. "Outside and against this process of turning of Marxism into an ideology of domination, however, were various revolutionary tendencies which still drew on Marx's work to inform their struggles and which rejected both social- democratic and **Marxist-Leninist** versions of his theory. The most interesting of these, those that are relevant to my current purpose, have been those which insisted on the primacy of the self-activity and creativity of people in struggle against capitalism. Within the space of these tendencies there has developed a coherent critique of "orthodox Marxism" that includes not only a rejection of the concept of "the transition" but a reconceptualization of the process of transcending capitalism that has remarkable similarities to Kropotkin's thinking on this subject. ... Thus one of the earliest political tendencies within which this approach appeared after the Russian revolution of 1917 was that of "**Council communism**" which saw the "workers councils" in Germany (see **Bavarian Soviet Republic**), or the **soviets** in Russia, as new organizational forms constructed by the people. As with the anarchists, they too saw the Bolshevik take-over of the soviets (like that of the trade unions) as subverting the revolution and beginning the restoration of domination and exploitation. ... Over the years this emphasis on working class autonomy has resulted in a reinterpretation of Marxist theory that has brought out the two-sided character of the class struggle and shifted the focus from capital (the preoccupation of orthodox Marxism) to the workers. ... As a result, not only has there been a recognition that capitalism seeks to subordinate everyone's life (from the traditional factory proletariat to peasants, housewives and students) but that all those peoples' struggles involve both the resistance to this subordination and the effort to construct alternative ways of being." **Cleaver, Harry**. "**Kropotkin, Self-valorization And The Crisis Of Marxism**." (<http://libcom.org/library/kropotkin-self-valorization-crisis-marxism>) written for and presented to the Conference on Pyotr Alexeevich Kropotkin organized by the **Russian Academy of Sciences** in Moscow, St. Petersburg and Dimitrov on December 8–14, 1992.
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233. "Rediscovering our libertarian roots" by Peter Hain (http://www.archive.chartist.org.uk/articles/britpol/july_hain.html)
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235. Chris Smith said in 2005 that in recent years Cook had been setting out a vision of "libertarian, democratic socialism that was beginning to break the sometimes sterile boundaries of 'old' and 'New' Labour labels." "Chris Smith: The House of Commons was Robin Cook's true home – Commentators, Opinion – Independent.co.uk" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20070930170828/http://comment.independent.co.uk/commentators/article304442.ece>). London: Comment.independent.co.uk. 2005-08-08. Archived from the original (<http://comment.independent.co.uk/commentators/article304442.ece>) on 2007-09-30. Retrieved 2009-06-24.

236. "Following Isaiah Berlin, Halsema distinguishes between positive and negative freedom. Negative freedom is according to Halsema the freedom citizens from government influence; she applies this concept especially to the multicultural society and the rechtsstaat, where the government should protect the rights of citizens and not limit them. Positive freedom is the emancipation of citizens from poverty and discrimination. Halsema wants to apply this concept to welfare state and the environment where government should take more action. According to Halsema, GreenLeft is undogmatic party, that has anarchist tendencies." Halsema, Femke (2004), "Vrijzinnig Links" (<https://archive.today/20070206164312/http://www.dehelling.net/artikel/280/>), *De Helling*, 15 (2), archived from the original (<http://www.dehelling.net/artikel/280/>) on February 6, 2007
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267. Christoyannopoulos, p. 254: "The state as idolatry"

268. In the 1900 essay, "On Anarchy", he wrote; "The Anarchists are right in everything; in the negation of the existing order, and in the assertion that, without Authority, there could not be worse violence than that of Authority under existing conditions. They are mistaken only in thinking that Anarchy can be instituted by a revolution. But it will be instituted only by there being more and more people who do not require the protection of governmental power ... There can be only one permanent revolution – a moral one: the regeneration of the inner man." Despite his misgivings about anarchist violence, Tolstoy took risks to circulate the prohibited publications of anarchist thinkers in Russia, and corrected the proofs of Kropotkin's "Words of a Rebel", illegally published in St Petersburg in 1906. Peter Kropotkin: From Prince to Rebel. G Woodcock, I Avakumović.1990.
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271. "A.3.7 Are there religious anarchists?" (<http://www.infoshop.org/page/AnarchistFAQSectionA3>) Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20101123103313/http://www.infoshop.org/page/AnarchistFAQSectionA3>) 23 November 2010 at the Wayback Machine. "Tolstoy's ideas had a strong influence on Gandhi, who inspired his fellow country people to use non-violent resistance to kick Britain out of India. Moreover, Gandhi's vision of a free India as a federation of peasant communes is similar to Tolstoy's anarchist vision of a free society (although we must stress that Gandhi was not an anarchist). The Catholic Worker Group in the United States was also heavily influenced by Tolstoy (and Proudhon), as was Dorothy Day a staunch Christian pacifist and anarchist who founded it in 1933."
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287. Robin Hahnel, *Economic Justice and Democracy: From Competition to Cooperation Part II* ISBN 0-415-93344-7

288. . As such "In the forties and fifties, anarchism, in fact if not in name, began to reappear, often in alliance with pacifism, as the basis for a critique of militarism on both sides of the Cold War.[3] (<http://robertgraham.wordpress.com/anarchism-a-documentary-history-of-libertarian-ideas-volume-two-the-emergence-of-the-new-anarchism-1939-1977/>) The anarchist/pacifist wing of the peace movement was small in comparison with the wing of the movement that emphasized electoral work, but made an important contribution to the movement as a whole. Where the more conventional wing of the peace movement rejected militarism and war under all but the most dire circumstances, the anarchist/pacifist wing rejected these on principle." "Anarchism and the Anti-Globalization Movement" by Barbara Epstein (<http://www.monthlyreview.org/0901epstein.htm>) "In the 1950s and 1960s anarcho-pacifism began to gel, tough-minded anarchists adding to the mixture their critique of the state, and tender-minded pacifists their critique of violence. Its first practical manifestation was at the level of method: nonviolent direct action, principled and pragmatic, was used widely in both the Civil Rights Movement in the USA and the campaign against nuclear weapons in Britain and elsewhere." Geoffrey Ostergaard. *Resisting the Nation State. The pacifist and anarchist tradition* (http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Geoffrey_Ostergaard_Resisting_the_Nation_State_The_pacifist_and_anarchist_tradition.html#toc13) as can be seen in the activism and writings of the English anarchist member of Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament Alex Comfort or the similar activism of the American catholic anarcho-pacifists Ammon Hennacy and Dorothy Day. Anarcho-pacifism became a "basis for a critique of militarism on both sides of the Cold War." "Anarchism and the Anti-Globalization Movement" by Barbara Epstein (<http://www.monthlyreview.org/0901epstein.htm>)
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Libertarianism

Libertarianism (from French: *libertaire*, "libertarian"; from Latin: *libertas*, "freedom") is a political philosophy that upholds liberty as a core principle.^[1] Libertarians seek to maximize autonomy and political freedom, emphasizing free association, freedom of choice, individualism and voluntary association.^[2] Libertarians share a skepticism of authority and state power, but some libertarians diverge on the scope of their opposition to existing economic and political systems. Various schools of libertarian thought offer a range of views regarding the legitimate functions of state and private power, often calling for the restriction or dissolution of coercive social institutions. Different categorizations have been used to distinguish various forms of libertarianism.^{[3][4]} Scholars distinguish libertarian views on the nature of property and capital, usually along left–right or socialist–capitalist lines.^[5]

Libertarianism originated as a form of left-wing politics such as anti-authoritarian and anti-state socialists like anarchists,^[6] especially social anarchists,^[7] but more generally libertarian communists/Marxists and libertarian socialists.^{[8][9]} These libertarians seek to abolish capitalism and private ownership of the means of production, or else to restrict their purview or effects to usufruct property norms, in favor of common or cooperative ownership and management, viewing private property as a barrier to freedom and liberty.^{[10][11][12][13]} Left-libertarian^{[14][15][16][17][18]} ideologies include anarchist schools of thought, alongside many other anti-paternalist and New Left schools of thought centered around economic egalitarianism as well as geolibertarianism, green politics, market-oriented left-libertarianism and the Steiner–Vallentyne school.^{[14][17][19][20][21]}

In the mid-20th century, right-libertarian^{[15][18][22][23]} proponents of anarcho-capitalism and minarchism co-opted^{[8][24]} the term *libertarian* to advocate *laissez-faire* capitalism and strong private property rights such as in land, infrastructure and natural resources.^[25] The latter is the dominant form of libertarianism in the United States,^[23] where it advocates civil liberties,^[26] natural law,^[27] free-market capitalism^{[28][29]} and a major reversal of the modern welfare state.^[30]

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Overview

Etymology

The first recorded use of the term *libertarian* was in 1789, when William Belsham wrote about libertarianism in the context of metaphysics.^[31] As early as 1796, libertarian came to mean an advocate or defender of liberty, especially in the political and social spheres, when the London Packet printed on 12 February the following: "Lately marched out of the Prison at Bristol, 450 of the French Libertarians".^[32] It was again used in a political sense in 1802 in a short piece critiquing a poem by "the author of Gebir" and has since been used with this meaning.^{[33][34][35]}

The use of the term *libertarian* to describe a new set of political positions has been traced to the French cognate *libertaire*, coined in a letter French libertarian communist Joseph Déjacque wrote to mutualist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon in 1857.^{[36][37][38]} Déjacque also used the term for his anarchist publication *Le Libertaire, Journal du mouvement social* (*Libertarian: Journal of Social Movement*) which was printed from 9 June 1858 to 4 February 1861 in New York City.^{[39][40]} Sébastien Faure, another French libertarian communist, began publishing a new *Le Libertaire* in the mid-1890s while France's Third Republic enacted the so-called villainous laws (*lois scélérates*) which banned anarchist publications in France. *Libertarianism* has frequently been used to refer to anarchism and libertarian socialism since this time.^{[41][42][43]}

In the United States, *libertarian* was popularized by the individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker around the late 1870s and early 1880s.^[44] *Libertarianism* as a synonym for *liberalism* was popularized in May 1955 by writer Dean Russell, a colleague of Leonard Read and a classical liberal himself. Russell justified the choice of the term as follows:

Many of us call ourselves "liberals." And it is true that the word "liberal" once described persons who respected the individual and feared the use of mass compulsions. But the leftists have now corrupted that once-proud term to identify themselves and their program of more government ownership of property and more controls over persons. As a result, those of us who believe in freedom must explain that when we call ourselves liberals, we mean liberals in



17 August 1860 edition of *Le Libertaire, Journal du mouvement social*, a libertarian communist publication in New York City

the uncorrupted classical sense. At best, this is awkward and subject to misunderstanding. Here is a suggestion: Let those of us who love liberty trade-mark and reserve for our own use the good and honorable word "libertarian."^{[45][46][47]}

Subsequently, a growing number of Americans with classical liberal beliefs began to describe themselves as *libertarians*. One person responsible for popularizing the term *libertarian* in this sense was Murray Rothbard, who started publishing libertarian works in the 1960s.^[48] Rothbard described this modern use of the words overtly as a "capture" from his enemies, writing that "for the first time in my memory, we, 'our side,' had captured a crucial word from the enemy. 'Libertarians' had long been simply a polite word for left-wing anarchists, that is for anti-private property anarchists, either of the communist or syndicalist variety. But now we had taken it over".^{[24][8]}

In the 1970s, Robert Nozick was responsible for popularizing this usage of the term in academic and philosophical circles outside the United States,^{[23][49][50]} especially with the publication of *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (1974), a response to social liberal John Rawls's *A Theory of Justice* (1971).^[51] In the book, Nozick proposed a minimal state on the grounds that it was an inevitable phenomenon which could arise without violating individual rights.^[52]

According to common meanings of *conservative* and *liberal*, libertarianism in the United States has been described as *conservative* on economic issues (economic liberalism and fiscal conservatism) and *liberal* on personal freedom (civil libertarianism and cultural liberalism).^[53] It is also often associated with a foreign policy of non-interventionism.^{[54][55]}

Definition

Although libertarianism originated as a form of left-wing politics,^{[21][56]} the development in the mid-20th century of modern libertarianism in the United States led several authors and political scientists to use two or more categorizations^{[3][4]} to distinguish libertarian views on the nature of property and capital, usually along left-right or socialist-capitalist lines.^[5] Unlike right-libertarians, who reject the label due to its association with conservatism and right-wing politics, calling themselves simply *libertarians*, proponents of free-market anti-capitalism in the United States consciously label themselves as *left-libertarians* and see themselves as being part of a broad libertarian left.^{[21][56]}

While the term *libertarian* has been largely synonymous with anarchism as part of the left,^{[9][57]} continuing today as part of the libertarian left in opposition to the moderate left such as social democracy or authoritarian and statist socialism, its meaning has more recently diluted with wider adoption from ideologically disparate groups,^[9] including the right.^{[15][22]} As a term, *libertarian* can include both the New Left Marxists (who do not associate with a vanguard party) and extreme liberals (primarily concerned with civil liberties) or civil libertarians. Additionally, some libertarians use the term libertarian socialist to avoid anarchism's negative connotations and emphasize its connections with socialism.^{[9][58]}

The revival of free-market ideologies during the mid- to late 20th century came with disagreement over what to call the movement. While many of its adherents prefer the term *libertarian*, many conservative libertarians reject the term's association with the 1960s New Left and its connotations of libertine hedonism.^[59] The movement is divided over the use of *conservatism* as an alternative.^[60] Those who seek both economic and social liberty would be known as *liberals*, but that term developed associations opposite of the limited government, low-taxation, minimal state advocated by the movement.^[61] Name variants of the free-market revival movement include classical liberalism, economic liberalism, free-market liberalism

and neoliberalism.^[59] As a term, *libertarian* or *economic libertarian* has the most colloquial acceptance to describe a member of the movement, with the latter term being based on both the ideology's primacy of economics and its distinction from libertarians of the New Left.^[60]

While both historical libertarianism and contemporary economic libertarianism share general antipathy towards power by government authority, the latter exempts power wielded through free-market capitalism. Historically, libertarians including Herbert Spencer and Max Stirner supported the protection of an individual's freedom from powers of government and private ownership.^[62] In contrast, while condemning governmental encroachment on personal liberties, modern American libertarians support freedoms on the basis of their agreement with private property rights.^[63] The abolishment of public amenities is a common theme in modern American libertarian writings.^[64]

According to modern American libertarian Walter Block, left-libertarians and right-libertarians agree with certain libertarian premises, but "where [they] differ is in terms of the logical implications of these founding axioms".^[65] Although several modern American libertarians reject the political spectrum, especially the left–right political spectrum,^{[26][66][67][68][69]} several strands of libertarianism in the United States and right-libertarianism have been described as being right-wing,^[70] New Right^{[71][72]} or radical right^{[73][74]} and reactionary.^[30] While some American libertarians such as Walter Block,^[65] Harry Browne,^[67] Tibor Machan,^[69] Justin Raimondo,^[68] Leonard Read^[66] and Murray Rothbard^[26] deny any association with either the left or right, other American libertarians such as Kevin Carson,^[21] Karl Hess,^[75] and Roderick T. Long^[76] have written about libertarianism's left wing opposition to authoritarian rule and argued that libertarianism is fundamentally a left-wing position. Rothbard himself previously made the same point.^[77]

Philosophy

All libertarians begin with a conception of personal autonomy from which they argue in favor of civil liberties and a reduction or elimination of the state.^[1] People described as being left-libertarian or right-libertarian generally tend to call themselves simply libertarians and refer to their philosophy as libertarianism. As a result, some political scientists and writers classify the forms of libertarianism into two or more groups^{[3][4]} to distinguish libertarian views on the nature of property and capital.^{[5][13]} In the United States, proponents of free-market anti-capitalism consciously label themselves as left-libertarians and see themselves as being part of a broad libertarian left.^{[21][56]}

Left-libertarianism^{[15][16][18]} encompasses those libertarian beliefs that claim the Earth's natural resources belong to everyone in an egalitarian manner, either unowned or owned collectively.^{[14][17][19][20][23]} Contemporary left-libertarians such as Hillel Steiner, Peter Vallentyne, Philippe Van Parijs, Michael Otsuka and David Ellerman believe the appropriation of land must leave "enough and as good" for others or be taxed by society to compensate for the exclusionary effects of private property.^{[14][20]} Socialist libertarians^{[10][11][12][13]} such as social and individualist anarchists, libertarian Marxists, council communists, Luxemburgists and De Leonists promote usufruct and socialist economic theories, including communism, collectivism, syndicalism and mutualism.^{[19][21]} They criticize the state for being the defender of private property and believe capitalism entails wage slavery.^{[10][11][12]}

Right-libertarianism^{[15][18][22][23]} developed in the United States in the mid-20th century from the works of European writers like John Locke, Friedrich Hayek and Ludwig Von Mises and is the most popular conception of libertarianism in the United States today.^{[23][49]} Commonly referred to as a continuation or radicalization of classical liberalism,^{[78][79]} the most important of these early right-libertarian philosophers was Robert Nozick.^{[23][49][52]} While sharing left-libertarians' advocacy for social freedom, right-libertarians value the social institutions that enforce conditions of capitalism while rejecting institutions that function in opposition to these on the grounds that such interventions represent unnecessary coercion of individuals and abrogation of their economic freedom.^[80] Anarcho-capitalists^{[18][22]} seek the elimination

of the state in favor of privately funded security services while minarchists defend night-watchman states which maintain only those functions of government necessary to safeguard natural rights, understood in terms of self-ownership or autonomy.^[81]

Libertarian paternalism^[82] is a position advocated in the international bestseller *Nudge* by two American scholars, namely the economist Richard Thaler and the jurist Cass Sunstein.^[83] In the book *Thinking, Fast and Slow*, Daniel Kahneman provides the brief summary: "Thaler and Sunstein advocate a position of libertarian paternalism, in which the state and other institutions are allowed to *Nudge* people to make decisions that serve their own long-term interests. The designation of joining a pension plan as the default option is an example of a nudge. It is difficult to argue that anyone's freedom is diminished by being automatically enrolled in the plan, when they merely have to check a box to opt out".^[84] *Nudge* is considered an important piece of literature in behavioral economics.^[84]

Neo-libertarianism combines "the libertarian's moral commitment to negative liberty with a procedure that selects principles for restricting liberty on the basis of a unanimous agreement in which everyone's particular interests receive a fair hearing".^[85] Neo-libertarianism has its roots at least as far back as 1980, when it was first described by the American philosopher James Sterba of the University of Notre Dame. Sterba observed that libertarianism advocates for a government that does no more than protection against force, fraud, theft, enforcement of contracts and other negative liberties as contrasted with positive liberties by Isaiah Berlin.^[86] Sterba contrasted this with the older libertarian ideal of a night watchman state, or minarchism. Sterba held that it is "obviously impossible for everyone in society to be guaranteed complete liberty as defined by this ideal: after all, people's actual wants as well as their conceivable wants can come into serious conflict. [...] [I]t is also impossible for everyone in society to be completely free from the interference of other persons".^[87] In 2013, Sterba wrote that "I shall show that moral commitment to an ideal of 'negative' liberty, which does not lead to a night-watchman state, but instead requires sufficient government to provide each person in society with the relatively high minimum of liberty that persons using Rawls' decision procedure would select. The political program actually justified by an ideal of negative liberty I shall call *Neo-Libertarianism*".^[88]

Typology

In the United States, *libertarian* is a typology used to describe a political position that advocates small government and is culturally liberal and fiscally conservative in a two-dimensional political spectrum such as the libertarian-inspired Nolan Chart, where the other major typologies are conservative, liberal and populist.^{[53][89][90][91]} *Libertarians* support legalization of victimless crimes such as the use of marijuana while opposing high levels of taxation and government spending on health, welfare and education.^[53] *Libertarian* was adopted in the United States, where *liberal* had become associated with a version that supports extensive government spending on social policies.^[47] *Libertarian* may also refer to an anarchist ideology that developed in the 19th century and to a liberal version which developed in the United States that is avowedly pro-capitalist.^{[14][15][18]}

According to polls, approximately one in four Americans self-identify as *libertarian*.^{[92][93][94][95]} While this group is not typically ideologically driven, the term *libertarian* is commonly used to describe the form of libertarianism widely practiced in the United States and is the common meaning of the word *libertarianism* in the United States.^[23] This form is often named liberalism elsewhere such as in Europe, where *liberalism* has a different common meaning than in the United States.^[47] In some academic circles, this form is called right-libertarianism as a complement to left-libertarianism, with acceptance of capitalism or the private ownership of land as being the distinguishing feature.^{[14][15][18]}

History

Liberalism



John Locke, regarded as the father of liberalism

Although elements of libertarianism can be traced as far back as the ancient Chinese philosopher Lao-Tzu and the higher-law concepts of the Greeks and the Israelites,^{[96][97]} it was in 17th-century England that libertarian ideas began to take modern form in the writings of the Levellers and John Locke. In the middle of that century, opponents of royal power began to be called Whigs, or sometimes simply Opposition or Country, as opposed to Court writers.^[98]

During the 18th century and Age of Enlightenment, liberal ideas flourished in Europe and North America.^{[99][100]} Libertarians of various schools were influenced by liberal ideas.^[101] For philosopher Roderick T. Long, libertarians "share a common—or at least an overlapping—intellectual ancestry. [Libertarians] [...] claim the seventeenth century English Levellers and the eighteenth century French encyclopedists among their ideological forebears; and [...] usually share an admiration

for Thomas Jefferson^{[102][103][104]} and Thomas Paine".^[105]

John Locke greatly influenced both libertarianism and the modern world in his writings published before and after the English Revolution of 1688, especially *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (1667), *Two Treatises of Government* (1689) and *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690). In the text of 1689, he established the basis of liberal political theory, i.e. that people's rights existed before government; that the purpose of government is to protect personal and property rights; that people may dissolve governments that do not do so; and that representative government is the best form to protect rights.^[106]

The United States Declaration of Independence was inspired by Locke in its statement: "[T]o secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it".^[107] Nevertheless, scholar Ellen Meiksins Wood says that "there are doctrines of individualism that are opposed to Lockean individualism [...] and non-Lockean individualism may encompass socialism".^[108]

According to Murray Rothbard, the libertarian creed emerged from the liberal challenges to an "absolute central State and a king ruling by divine right on top of an older, restrictive web of feudal land monopolies and urban guild controls and restrictions" as well as the mercantilism of a bureaucratic warfaring state allied with privileged merchants. The object of liberals was individual liberty in the economy, in personal freedoms and civil liberty, separation of state and religion and peace as an alternative to imperial aggrandizement. He cites Locke's contemporaries, the Levellers, who held similar views. Also influential were the English *Cato's Letters* during the early 1700s, reprinted eagerly by American colonists who already were free of European aristocracy and feudal land monopolies.^[107]

In January 1776, only two years after coming to America from England, Thomas Paine published his pamphlet *Common Sense* calling for independence for the colonies.^[109] Paine promoted liberal ideas in clear and concise language that allowed the general public to understand the debates among the political elites.^[110] *Common Sense* was immensely popular in disseminating these ideas,^[111] selling hundreds of



Thomas Paine, whose theory of property showed a libertarian concern with the redistribution of resources

thousands of copies.^[112] Paine would later write the *Rights of Man* and *The Age of Reason* and participate in the French Revolution.^[109] Paine's theory of property showed a "libertarian concern" with the redistribution of resources.^[113]

In 1793, William Godwin wrote a libertarian philosophical treatise titled *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and its Influence on Morals and Happiness* which criticized ideas of human rights and of society by contract based on vague promises. He took liberalism to its logical anarchic conclusion by rejecting all political institutions, law, government and apparatus of coercion as well as all political protest and insurrection. Instead of institutionalized justice, Godwin proposed that people influence one another to moral goodness through informal reasoned persuasion, including in the associations they joined as this would facilitate happiness.^{[114][115]}

Anarchism



Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, the first to proclaim himself as an *anarchist*

Modern anarchism sprang from the secular or religious thought of the Enlightenment, particularly Jean-Jacques Rousseau's arguments for the moral centrality of freedom.^[116]

As part of the political turmoil of the 1790s in the wake of the French Revolution, William Godwin developed the first expression of modern anarchist thought.^{[117][118]} According to Peter Kropotkin, Godwin was "the first to formulate the political and economical conceptions of anarchism, even though he did not give that name to the ideas developed in his work"^[119] while Godwin attached his anarchist ideas to an early Edmund Burke.^[120]

Godwin is generally regarded as the founder of the school of thought known as philosophical anarchism. He argued in *Political Justice* (1793)^{[118][121]} that government has an inherently malevolent influence on society and that it perpetuates dependency and ignorance. He thought that the spread of the use of reason to the masses would eventually cause government to wither away as an unnecessary force. Although he did not accord the state with moral legitimacy, he was against the use of revolutionary tactics for removing the government from power. Rather, Godwin advocated for its replacement through a process of peaceful evolution.^{[118][122]}

His aversion to the imposition of a rules-based society led him to denounce, as a manifestation of the people's "mental enslavement", the foundations of law, property rights and even the institution of marriage. Godwin considered the basic foundations of society as constraining the natural development of individuals to use their powers of reasoning to arrive at a mutually beneficial method of social organization. In each case, government and its institutions are shown to constrain the development of our capacity to live wholly in accordance with the full and free exercise of private judgment.^[118]

In France, various anarchist currents were present during the Revolutionary period, with some revolutionaries using the term *anarchiste* in a positive light as early as September 1793.^[123] The *enragés* opposed revolutionary government as a contradiction in terms. Denouncing the Jacobin dictatorship, Jean Varlet wrote in 1794 that "government and revolution are incompatible, unless the people wishes to set its constituted authorities in permanent insurrection against itself".^[124] In his "Manifesto of the Equals", Sylvain Maréchal looked forward to the disappearance, once and for all, of "the revolting distinction between rich and poor, of great and small, of masters and valets, of governors and governed".^[124]

Libertarian socialism

Libertarian communism, *libertarian Marxism* and *libertarian socialism* are all terms which activists with a variety of perspectives have applied to their views.^[125] Anarchist communist philosopher Joseph Déjacque was the first person to describe himself as a *libertarian*.^[126] Unlike mutualist anarchist philosopher Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, he argued that "it is not the product of his or her labor that the worker has a right to, but to the satisfaction of his or her needs, whatever may be their nature".^{[127][128]} According to anarchist historian Max Nettlau, the first use of the term *libertarian communism* was in November 1880, when a French anarchist congress employed it to more clearly identify its doctrines.^[129] The French anarchist journalist Sébastien Faure started the weekly paper *Le Libéraire (The Libertarian)* in 1895.^[130]

Individualist anarchism represents several traditions of thought within the anarchist movement that emphasize the individual and their will over any kinds of external determinants such as groups, society, traditions, and ideological systems.^{[131][132]} An influential form of individualist anarchism called egoism^[133] or egoist anarchism was expounded by one of the earliest and best-known proponents of individualist anarchism, the German Max Stirner.^[134] Stirner's *The Ego and Its Own*, published in 1844, is a founding text of the philosophy.^[134] According to Stirner, the only limitation on the rights of the individual is their power to obtain what they desire,^[135] without regard for God, state or morality.^[136] Stirner advocated self-assertion and foresaw unions of egoists, non-systematic associations continually renewed by all parties' support through an act of will,^[137] which Stirner proposed as a form of organisation in place of the state.^[138] Egoist anarchists argue that egoism will foster genuine and spontaneous union between individuals.^[139] Egoism has inspired many interpretations of Stirner's philosophy. Stirner's philosophy was re-discovered and promoted by German philosophical anarchist and LGBT activist John Henry Mackay. Josiah Warren is widely regarded as the first American anarchist,^[140] and the four-page weekly paper he edited during 1833, *The Peaceful Revolutionist*, was the first anarchist periodical published.^[141] For American anarchist historian Eunice Minette Schuster, "[i]t is apparent [...] that Proudhonian Anarchism was to be found in the United States at least as early as 1848 and that it was not conscious of its affinity to the Individualist Anarchism of Josiah Warren and Stephen Pearl Andrews. [...] William B. Greene presented this Proudhonian Mutualism in its purest and most systematic form".^[142]

Later, Benjamin Tucker fused Stirner's egoism with the economics of Warren and Proudhon in his eclectic influential publication *Liberty*. From these early influences, individualist anarchism in different countries attracted a small yet diverse following of bohemian artists and intellectuals,^[143] free love and birth control advocates (anarchism and issues related to love and sex),^{[144][145]} individualist naturists (anarcho-naturism),^{[146][147][148]} free thought and anti-clerical activists^{[149][150]} as well as young anarchist outlaws in what became known as illegalism and individual reclamation^{[151][152]} (European individualist anarchism and individualist anarchism in France). These authors and activists included Émile Armand, Han Ryner, Henri Zisly, Renzo Novatore, Miguel Giménez Igualada, Adolf Brand and Lev Chernyi.

In 1873, the follower and translator of Proudhon, the Catalan Francesc Pi i Margall, became President of Spain with a program which wanted "to establish a decentralized, or "cantonalist," political system on Proudhonian lines",^[153] who according to Rudolf Rocker had "political ideas, [...] much in common with those of Richard Price, Joseph Priestly [*sic*], Thomas Paine, Jefferson, and other representatives of the Anglo-American liberalism of the first period. He wanted to limit the power of the state to a minimum and gradually replace it by a Socialist economic order".^[154] On the other hand, Fermín Salvochea was a mayor of the city of Cádiz and a president of the province of Cádiz. He was one of the main propagators of anarchist thought in that area in the late 19th century and is considered to be "perhaps the most beloved figure in the Spanish Anarchist movement of the 19th century".^{[155][156]} Ideologically, he was influenced by Bradlaugh, Owen and Paine, whose works he had studied during his stay in England and Kropotkin, whom he read later.^[155]

The revolutionary wave of 1917–1923 saw the active participation of anarchists in Russia and Europe. Russian anarchists participated alongside the Bolsheviks in both the February and October 1917 revolutions. However, Bolsheviks in central Russia quickly began to imprison or drive underground the libertarian anarchists. Many fled to the Ukraine,^[157] where they fought to defend the Free Territory in the Russian Civil War against the White movement, monarchists and other opponents of revolution and then against Bolsheviks as part of the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine led by Nestor Makhno, who established an anarchist society in the region for a number of months. Expelled American anarchists Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman protested Bolshevik policy before they left Russia.^[158] The victory of the Bolsheviks damaged anarchist movements internationally as workers and activists joined Communist parties. In France and the United States, for example, members of the major syndicalist movements of the CGT and IWW joined the Communist International.^[159] In Paris, the Dielo Truda group of Russian anarchist exiles which included Nestor Makhno issued a 1926 manifesto, the Organizational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists (Draft), calling for new anarchist organizing structures.^{[160][161]}



Sébastien Faure, prominent French theorist of libertarian communism as well as atheist and freethought militant

In Germany, the Bavarian Soviet Republic of 1918–1919 had libertarian socialist characteristics.^{[162][163]} In Italy, the anarcho-syndicalist trade union Unione Sindacale Italiana grew to 800,000 members from 1918 to 1921 during the so-called Biennio Rosso.^[164] With the rise of fascism in Europe between the 1920s and the 1930s, anarchists began to fight fascists in Italy,^[165] in France during the February 1934 riots^[166] and in Spain where the CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo) boycott of elections led to a right-wing victory and its later participation in voting in 1936 helped bring the popular front back to power. This led to a ruling class attempted coup and the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939).^[167] Gruppo Comunista Anarchico di Firenze held that during early twentieth century, the terms libertarian communism and anarchist communism became synonymous within the international anarchist movement as a result of the close connection they had in Spain (anarchism in Spain), with *libertarian communism* becoming the prevalent term.^[168]

Murray Bookchin wrote that the Spanish libertarian movement of the mid-1930s was unique because its workers' control and collectives—which came out of a three-generation "massive libertarian movement"—divided the republican camp and challenged the Marxists. "Urban anarchists" created libertarian communist forms of organization which evolved into the CNT, a syndicalist union providing the infrastructure for a libertarian society. Also formed were local bodies to administer social and economic life on a decentralized libertarian basis. Much of the infrastructure was destroyed during the 1930s Spanish Civil War against authoritarian and fascist forces.^[169]

The Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth^[170] (FIJL, Spanish: *Federación Ibérica de Juventudes Libertarias*), sometimes abbreviated as *Libertarian Youth* (*Juventudes Libertarias*), was a libertarian socialist^[171] organization created in 1932 in Madrid.^[172] At its second congress in February 1937, the FIJL organized a plenum of regional organizations. In October 1938, from the 16th through the 30th in Barcelona the FIJL participated in a national plenum of the libertarian movement, also attended by members of the CNT and the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI).^[173] The FIJL exists until today. When the republican forces lost the Spanish Civil War, the city of Madrid was turned over to the Francoist forces in 1939 by the last non-Francoist mayor of the city, the anarchist Melchor Rodríguez García.^[174] During autumn of 1931, the "Manifesto of the 30" was published by militants of the anarchist trade union CNT and among those who signed it there was the CNT General Secretary (1922–1923) Joan Peiro, Ángel Pestaña CNT (General Secretary in 1929) and Juan Lopez Sanchez. They were called *treintismo* and they were calling for libertarian possibilism which advocated achieving libertarian socialist ends with participation inside structures of contemporary parliamentary democracy.^[175] In 1932, they establish the

Syndicalist Party which participates in the 1936 Spanish general elections and proceed to be a part of the leftist coalition of parties known as the Popular Front obtaining two congressmen (Pestaña and Benito Pabon). In 1938, Horacio Prieto, general secretary of the CNT, proposes that the Iberian Anarchist Federation transforms itself into the Libertarian Socialist Party and that it participates in the national elections.^[176]



Murray Bookchin, American libertarian socialist theorist and proponent of libertarian municipalism

The *Manifesto of Libertarian Communism* was written in 1953 by Georges Fontenis for the *Federation Communiste Libertaire* of France. It is one of the key texts of the anarchist-communist current known as platformism.^[177] In 1968, the International of Anarchist Federations was founded during an international anarchist conference in Carrara, Italy to advance libertarian solidarity. It wanted to form "a strong and organized workers movement, agreeing with the libertarian ideas".^{[178][179]} In the United States, the Libertarian League was founded in New York City in 1954 as a left-libertarian political organization building on the Libertarian Book Club.^{[180][181]} Members included Sam Dolgoff,^[182] Russell Blackwell, Dave Van Ronk, Enrico Arrigoni^[183] and Murray Bookchin.

In Australia, the Sydney Push was a predominantly left-wing intellectual subculture in Sydney from the late 1940s to the early 1970s which became associated with the label Sydney libertarianism. Well known associates of the Push include Jim Baker, John Flaus, Harry Hooton, Margaret Fink, Sasha Soldatow,^[184] Lex Banning, Eva Cox, Richard Appleton, Paddy McGuinness, David Makinson, Germaine Greer, Clive James, Robert Hughes, Frank Moorhouse and

Lillian Roxon. Amongst the key intellectual figures in Push debates were philosophers David J. Ivison, George Molnar, Roelof Smilde, Darcy Waters and Jim Baker, as recorded in Baker's memoir *Sydney Libertarians and the Push*, published in the libertarian *Broadsheet* in 1975.^[185] An understanding of libertarian values and social theory can be obtained from their publications, a few of which are available online.^{[186][187]}

In 1969, French platformist anarcho-communist Daniel Guérin published an essay in 1969 called "Libertarian Marxism?" in which he dealt with the debate between Karl Marx and Mikhail Bakunin at the First International and afterwards suggested that "libertarian Marxism rejects determinism and fatalism, giving the greater place to individual will, intuition, imagination, reflex speeds, and to the deep instincts of the masses, which are more far-seeing in hours of crisis than the reasonings of the 'elites'; libertarian Marxism thinks of the effects of surprise, provocation and boldness, refuses to be cluttered and paralyzed by a heavy 'scientific' apparatus, doesn't equivocate or bluff, and guards itself from adventurism as much as from fear of the unknown".^[188]

Libertarian Marxist currents often draw from Marx and Engels' later works, specifically the *Grundrisse* and *The Civil War in France*.^[189] They emphasize the Marxist belief in the ability of the working class to forge its own destiny without the need for a revolutionary party or state.^[190] Libertarian Marxism includes currents such as autonomism, council communism, left communism, Lettrism, New Left, Situationism, Socialisme ou Barbarie and operaismo, among others.^[191]

In the United States, there existed from 1970 to 1981 the publication *Root & Branch*^[192] which had as a subtitle *A Libertarian Marxist Journal*.^[193] In 1974, the *Libertarian Communism* journal was started in the United Kingdom by a group inside the Socialist Party of Great Britain.^[194] In 1986, the anarcho-

syndicalist Sam Dolgoff started and led the publication *Libertarian Labor Review* in the United States^[195] which decided to rename itself as *Anarcho-Syndicalist Review* in order to avoid confusion with right-libertarian views.^[196]

Individualist anarchism in the United States

The indigenous anarchist tradition in the United States was largely individualist.^[197] In 1825, Josiah Warren became aware of the social system of utopian socialist Robert Owen and began to talk with others in Cincinnati about founding a communist colony.^[198] When this group failed to come to an agreement about the form and goals of their proposed community, Warren "sold his factory after only two years of operation, packed up his young family, and took his place as one of 900 or so Owenites who had decided to become part of the founding population of New Harmony, Indiana".^[199] Warren termed the phrase "cost the limit of price"^[200] and "proposed a system to pay people with certificates indicating how many hours of work they did. They could exchange the notes at local time stores for goods that took the same amount of time to produce".^[201] He put his theories to the test by establishing an experimental labor-for-labor store called the Cincinnati Time Store where trade was facilitated by labor notes. The store proved successful and operated for three years, after which it was closed so that Warren could pursue establishing colonies based on mutualism, including Utopia and Modern Times. After New Harmony failed, Warren shifted his "ideological loyalties" from socialism to anarchism "which was no great leap, given that Owen's socialism had been predicated on Godwin's anarchism".^[202] Warren is widely regarded as the first American anarchist^[201] and the four-page weekly paper *The Peaceful Revolutionist* he edited during 1833 was the first anarchist periodical published,^[141] an enterprise for which he built his own printing press, cast his own type and made his own printing plates.^[141]



Josiah Warren, regarded by some as the first American anarchist

Catalan historian Xavier Diez reports that the intentional communal experiments pioneered by Warren were influential in European individualist anarchists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries such as Émile Armand and the intentional communities started by them.^[203] Warren said that Stephen Pearl Andrews, individualist anarchist and close associate, wrote the most lucid and complete exposition of Warren's own theories in *The Science of Society*, published in 1852.^[204] Andrews was formerly associated with the Fourierist movement, but converted to radical individualism after becoming acquainted with the work of Warren. Like Warren, he held the principle of "individual sovereignty" as being of paramount importance. Contemporary American anarchist Hakim Bey reports:

Steven Pearl Andrews [...] was not a Fourierist, but he lived through the brief craze for phalansteries in America and adopted a lot of Fourierist principles and practices [...], a maker of worlds out of words. He syncretized abolitionism in the United States, free love, spiritual universalism, Warren, and Fourier into a grand utopian scheme he called the Universal Pantarchy. [...] He was instrumental in founding several 'intentional communities,' including the 'Brownstone Utopia' on 14th St. in New York, and 'Modern Times' in Brentwood, Long Island. The latter became as famous as the best-known Fourierist communes (Brook Farm in Massachusetts & the North American Phalanx in New Jersey)—in fact, Modern Times became downright notorious (for 'Free Love') and finally foundered under a wave of scandalous publicity. Andrews (and Victoria Woodhull) were members of the infamous Section 12 of the 1st International, expelled by Marx for its anarchist, feminist, and spiritualist tendencies.^[205]

For American anarchist historian Eunice Minette Schuster, "[i]t is apparent that Proudhonian Anarchism was to be found in the United States at least as early as 1848 and that it was not conscious of its affinity to the Individualist Anarchism of Josiah Warren and Stephen Pearl Andrews. William B. Greene presented this Proudhonian Mutualism in its purest and most systematic form".^[206] William Batchelder Greene was a 19th-century mutualist individualist anarchist, Unitarian minister, soldier and promoter of free banking in the United States. Greene is best known for the works *Mutual Banking*, which proposed an interest-free banking system; and *Transcendentalism*, a critique of the New England philosophical school. After 1850, he became active in labor reform.^[206] He was elected vice president of the New England Labor Reform League, "the majority of the members holding to Proudhon's scheme of mutual banking, and in 1869 president of the Massachusetts Labor Union".^[206] Greene then published *Socialistic, Mutualistic, and Financial Fragments* (1875).^[206] He saw mutualism as the synthesis of "liberty and order".^[206] His "associationism [...] is checked by individualism. [...] 'Mind your own business,' 'Judge not that ye be not judged.' Over matters which are purely personal, as for example, moral conduct, the individual is sovereign, as well as over that which he himself produces. For this reason he demands 'mutuality' in marriage—the equal right of a woman to her own personal freedom and property".^[206]

Poet, naturalist and transcendentalist Henry David Thoreau was an important early influence in individualist anarchist thought in the United States and Europe. He is best known for his book *Walden*, a reflection upon simple living in natural surroundings; and his essay *Civil Disobedience* (*Resistance to Civil Government*), an argument for individual resistance to civil government in moral opposition to an unjust state. In *Walden*, Thoreau advocates simple living and self-sufficiency among natural surroundings in resistance to the advancement of industrial civilization.^[207] *Civil Disobedience*, first published in 1849, argues that people should not permit governments to overrule or atrophy their consciences and that people have a duty to avoid allowing such acquiescence to enable the government to make them the agents of injustice. These works influenced green anarchism, anarcho-primitivism and anarcho-pacifism^[208] as well as figures including Mohandas Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr., Martin Buber and Leo Tolstoy.^[208] For George Woodcock, this attitude can be also motivated by certain idea of resistance to progress and of rejection of the growing materialism which is the nature of American society in the mid-19th century".^[207] Zerzan included Thoreau's "Excursions" in his edited compilation of anti-civilization writings, *Against Civilization: Readings and Reflections*.^[209] Individualist anarchists such as Thoreau^{[210][211]} do not speak of economics, but simply the right of disunion from the state and foresee the gradual elimination of the state through social evolution. Agorist author J. Neil Schulman cites Thoreau as a primary inspiration.^[212]

Many economists since Adam Smith have argued that—unlike other taxes—a land value tax would not cause economic inefficiency.^[213] It would be a progressive tax,^[214] i.e. a tax paid primarily by the wealthy, that increases wages, reduces economic inequality, removes incentives to misuse real estate and reduces the vulnerability that economies face from credit and property bubbles.^{[215][216]} Early proponents of this view include Thomas Paine, Herbert Spencer and Hugo Grotius,^[217] but the concept was widely popularized by the economist and social reformer Henry George.^[218] George believed that people ought to own the fruits of their labor and the value of the improvements they make and therefore he was opposed to income taxes, sales taxes, taxes on improvements and all other taxes on production, labor, trade or commerce. George was among the staunchest defenders of free markets and his book *Protection or Free Trade* was read into the *Congressional Record*.^[219] Nonetheless, he did support direct management of natural monopolies such as right-of-way monopolies necessary for railroads as a last resort and advocated for elimination of intellectual property arrangements in favor of government sponsored prizes for inventors. In *Progress and Poverty*, George argued: "Our boasted freedom necessarily involves slavery, so long as we recognize private property in land. Until that is abolished, Declarations of Independence and Acts of Emancipation are in vain. So long as one man can claim the exclusive ownership of the land from which other men must live, slavery will exist, and as material progress goes on, must grow and deepen!"^[220] Early followers of George's philosophy called themselves single taxers because they believed that the only legitimate, broad-based tax was land rent. The term Georgism was coined later, though some modern proponents prefer the term geoism instead,^[221] leaving the meaning of geo (Earth in Greek) deliberately

ambiguous. The terms Earth Sharing,^[222] geonomics^[223] and geolibertarianism^[224] are used by some Georgists to represent a difference of emphasis, or real differences about how land rent should be spent, but all agree that land rent should be recovered from its private owners.

Individualist anarchism found in the United States an important space for discussion and development within the group known as the Boston anarchists.^[225] Even among the 19th-century American individualists there was no monolithic doctrine and they disagreed amongst each other on various issues including intellectual property rights and possession versus property in land.^{[226][227][228]} Some Boston anarchists, including Benjamin Tucker, identified as socialists, which in the 19th century was often used in the sense of a commitment to improving conditions of the working class (i.e. "the labor problem").^[229] Lysander Spooner, besides his individualist anarchist activism, was also an anti-slavery activist and member of the First International.^[230] Tucker argued that the elimination of what he called "the four monopolies"—the land monopoly, the money and banking monopoly, the monopoly powers conferred by patents and the quasi-monopolistic effects of tariffs—would undermine the power of the wealthy and big business, making possible widespread property ownership and higher incomes for ordinary people, while minimizing the power of would-be bosses and achieving socialist goals without state action. Tucker's anarchist periodical, *Liberty*, was published from August 1881 to April 1908.



Benjamin Tucker, individualist anarchist and publisher of the periodical Liberty

The publication *Liberty*, emblazoned with Proudhon's quote that liberty is "Not the Daughter But the Mother of Order" was instrumental in developing and formalizing the individualist anarchist philosophy through publishing essays and serving as a forum for debate. Contributors included Benjamin Tucker, Lysander Spooner, Auberon Herbert, Dyer Lum, Joshua K. Ingalls, John Henry Mackay, Victor Yarros, Wordsworth Donisthorpe, James L. Walker, J. William Lloyd, Florence Finch Kelly, Voltaire de Cleyre, Steven T. Byington, John Beverley Robinson, Jo Labadie, Lillian Harman and Henry Appleton.^[231] Later, Tucker and others abandoned their traditional support of natural rights and converted to an egoism modeled upon the philosophy of Max Stirner.^[227] A number of natural rights proponents stopped contributing in protest. Several periodicals were undoubtedly influenced by *Liberty's* presentation of egoism, including *I* published by Clarence Lee Swartz and edited by William Walstein Gordak and J. William Lloyd (all associates of *Liberty*); and *The Ego* and *The Egoist*, both of which were edited by Edward H. Fulton. Among the egoist papers that Tucker followed were the German *Der Eigene*, edited by Adolf Brand; and *The Eagle* and *The Serpent*, issued from London. The latter, the most prominent English language egoist journal, was published from 1898 to 1900 with the subtitle *A Journal of Egoistic Philosophy and Sociology*.^{[232][233]}

Georgism and geolibertarianism

Henry George was an American political economist and journalist who advocated that all economic value derived from land, including natural resources, should belong equally to all members of society. Strongly opposed to feudalism and the privatisation of land, George created the philosophy of Georgism, or geoism, influential among many left-libertarians, including geolibertarians and geoanarchists. Much like the English Digger movement, who held all material possessions in common, George claimed that land and its financial properties belong to everyone, and that to hold land as private property would lead to immense inequalities, including authority from the private owners of such ground.



Henry George, influential among left-libertarians, advocated that the value derived from land should belong to all members of a society

Prior to states assigning property owners slices of either once populated or uninhabited land, the world's earth was held in common. When all resources that derive from land are put to achieving a higher quality of life, not just for employers or landlords, but to serve the general interests and comforts of a wider community, Geolibertarians claim vastly higher qualities of life can be reached, especially with ever advancing technology and industrialised agriculture.

The Levellers, also known as the Diggers, were a 17th-century anti-authoritarian movement that stood in resistance to the English government and the feudalism it was pushing through the forced privatisation of land known as the enclosure around the time of the First English Civil War. Devout Protestants, Gerrard Winstanley was a prominent member of the community and with a very progressive interpretation of his religion sought to end buying and



The Diggers, early libertarian communists, held all things in common, including land which was often violently seized by the European aristocracy

selling, instead for all inhabitants of a society to share their material possessions and to hold all things in common, without money or payment. With the complete abolition of private property, including that of private land, the English Levellers created a pool of property where all properties belonged in equal measure to everyone. Often seen as some of the first practising anarchists, the Digger movement is considered Christian communist and extremely early libertarian communism.

Modern libertarianism in the United States

By around the start of the 20th century, the heyday of individualist anarchism had passed.^[234] H. L. Mencken and Albert Jay Nock were the first prominent figures in the United States to describe themselves as *libertarian* as synonym for *liberal*. They believed that Franklin D. Roosevelt had co-opted the word *liberal* for his New Deal policies which they opposed and used *libertarian* to signify their allegiance to classical liberalism, individualism and limited government.^[235] In 1914, Nock joined the staff of The Nation magazine which at the time was supportive of liberal capitalism. A lifelong admirer of Henry George, Nock went on to become co-editor of The Freeman from 1920 to 1924, a publication initially conceived as a vehicle for the single tax movement, financed by the wealthy wife of the magazine's other editor Francis Neilson.^[236] Critic H. L. Mencken wrote that "[h]is editorials during the three brief years of the *Freeman* set a mark that no other man of his trade has ever quite managed to reach. They were well-informed and sometimes even learned, but there was never the slightest trace of pedantry in them".^[237]

Executive Vice President of the Cato Institute David Boaz wrote: "In 1943, at one of the lowest points for liberty and humanity in history, three remarkable women published books that could be said to have given birth to the modern libertarian movement".^[238] Isabel Paterson's The God of the Machine, Rose Wilder Lane's The Discovery of Freedom and Ayn Rand's The Fountainhead each promoted individualism and capitalism. None of the three used the term libertarianism to describe their beliefs and Rand specifically

rejected the label, criticizing the burgeoning American libertarian movement as the "hippies of the right".^[239] Rand's own philosophy of Objectivism is notably similar to libertarianism and she accused libertarians of plagiarizing her ideas.^[239] Rand stated:

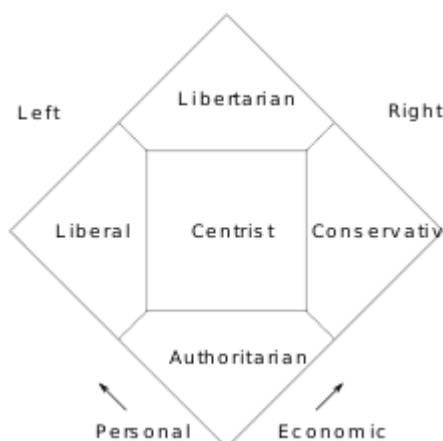
All kinds of people today call themselves "libertarians," especially something calling itself the New Right, which consists of hippies who are anarchists instead of leftist collectivists; but anarchists are collectivists. Capitalism is the one system that requires absolute objective law, yet libertarians combine capitalism and anarchism. That's worse than anything the New Left has proposed. It's a mockery of philosophy and ideology. They sling slogans and try to ride on two bandwagons. They want to be hippies, but don't want to preach collectivism because those jobs are already taken. But anarchism is a logical outgrowth of the anti-intellectual side of collectivism. I could deal with a Marxist with a greater chance of reaching some kind of understanding, and with much greater respect. Anarchists are the scum of the intellectual world of the Left, which has given them up. So the Right picks up another leftist discard. That's the libertarian movement.^[240]

In 1946, Leonard E. Read founded the Foundation for Economic Education (FEE), an American nonprofit educational organization which promotes the principles of *laissez-faire* economics, private property and limited government.^[241] According to Gary North, former FEE director of seminars and a current Mises Institute scholar, the FEE is the "granddaddy of all libertarian organizations".^[242] The initial officers of the FEE were Leonard E. Read as president, Austrian School economist Henry Hazlitt as vice president and David Goodrich of B. F. Goodrich as chairman. Other trustees on the FEE board have included wealthy industrialist Jasper Crane of DuPont, H. W. Luhnnow of William Volker & Co. and Robert W. Welch Jr., founder of the John Birch Society.^{[243]:p. 27[244][245]}

Austrian School economist Murray Rothbard was initially an enthusiastic partisan of the Old Right, particularly because of its general opposition to war and imperialism,^[246] but long embraced a reading of American history that emphasized the role of elite privilege in shaping legal and political institutions. He was part of Ayn Rand's circle for a brief period, but later harshly criticized Objectivism.^[247] He praised Rand's *Atlas Shrugged* and wrote that she "introduced me to the whole field of natural rights and natural law philosophy", prompting him to learn "the glorious natural rights tradition".^[248] He soon broke with Rand over various differences, including his defense of anarchism, calling his philosophy anarcho-capitalism. Rothbard was influenced by the work of the 19th-century American individualist anarchists^[249] and sought to meld their advocacy of free markets and private defense with the principles of Austrian economics.^[250]

Karl Hess, a speechwriter for Barry Goldwater and primary author of the Republican Party's 1960 and 1964 platforms, became disillusioned with traditional politics following the 1964 presidential campaign in which Goldwater lost to Lyndon B. Johnson. He parted with the Republicans altogether after being rejected for employment with the party, and began work as a heavy-duty welder. Hess began reading American anarchists largely due to the recommendations of his friend Murray Rothbard and said that upon reading the works of communist anarchist Emma Goldman, he discovered that anarchists believed everything he had hoped the Republican Party would represent. For Hess, Goldman was the source for the best and most essential theories of Ayn Rand without any of the "crazy solipsism that Rand was so fond of".^[251] Hess and Rothbard founded the journal *Left and Right: A Journal of Libertarian Thought*, which was published from 1965 to 1968, with George Resch and Leonard P. Liggio. In 1969, they edited *The Libertarian Forum* which Hess left in 1971. Hess eventually put his focus on the small scale, stating that society is "people together making culture". He deemed two of his cardinal social principles to be "opposition to central political authority" and "concern for people as individuals". His rejection of standard American

party politics was reflected in a lecture he gave during which he said: "The Democrats or liberals think that everybody is stupid and therefore they need somebody [...] to tell them how to behave themselves. The Republicans think everybody is lazy".^[252]



The Nolan Chart, created by American libertarian David Nolan, expands the left–right line into a two-dimensional chart classifying the political spectrum by degrees of personal and economic freedom

The Vietnam War split the uneasy alliance between growing numbers of American libertarians and conservatives who believed in limiting liberty to uphold moral virtues. Libertarians opposed to the war joined the draft resistance and peace movements as well as organizations such as Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). In 1969 and 1970, Hess joined with others, including Murray Rothbard, Robert LeFevre, Dana Rohrabacher, Samuel Edward Konkin III and former SDS leader Carl Oglesby to speak at two conferences which brought together activists from both the New Left and the Old Right in what was emerging as a nascent libertarian movement.^[253] As part of his effort to unite the left and right wings of libertarianism, Hess would join both the SDS and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), of which he explained: "We used to have a labor movement in this country, until I.W.W. leaders were killed or imprisoned. You could tell labor unions had become captive when business and government began to praise them. They're destroying the militant black leaders the same way now. If the slaughter continues, before long liberals will be asking, 'What happened to the blacks? Why aren't they militant anymore?'"^[254] Rothbard ultimately broke with the left, allying

himself with the burgeoning paleoconservative movement.^{[255][256]} He criticized the tendency of these libertarians to appeal to "'free spirits,' to people who don't want to push other people around, and who don't want to be pushed around themselves" in contrast to "the bulk of Americans" who "might well be tight-assed conformists, who want to stamp out drugs in their vicinity, kick out people with strange dress habits, etc." Rothbard emphasized that this was relevant as a matter of strategy as the failure to pitch the libertarian message to Middle America might result in the loss of "the tight-assed majority".^{[257][258]} This left-libertarian tradition^[259] has been carried to the present day by Konkin III's agorists,^[260] contemporary mutualists such as Kevin Carson,^[261] Roderick T. Long^[262] and others such as Gary Chartier^[263] Charles W. Johnson^{[264][265]} Sheldon Richman,^[266] Chris Matthew Sciabarra^[267] and Brad Spangler.^[268]

In 1971, a small group of Americans led by David Nolan formed the Libertarian Party,^[269] which has run a presidential candidate every election year since 1972. Other libertarian organizations, such as the Center for Libertarian Studies and the Cato Institute, were also formed in the 1970s.^[270] Philosopher John Hospers, a one-time member of Rand's inner circle, proposed a non-initiation of force principle to unite both groups, but this statement later became a required "pledge" for candidates of the Libertarian Party and Hospers became its first presidential candidate in 1972.^[271] In the 1980s, Hess joined the Libertarian Party and served as editor of its newspaper from 1986 to 1990. According to Maureen Tkacik, Hess moved to the radical left^[272] and was the ideological grandfather of the anti-1% and pro-99% movement, the direct antecedent of thinkers like Ron Paul and both the Tea Party movement and the Occupy movement.^[273]



Former Congressman Ron Paul, a self-described libertarian, whose presidential campaigns in 2008 and 2012 garnered significant support from youth and libertarian Republicans

Modern libertarianism gained significant recognition in academia with the publication of Harvard University professor Robert Nozick's Anarchy, State, and Utopia in 1974, for which he received a National Book Award in 1975.^[274] In response to John Rawls's A Theory of Justice, Nozick's book supported a

minimal state (also called a nightwatchman state by Nozick) on the grounds that the ultraminimal state arises without violating individual rights^[275] and the transition from an ultraminimal state to a minimal state is morally obligated to occur. Specifically, Nozick wrote: "We argue that the first transition from a system of private protective agencies to an ultraminimal state, will occur by an invisible-hand process in a morally permissible way that violates no one's rights. Secondly, we argue that the transition from an ultraminimal state to a minimal state morally must occur. It would be morally impermissible for persons to maintain the monopoly in the ultraminimal state without providing protective services for all, even if this requires specific 'redistribution.' The operators of the ultraminimal state are morally obligated to produce the minimal state".^[276]

In the early 1970s, Rothbard wrote: "One gratifying aspect of our rise to some prominence is that, for the first time in my memory, we, 'our side,' had captured a crucial word from the enemy. 'Libertarians' had long been simply a polite word for left-wing anarchists, that is for anti-private property anarchists, either of the communist or syndicalist variety. But now we had taken it over".^[277] The project of spreading libertarian ideals in the United States has been so successful that some Americans who do not identify as libertarian seem to hold libertarian views.^[278] Since the resurgence of neoliberalism in the 1970s, this modern American libertarianism has spread beyond North America via think tanks and political parties.^{[279][280]}

Chicago school of economics economist Milton Friedman made the distinction between being part of the Libertarian Party (United States) and "a libertarian with a small 'l,'" where he held libertarian values but belonged to the Republican Party (United States)^[281]

Contemporary libertarianism

Contemporary libertarian socialism



Members of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist trade union Confederación Nacional del Trabajo marching in Madrid in 2010

A surge of popular interest in libertarian socialism occurred in Western nations during the 1960s and 1970s.^[282] Anarchism was influential in the counterculture of the 1960s^{[283][284][285]} and anarchists actively participated in the protests of 1968 which included students and workers' revolts.^[286] In 1968, the International of Anarchist Federations was founded in Carrara, Italy during an international anarchist conference held there in 1968 by the three existing European federations of France, the Italian and the Iberian Anarchist Federation as well as the Bulgarian Anarchist Federation in French exile.^{[179][287]} The uprisings of May 1968 also led to a small resurgence of interest in left communist ideas. Various small left communist groups emerged around the world, predominantly in the leading capitalist

countries. A series of conferences of the communist left began in 1976, with the aim of promoting international and cross-tendency discussion, but these petered out in the 1980s without having increased the profile of the movement or its unity of ideas.^[288] Left communist groups existing today include the International Communist Party, International Communist Current and the Internationalist Communist Tendency. The housing and employment crisis in most of Western Europe led to the formation of communes and squatter movements like that of Barcelona in Spain. In Denmark, squatters occupied a disused military base and declared the Freetown Christiania, an autonomous haven in central Copenhagen.

Around the turn of the 21st century, libertarian socialism grew in popularity and influence as part of the anti-war, anti-capitalist and anti-globalisation movements.^[289] Anarchists became known for their involvement in protests against the meetings of the World Trade Organization (WTO), Group of Eight and

the World Economic Forum. Some anarchist factions at these protests engaged in rioting, property destruction and violent confrontations with police. These actions were precipitated by ad hoc, leaderless, anonymous cadres known as black blocs and other organizational tactics pioneered in this time include security culture, affinity groups and the use of decentralized technologies such as the Internet.^[289] A significant event of this period was the confrontations at WTO conference in Seattle in 1999.^[289] For English anarchist scholar Simon Critchley, "contemporary anarchism can be seen as a powerful critique of the pseudo-libertarianism of contemporary neo-liberalism. One might say that contemporary anarchism is about responsibility, whether sexual, ecological or socio-economic; it flows from an experience of conscience about the manifold ways in which the West ravages the rest; it is an ethical outrage at the yawning inequality, impoverishment and disenfranchisement that is so palpable locally and globally".^[290] This might also have been motivated by "the collapse of 'really existing socialism' and the capitulation to neo-liberalism of Western social democracy".^[291]

Libertarian socialists in the early 21st century have been involved in the alter-globalization movement, squatter movement; social centers; infoshops; anti-poverty groups such as Ontario Coalition Against Poverty and Food Not Bombs; tenants' unions; housing cooperatives; intentional communities generally and egalitarian communities; anti-sexist organizing; grassroots media initiatives; digital media and computer activism; experiments in participatory economics; anti-racist and anti-fascist groups like Anti-Racist Action and Anti-Fascist Action; activist groups protecting the rights of immigrants and promoting the free movement of people such as the No Border network; worker co-operatives, countercultural and artist groups; and the peace movement.

Contemporary libertarianism in the United States

In the United States, polls (circa 2006) find that the views and voting habits of between 10% and 20%, or more, of voting age Americans may be classified as "fiscally conservative and socially liberal, or libertarian".^{[53][89]} This is based on pollsters and researchers defining libertarian views as fiscally conservative and socially liberal (based on the common United States meanings of the terms) and against government intervention in economic affairs and for expansion of personal freedoms.^[53] In a 2015 Gallup poll this figure had risen to 27%.^[95] A 2015 Reuters poll found that 23% of American voters self-identify as libertarians, including 32% in the 18–29 age group.^[94] Through twenty polls on this topic spanning thirteen years, Gallup found that voters who are libertarian on the political spectrum ranged from 17–23% of the United States electorate.^[92] However, a 2014 Pew Poll found that 23% of Americans who identify as libertarians have no idea what the word means. In this poll, 11% of respondents both identified as libertarians and understand what the term meant.^[93]



Tea Party movement protest in Washington, D.C., September 2009

2009 saw the rise of the Tea Party movement, an American political movement known for advocating a reduction in the United States national debt and federal budget deficit by reducing government spending and taxes, which had a significant libertarian component^[292] despite having contrasts with libertarian values and views in some areas such as free trade, immigration, nationalism and social issues.^[293] A 2011 *Reason-Rupe* poll found that among those who self-identified as Tea Party supporters, 41 percent leaned libertarian and 59 percent socially conservative.^[294] Named after the Boston Tea Party, it also contains conservative^{[295][296][297]} and populist elements^{[298][299][300]} and has sponsored multiple protests and

supported various political candidates since 2009. Tea Party activities have declined since 2010 with the number of chapters across the country slipping from about 1,000 to 600.^{[301][302]} Mostly, Tea Party organizations are said to have shifted away from national demonstrations to local issues.^[301] Following the

selection of Paul Ryan as Mitt Romney's 2012 vice presidential running mate, The New York Times declared that Tea Party lawmakers are no longer a fringe of the conservative coalition, but now "indisputably at the core of the modern Republican Party".^[303]

In 2012, anti-war and pro-drug liberalization presidential candidates such as Libertarian Republican Ron Paul and Libertarian Party candidate Gary Johnson raised millions of dollars and garnered millions of votes despite opposition to their obtaining ballot access by both Democrats and Republicans.^[304] The 2012 Libertarian National Convention saw Johnson and Jim Gray being nominated as the 2012 presidential ticket for the Libertarian Party, resulting in the most successful result for a third-party presidential candidacy since 2000 and the best in the Libertarian Party's history by vote number. Johnson received 1% of the popular vote, amounting to more than 1.2 million votes.^{[305][306]} Johnson has expressed a desire to win at least 5 percent of the vote so that the Libertarian Party candidates could get equal ballot access and federal funding, thus subsequently ending the two-party system.^{[307][308][309]} The 2016 Libertarian National Convention saw Johnson and Bill Weld nominated as the 2016 presidential ticket and resulted in the most successful result for a third-party presidential candidacy since 1996 and the best in the Libertarian Party's history by vote number. Johnson received 3% of the popular vote, amounting to more than 4.3 million votes.^[310]

Contemporary libertarian organizations

Current international anarchist federations which identify themselves as libertarian include the International of Anarchist Federations, the International Workers' Association and International Libertarian Solidarity. The largest organized anarchist movement today is in Spain, in the form of the Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT) and the CNT. CGT membership was estimated to be around 100,000 for 2003.^[311] Other active syndicalist movements include the Central Organisation of the Workers of Sweden and the Swedish Anarcho-syndicalist Youth Federation in Sweden; the Unione Sindacale Italiana in Italy; Workers Solidarity Alliance in the United States; and Solidarity Federation in the United Kingdom. The revolutionary industrial unionist Industrial Workers of the World claiming 2,000 paying members as well as the International Workers' Association, remain active. In the United States, there exists the Common Struggle – Libertarian Communist Federation.

Since the 1950s, many American libertarian organizations have adopted a free-market stance as well as supporting civil liberties and non-interventionist foreign policies. These include the Ludwig von Mises Institute, Francisco Marroquín University, the Foundation for Economic Education, Center for Libertarian Studies, the Cato Institute and Liberty International. The activist Free State Project, formed in 2001, works to bring 20,000 libertarians to New Hampshire to influence state policy.^[312] Active student organizations include Students for Liberty and Young Americans for Liberty. A number of countries have libertarian parties that run candidates for political office. In the United States, the Libertarian Party was formed in 1972 and is the third largest^{[313][314]} American political party, with 511,277 voters (0.46% of total electorate) registered as Libertarian in the 31 states that report Libertarian registration statistics and Washington, D.C.^[315]

Criticism

Criticism of libertarianism includes ethical, economic, environmental, pragmatic and philosophical concerns, especially in relation to right-libertarianism,^{[316][317][318][319][320][321]} including the view that it has no explicit theory of liberty.^[49] It has been argued that laissez-faire capitalism does not necessarily produce the best or most efficient outcome,^{[322][323]} nor does its philosophy of individualism and policies

of deregulation prevent the abuse of natural resources.^[324] Critics such as Corey Robin describe this type of libertarianism as fundamentally a reactionary conservative ideology united with more traditionalist conservative thought and goals by a desire to enforce hierarchical power and social relations.^[70]

Similarly, Nancy MacLean has argued that libertarianism is a radical right ideology that has stood against democracy. According to MacLean, libertarian-leaning Charles and David Koch have used anonymous, dark money campaign contributions, a network of libertarian institutes and lobbying for the appointment of libertarian, pro-business judges to United States federal and state courts to oppose taxes, public education, employee protection laws, environmental protection laws and the New Deal Social Security program.^[325]

Moral and pragmatic criticism of libertarianism also includes allegations of utopianism,^[326] tacit authoritarianism^{[327][328]} and vandalism towards feats of civilisation.^[329]

See also

- Fusionism
- Green libertarianism
- Libertarian feminism
- List of libertarian political ideologies
- Neoclassical liberalism
- Outline of libertarianism
- Paleolibertarianism
- "Property is theft!"
- "Taxation is theft!"

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10. Kropotkin, Peter (1927). *Anarchism: A Collection of Revolutionary Writings*. Courier Dover Publications. p. 150. ISBN 9780486119861. "It attacks not only capital, but also the main sources of the power of capitalism: law, authority, and the State."
11. Otero, Carlos Peregrin (2003). "Introduction to Chomsky's Social Theory". In Otero, Carlos Peregrin (ed.). *Radical Priorities*. Chomsky, Noam Chomsky (3rd ed.). Oakland, California: AK Press. p. 26. ISBN 1-902593-69-3.
12. Chomsky, Noam (2003). Carlos Peregrin Otero (ed.). *Radical Priorities* (3rd ed.). Oakland, California: AK Press. pp. 227–228. ISBN 1-902593-69-3.
13. Carlson, Jennifer D. (2012). "Libertarianism". In Miller, Wilbur R. *The Social History of Crime and Punishment in America: An Encyclopedia*. SAGE Publications. p. 1006 (https://books.google.it/books?id=tYME6Z35nyAC&pg=PA1006&dq=right-libertarianism&hl=it&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjVoNT9_uvIAhWN6aQKHwZ6AUUQ6AEINjAB). "[S]ocialist libertarians view any concentration of power into the hands of a few (whether politically or economically) as antithetical to freedom and thus advocate for the simultaneous abolition of both government and capitalism".
14. Kymlicka, Will (2005). "libertarianism, left-". In Honderich, Ted. *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*. New York City: Oxford University Press. p. 516. ISBN 978-0199264797. "'Left-libertarianism' is a new term for an old conception of justice, dating back to Grotius. It combines the libertarian assumption that each person possesses a natural right of self-ownership over his person with the egalitarian premiss that natural resources should be shared equally. Right-wing libertarians argue that the right of self-ownership entails the right to appropriate unequal parts of the external world, such as unequal amounts of land. According to left-libertarians, however, the world's natural resources were initially unowned, or belonged equally to all, and it is illegitimate for anyone to claim exclusive private ownership of these resources to the detriment of others. Such private appropriation is legitimate only if everyone can appropriate an equal amount, or if those who appropriate more are taxed to compensate those who are thereby excluded from what was once common property. Historic proponents of this view include Thomas Paine, Herbert Spencer, and Henry George. Recent exponents include Philippe Van Parijs and Hillel Steiner."

15. Goodway, David (2006). *Anarchist Seeds Beneath the Snow: Left-Libertarian Thought and British Writers from William Morris to Colin Ward*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. p. 4 (<https://books.google.com/books?id=Fgya85u7S-4C&pg=PA4&dq=anarcho-capitalism+right+libertarian&sa=X&ct=result&resnum=10#v=onepage&q=anarcho-capitalism%20right%20libertarian>). ISBN 1846310253. ISBN 978-1846310256. "'Libertarian' and 'libertarianism' are frequently employed by anarchists as synonyms for 'anarchist' and 'anarchism', largely as an attempt to distance themselves from the negative connotations of 'anarchy' and its derivatives. The situation has been vastly complicated in recent decades with the rise of anarcho-capitalism, 'minimal statism' and an extreme right-wing *laissez-faire* philosophy advocated by such theorists as Murray Rothbard and Robert Nozick and their adoption of the words 'libertarian' and 'libertarianism'. It has therefore now become necessary to distinguish between their right libertarianism and the left libertarianism of the anarchist tradition".
16. Marshall, Peter (2008). *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism*. London: Harper Perennial. p. 641 (https://books.google.it/books?id=QDWIOL_KtGYC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Demanding+the+Impossible:+A+History+of+Anarchism&hl=it&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwilt4Gi0eLIAhXP_qQKHRvYD10Q6AEIKDAA#v=onepage&q=Left%20libertarianism&f=false). "Left libertarianism can therefore range from the decentralist who wishes to limit and devolve State power, to the syndicalist who wants to abolish it altogether. It can even encompass the Fabians and the social democrats who wish to socialize the economy but who still see a limited role for the State".
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18. Newman, Saul (2010). *The Politics of Postanarchism*, Edinburgh University Press. p. 43 (<https://books.google.com/books?id=SiqBiViUsOkC&pg=PA43&dq=anarcho-capitalism+right+libertarian&sa=X&ct=result&resnum=3#v=onepage&q=anarcho-capitalism%20right%20libertarian>). ISBN 0748634959. ISBN 978-0748634958. "It is important to distinguish between anarchism and certain strands of right-wing libertarianism which at times go by the same name (for example, Murray Rothbard's anarcho-capitalism). There is a complex debate within this tradition between those like Robert Nozick, who advocate a 'minimal state', and those like Rothbard who want to do away with the state altogether and allow all transactions to be governed by the market alone. From an anarchist perspective, however, both positions—the minimal state (minarchist) and the no-state ('anarchist') positions—neglect the problem of economic domination; in other words, they neglect the hierarchies, oppressions, and forms of exploitation that would inevitably arise in a *laissez-faire* 'free' market. [...] Anarchism, therefore, has no truck with this right-wing libertarianism, not only because it neglects economic inequality and domination, but also because in practice (and theory) it is highly inconsistent and contradictory. The individual freedom invoked by right-wing libertarians is only a narrow economic freedom within the constraints of a capitalist market, which, as anarchists show, is no freedom at all".
19. "Anarchism". In Gaus, Gerald F.; D'Agostino, Fred, eds. (2012). *The Routledge Companion to Social and Political Philosophy*. p. 227. "The term 'left-libertarianism' has at least three meanings. In its oldest sense, it is a synonym either for anarchism in general or social anarchism in particular. Later it became a term for the left or Konkinite wing of the free-market libertarian movement, and has since come to cover a range of pro-market but anti-capitalist positions, mostly individualist anarchist, including agorism and mutualism, often with an implication of sympathies (such as for radical feminism or the labor movement) not usually shared by anarcho-capitalists. In a third sense it has recently come to be applied to a position combining individual self-ownership with an egalitarian approach to natural resources; most proponents of this position are not anarchists."

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21. Carson, Kevin (15 June 2014). "What is Left-Libertarianism?" (<https://c4ss.org/content/28216>). Center for a Stateless Society. Retrieved 28 November 2019.
22. Marshall, Peter (2008). *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism*. London: Harper Perennial. p. 565. "The problem with the term 'libertarian' is that it is now also used by the Right. [...] In its moderate form, right libertarianism embraces *laissez-faire* liberals like Robert Nozick who call for a minimal State, and in its extreme form, anarcho-capitalists like Murray Rothbard and David Friedman who entirely repudiate the role of the State and look to the market as a means of ensuring social order".
23. Carlson, Jennifer D. (2012). "Libertarianism". In Miller, Wilburn R., ed. *The Social History of Crime and Punishment in America*. London: Sage Publications. p. 1006 (https://books.google.it/books?id=tYME6Z35nyAC&pg=PA1006&dq=right-libertarianism&hl=it&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewjVoNT9_uvIAhWN6aQKHwZ6AUUQ6AEINjAB). ISBN 1412988764.
24. Fernandez, Frank (2001). *Cuban Anarchism. The History of a Movement*. Sharp Press. p. 9 (<https://books.google.com/books?id=jKdztblaHegC>). "Thus, in the United States, the once exceedingly useful term 'libertarian' has been hijacked by egotists who are in fact enemies of liberty in the full sense of the word."
25. Hussain, Syed B. (2004). *Encyclopedia of Capitalism, Volume 2* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=FbVZAAAAYAAJ>). New York: Facts on File Inc. p. 492. ISBN 0816052247. "In the modern world, political ideologies are largely defined by their attitude towards capitalism. Marxists want to overthrow it, liberals to curtail it extensively, conservatives to curtail it moderately. Those who maintain that capitalism is an excellent economic system, unfairly maligned, with little or no need for corrective government policy, are generally known as libertarians."
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32. OED November 2010 edition
33. *The British Critic* (<https://web.archive.org/web/20120802021008/http://archive.mises.org/18385/the-origin-of-libertarianism>). p. 432. "The author's Latin verses, which are rather more intelligible than his English, mark him for a furious Libertarian (if we may coin such a term) and a zealous admirer of France, and her liberty, under Bonaparte; such liberty!"
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37. Marshall, Peter (2009). *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism*. p. 641. "The word 'libertarian' has long been associated with anarchism, and has been used repeatedly throughout this work. The term originally denoted a person who upheld the doctrine of the freedom of the will; in this sense, Godwin was not a 'libertarian', but a 'necessitarian'. It came however to be applied to anyone who approved of liberty in general. In anarchist circles, it was first used by Joseph Déjacque as the title of his anarchist journal *Le Libéraire, Journal du Mouvement Social* published in New York in 1858. At the end of the last century, the anarchist Sebastien Faure took up the word, to stress the difference between anarchists and authoritarian socialists".
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39. Woodcock, George (1962). *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*. Meridian Books. p. 280. "He called himself a "social poet," and published two volumes of heavily didactic verse—Lazaréennes and Les Pyrénées Nivelées. In New York, from 1858 to 1861, he edited an anarchist paper entitled *Le Libéraire, Journal du Mouvement Social*, in whose pages he printed as a serial his vision of the anarchist Utopia, entitled L'Humanisphère."
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External links

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Libertarianism in the United States

Libertarianism in the United States is a political philosophy promoting individual liberty.^{[1][2][3][4][5][6]} According to common meanings of conservatism and liberalism in the United States, libertarianism has been described as *conservative* on economic issues (economic liberalism) and *liberal* on personal freedom (civil libertarianism),^[7] often associated with a foreign policy of non-interventionism.^{[8][9]} Broadly, there are four principal traditions within libertarianism, namely the libertarianism that developed in the mid-20th century out of the revival tradition of classical liberalism in the United States^[10] after liberalism associated with the New Deal,^{[11][12]} the libertarianism developed in the 1950s by anarcho-capitalist author Murray Rothbard, who based it on the anti-New Deal Old Right and 19th-century libertarianism and American individualist anarchists such as Benjamin Tucker and Lysander Spooner while rejecting the labor theory of value in favor of Austrian School economics and the subjective theory of value,^{[13][14]} the libertarianism developed in the 1970s by Robert Nozick and founded in American and European classical liberal traditions,^[15] and the libertarianism associated to the Libertarian Party which was founded in 1971, including politicians such as David Nolan^[16] and Ron Paul.^[17]

The right-libertarianism associated with people such as Murray Rothbard and Robert Nozick,^{[18][19]} whose book *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* according to David Lewis Schaefer received significant attention in academia,^[20] is the dominant form of libertarianism in the United States, compared to that of left-libertarianism.^[21] The latter is associated with the left-wing of the modern libertarian movement^[22] and more recently to the political positions associated with academic philosophers Hillel Steiner, Philippe Van Parijs and Peter Vallentyne that combine self-ownership with an egalitarian approach to natural resources.^[23] It is also related to anti-capitalist, free-market anarchist strands such as left-wing market anarchism,^{[24][25]} referred to as market-oriented left-libertarianism to distinguish itself from other forms of libertarianism.^[26] Libertarianism includes anarchist and libertarian socialist tendencies, although they are not as widespread as in other countries. Murray Bookchin,^[27] a libertarian within this socialist tradition, argued that anarchists, libertarian socialists and the left should reclaim *libertarian* as a term, suggesting these other self-declared *libertarians* to rename themselves *propertarians* instead.^{[28][29]} Although all libertarians oppose government intervention, there is a division between those anarchist or socialist libertarians as well as anarcho-capitalists such as Rothbard and David D. Friedman who adhere to the anti-state position, viewing the state as an unnecessary evil; minarchists such as Nozick who recognize the necessary need for a minimal state, often referred to as a night-watchman state,^[30] and classical liberals who support a minimized small government^{[31][32][33]} and a major reversal of the welfare state.^[34]

The major libertarian party in the United States is the Libertarian Party, but libertarians are also represented within the Democratic and Republican parties while others are independent. Through twenty polls on this topic spanning thirteen years, Gallup found that voters who identify as libertarians ranged from 17 to 23% of the American electorate.^[35] However, a 2014 Pew Poll found that 23% of Americans who identify as libertarians have little understanding of libertarianism.^[36] Yellow, a political color associated with liberalism worldwide, has also been used as a political color for modern libertarianism in the United States.^{[37][38]} The Gadsden flag, a symbol first used by American revolutionaries, is frequently used by libertarians and the libertarian-leaning Tea Party movement.^{[39][40][41]}

Although *libertarian* continues to be widely used to refer to anti-state socialists internationally,^{[27][42][43][44][45][46]} its meaning in the United States has deviated from its political origins to the extent that the common meaning of *libertarian* in the United States is different from elsewhere.^{[18][28][29][30][47]} The Libertarian Party asserts the following core beliefs of libertarianism:

"Libertarians support maximum liberty in both personal and economic matters. They advocate a much smaller government; one that is limited to protecting individuals from coercion and violence. Libertarians tend to embrace individual responsibility, oppose government bureaucracy and taxes, promote private charity, tolerate diverse lifestyles, support the free market, and defend civil liberties".^{[48][49]}

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Definition

Since the 19th century, the term *libertarian* has referred to advocates for freedom of the will, or anyone who generally advocated for liberty, but its long association with anarchism extends at least as far back as 1858, when it was used for the title of New York anarchist journal *Le Libertaire*.^{[47][30]} In the late 19th century around the 1880s and 1890s, Anarchist Sébastien Faure used the term *libertarian* to differentiate between anarchists and authoritarian socialists.^[30] While the term *libertarian* has been largely synonymous with *anarchism*,^{[30][50]} its meaning has more recently diluted with wider adoption from ideologically disparate groups.^[30] As a term, *libertarian* can include both the New Left and libertarian Marxists (who do not associate with a vanguard party) as well as extreme liberals (primarily concerned with civil liberties). Additionally, some anarchists use the term *libertarian socialist* to avoid anarchism's negative connotations and emphasize its connections with socialism.^{[30][51]}

The revival of free-market ideologies during the mid-to-late 20th century came with disagreement over what to call the movement. While many of its adherents prefer the term *libertarian*, many conservative libertarians reject the term's association with the 1960s New Left and its connotations of libertine hedonism.^[52] The movement is divided over the use of *conservatism* as an alternative.^[53] Those who seek both economic and social liberty within a capitalist order would be known as *liberals*, but that term developed associations opposite of the limited government, low-taxation, minimal state advocated by the movement.^[54] Name variants of the free-market revival movement include *classical liberalism*, *economic liberalism*, *free-market liberalism* and *neoliberalism*.^[52] As a term, *libertarian* or *economic libertarian* has the most colloquial acceptance to describe a member of the movement, with the latter term being based on both the ideology's primacy of economics and its distinction from libertarians of the New Left.^[53]

According to Ian Adams, "all US parties are liberal and always have been. Essentially they espouse classical liberalism, that is a form of democratized Whig constitutionalism plus the free market. The point of difference comes with the influence of social liberalism" and the proper role of government.^[10] Some modern American libertarians are distinguished from the dominant libertarian tradition by their relation to property and capital. While both historical libertarianism and contemporary economic libertarianism share general antipathy towards power by government authority, the latter exempts power wielded through free-market capitalism. Historically, libertarians including Herbert Spencer and Max Stirner have to some degree supported the protection of an individual's freedom from powers of both government and private property owners.^[55] In contrast, while condemning governmental encroachment on personal liberties, some modern American libertarians support freedoms based on private property rights. Anarcho-capitalist theorist Murray Rothbard argued that protesters should rent a street for protest from its owners. The abolition of public amenities is a common theme in some modern American libertarian writings.^[56]

History

19th and 20th century

In the 19th century, libertarian philosophies included libertarian socialism and anarchist schools of thought such as individualist and social anarchism. Key libertarian thinkers included Benjamin Tucker,^{[57][58][59]} Lysander Spooner,^[60] Stephen Pearl Andrews and William Batchelder Greene, among others.^{[28][29][61][62]} While most of these anarchist thinkers advocated for the abolition of the state, other key libertarian thinkers and writers such as Henry David Thoreau,^{[63][64][65]} Ralph Waldo Emerson^[66] and Spooner in *No Treason: The Constitution of No Authority*^[67] argued that government should be kept to a minimum and that it is only legitimate to the extent that people voluntarily support, leaving a significant imprint on libertarianism in the United States. The use of the term *libertarianism* to describe a left-wing



Individualist anarchist Lysander Spooner, whose No Treason: The Constitution of No Authority greatly influenced libertarianism in the United States

position has been traced to the French cognate *libertaire*, a word coined in a letter French libertarian communist Joseph Déjacque wrote to anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon in 1857.^{[28][29][30][47][68]} While in New York City, Déjacque was able to serialize his book *L'Humanisphère, Utopie anarchique* (*The Humanisphere: Anarchic Utopia*) in his periodical *Le Libertaire, Journal du Mouvement Social* (*Libertarian: Journal of Social Movement*), published in 27 issues from June 9, 1858 to February 4, 1861.^{[69][70]} *Le Libertaire* was the first libertarian communist journal published in the United States as well as the first anarchist journal to use libertarian.^{[28][29]} Tucker was the first American born to use libertarian.^[71] By around the start of the 20th century, the heyday of individualist anarchism had passed.^[72]

Moving into the 20th century, the Libertarian League was an anarchist and libertarian socialist organization. The first Libertarian League was founded in Los Angeles between the two World Wars.^[73] It was established mainly by Cassius V. Cook, Charles T. Sprading, Clarence Lee Swartz, Henry Cohen, Hans F. Rossner and Thomas Bell.^[73] In 1954, a second



Benjamin Tucker, an individualist anarchist who contrapposed his anarchist socialism to state socialism

Libertarian League was founded in New York City as a political organization building on the Libertarian Book Club. Members included Sam Dolgoff, Russell Blackwell, Dave Van Ronk, Enrico Arrigoni and Murray Bookchin. This Libertarian League had a narrower political focus than the first, promoting anarchism and syndicalism. Its central principle, stated in its journal *Views and Comments*, was "equal freedom for all in a free socialist society".^[74] Branches of the Libertarian League opened in a number of other American cities, including Detroit and San Francisco. It was dissolved at the end of the 1960s.^{[75][76]}

The 1960s also saw an alliance between the nascent New Left and other radical libertarians who came from the Old Right tradition like Murray Rothbard,^[77] Ronald Radosh^[78] and Karl Hess^[79] in opposition to imperialism and war, especially in relation to the Vietnam War and its opposition. These radicals had long embraced a reading of American history that emphasized the role of elite privilege in shaping legal and political institutions, one that was naturally agreeable to many on the left, increasingly seeking alliances with the left, especially with members of the New Left, in light of the Vietnam War,^[80] the military draft and the emergence of the Black Power movement.^[81] Rothbard argued that the consensus view of American economic history, according to which a beneficent government has used its power to counter corporate predation, is fundamentally flawed. Rather, he argued that government intervention in the economy has largely benefited established players at the expense of marginalized groups, to the detriment of both liberty and equality. Moreover, the robber baron period, hailed by the right and despised by the left as a heyday of *laissez-faire*, was not characterized by *laissez-faire* at all, but it was in fact a time of massive state privilege accorded to capital.^[82] In tandem with his emphasis on the intimate connection between state and corporate power, he defended the seizure of corporations dependent on state largesse by workers and others.^[83] This tradition would continue through the 20th and 21st centuries, being taken up by the left-libertarian,^[84] free-market anti-capitalism^[22] of both Samuel Edward Konkin III's agorism^{[85][86][87]} and left-wing market anarchism.^{[24][25][26]}

Mid-20th century



H. L. Mencken, one of the first people to privately call himself *libertarian*

During the mid-20th century, many with Old Right or classical liberal beliefs began to describe themselves as libertarians.^[11] Important American writers such as Rose Wilder Lane, H. L. Mencken, Albert Jay Nock, Isabel Paterson, Leonard Read (the founder of the Foundation for Economic Education) and the European immigrants Ludwig von Mises and Ayn Rand carried on the intellectual libertarian tradition. In fiction, one can cite the work of the science fiction author Robert A. Heinlein, whose writing carried libertarian underpinnings. Mencken and Nock were the first prominent figures in the United States to privately call themselves libertarians.^{[88][89][90]} They believed Franklin D. Roosevelt had co-opted the word *liberal* for his New Deal policies which they opposed and used *libertarian* to signify their allegiance to individualism. In 1923, Mencken wrote: "My literary theory, like my politics, is based chiefly upon one idea, to wit, the idea of freedom. I am, in belief, a libertarian of the most extreme variety".^[91]

As of the mid-20th century, no word was used to describe the ideological outlook of this group of thinkers. Most of them would have described themselves as *liberals* before the New Deal, but by the mid-1930s the word *liberalism* had been widely used to mean social liberalism.^[12] The word *liberal* had ceased to refer to the support of individual rights and limited government and instead came to denote left-leaning ideas that would be seen elsewhere as social-democratic. American advocates of classical liberalism bemoaned the loss of the word *liberal* and cast about for others to replace it.^[12] The word conservative (later associated with libertarianism either through fiscal conservatism or through fusionism) had yet to emerge as Russell Kirk's *The Conservative Mind* was not published until 1953 and this work hardly mentioned economics at all.^[12]

In August 1953, Max Eastman proposed the terms *New Liberalism* and *liberal conservative* which were not eventually accepted.^{[12][92]} In May 1955, the term *libertarian* was first publicly used in the United States as a synonym for classical liberal when writer Dean Russell (1915–1998), a colleague of Leonard Read and a classical liberal himself, proposed the *libertarian* solution and justified the choice of the word as follows:^[12]

Many of us call ourselves "liberals." And it is true that the word "liberal" once described persons who respected the individual and feared the use of mass compulsions. But the leftists have now corrupted that once-proud term to identify themselves and their program of more government ownership of property and more controls over persons. As a result, those of us who believe in freedom must explain that when we call ourselves liberals, we mean liberals in the uncorrupted classical sense. At best, this is awkward and subject to misunderstanding. Here is a suggestion: Let those of us who love liberty trade-mark and reserve for our own use the good and honorable word "libertarian."^[11]



Max Eastman, a former socialist who proposed the terms *New Liberalism* and *liberal conservative*

Subsequently, a growing number of Americans with classical liberal beliefs in the United States began to describe themselves as *libertarian*. The person most responsible for popularizing the term *libertarian* was Murray Rothbard, who started publishing libertarian works in the 1960s.^[93] Before the 1950s, H. L. Mencken and Albert Jay Nock had been the first prominent figures in the United States to privately call

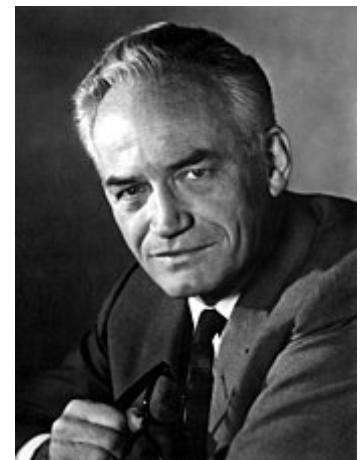


Murray Rothbard, who popularized the term *libertarian* in the 1960s

themselves libertarians.^{[88][89][90]} Nonetheless, their non-public use of the term went largely unnoticed and the term lay dormant on the American scene for the following few decades.^[12] In the 1950s, Russian-American novelist Ayn Rand developed a philosophical system called Objectivism, expressed in her novels *The Fountainhead* and *Atlas Shrugged* as well as other works which influenced many libertarians.^[94] However, she rejected the label *libertarian* and harshly denounced the libertarian movement as the "hippies of the right".^{[95][96]} Nonetheless, philosopher John Hospers, a one-time member of Rand's inner circle, proposed a non-initiation of force principle to unite both groups—this statement later became a required pledge for candidates of the Libertarian Party and Hospers himself became its first presidential candidate in 1972.^{[97][98]} Along with Isabel Paterson and Rose Wilder Lane, Rand is described as one of the three female founding figures of the modern libertarian movement in the United States.^[99]

Although influenced by the work of the 19th-century American individualist anarchists, themselves influenced by classical liberalism.^[13] Rothbard thought they had a faulty understanding of economics because they accepted the labor theory of value as influenced by the classical economists while he was a student of neoclassical economics and supported the subjective theory of value. Rothbard sought to meld 19th-century American individualists' advocacy of free markets and private defense with the principles of Austrian economics, arguing that there is a "scientific explanation of the workings of the free market (and of the consequences of government intervention in that market) which individualist anarchists could easily incorporate into their political and social Weltanschauung".^[14]

Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater's libertarian-oriented challenge to authority had a major impact on the libertarian movement^[100] through his book *The Conscience of a Conservative* and his 1964 presidential campaign.^[101] Goldwater's speech writer Karl Hess became a leading libertarian writer and activist.^[102] The Vietnam War split the uneasy alliance between growing numbers of self-identified libertarians and traditionalist conservatives who believed in limiting liberty to uphold moral virtues. Libertarians opposed to the war joined the draft resistance and peace movements and organizations such as Students for a Democratic Society. They began founding their own publications like Rothbard's *The Libertarian Forum*^{[103][104]} and organizations like the Radical Libertarian Alliance.^[105] The split was aggravated at the 1969 Young Americans for Freedom convention when more than 300 libertarians coordinated to take control of the organization from conservatives. The burning of a draft card in protest to a conservative proposal against draft resistance sparked physical confrontations among convention attendees, a walkout by a large number of libertarians, the creation of libertarian organizations like the Society for Individual Liberty and efforts to recruit potential libertarians from conservative organizations.^[106] The split was finalized in 1971 when conservative leader William F. Buckley Jr. attempted to divorce libertarianism from the movement, writing in a *New York Times* article as follows: "The ideological licentiousness that rages through America today makes anarchy attractive to the simple-minded. Even to the ingeniously simple-minded".^[107]



Barry Goldwater, whose libertarian-oriented challenge to authority had a major impact on the libertarian movement

As a result of the split, a small group of Americans led by David Nolan and a few friends formed the Libertarian Party in 1971.^[108] Attracting former Democrats, Republicans and independents, it has run a presidential candidate every election year since 1972. Over the years, dozens of libertarian political parties have been formed worldwide. Educational organizations like the Center for Libertarian Studies and the



David Nolan, founder of the
Libertarian Party

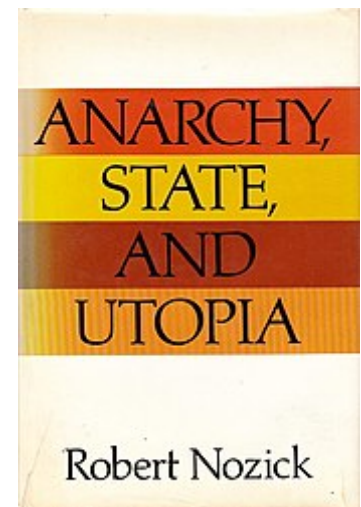
Cato Institute were formed in the 1970s and others have been created since then.^[109] Philosophical libertarianism gained a significant measure of recognition in academia with the publication in 1974 of Harvard University professor Robert Nozick's *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, a response to John Rawls's *A Theory of Justice* (1971). The book proposed a minimal state on the grounds that it was an inevitable phenomenon that could arise without violating individual rights.^[20] The book won a National Book Award in 1975.^[110] According to libertarian essayist Roy Childs, "Nozick's *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* single-handedly established the legitimacy of libertarianism as a political theory in the world of academia".^[111]

British historians Emily Robinson, Camilla Schofield, Florence Sutcliffe-Braithwaite and Natalie Thomlinson have argued that by the 1970s Britons were keen about defining and claiming their individual rights, identities and perspectives. They demanded greater personal autonomy and self-determination and less outside control. They angrily complained that the establishment was withholding it. They argue this shift in concerns helped cause Thatcherism and was incorporated into Thatcherism's appeal.^[112] Since the resurgence of neoliberalism in the 1970s, this form of libertarianism has spread beyond North America and Europe,^{[113][114]} having been more successful at spreading worldwide than other conservative ideas.^[115] It has been noted that "[m]ost parties of the Right [today] are run by economically liberal conservatives who, in varying degrees, have marginalized social, cultural, and national conservatives".^[116]

Late 20th century

Academics as well as proponents of the capitalist free-market perspectives note that libertarianism has spread beyond the United States since the 1970s via think tanks and political parties^{[117][118]} and that libertarianism is increasingly viewed as a capitalist free-market position.^{[119][120]} However, libertarian intellectuals Noam Chomsky,^[45] Colin Ward^[46] and others argue that the term *libertarianism* is considered a synonym for anarchism and libertarian socialism by the international community and that the United States is unique in widely associating it with the capitalist free-market ideology.^{[28][29][43][44]} Modern libertarianism in the United States mainly refers to classical and economic liberalism. It supports capitalist free-market approaches as well as neoliberal policies and economic liberalization reforms such as austerity, deregulation, free trade, privatization and reductions in government spending in order to increase the role of the private sector in the economy and society.^{[31][32][33]} This is unlike the common meaning^{[18][45][46]} of libertarianism elsewhere,^{[30][43][44][47]} with *libertarianism* being used to refer to the largely overlapping right-libertarianism, the most popular conception of libertarianism in the United States,^{[21][121]} where the term itself was first coined and used by Joseph Déjacque to refer to a new political philosophy rejecting all authority and hierarchies, including the market and property.^{[28][29]}

In an 1975 interview with Reason, California Governor Ronald Reagan appealed to libertarians when he stated to "believe the very heart and soul of conservatism is libertarianism".^[122] Ron Paul was one of the first elected officials in the nation to support Reagan's presidential campaign^[123] and actively campaigned for Reagan in 1976 and 1980.^[124] However, Paul quickly became disillusioned with the Reagan administration's policies after Reagan's election in 1980 and later recalled being the only Republican to vote



Robert Nozick's *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* helped spread libertarian ideas worldwide in the 1970s

against Reagan budget proposals in 1981,^{[125][126]} aghast that "in 1977, Jimmy Carter proposed a budget with a \$38 billion deficit, and every Republican in the House voted against it. In 1981, Reagan proposed a budget with a \$45 billion deficit—which turned out to be \$113 billion—and Republicans were cheering his great victory. They were living in a storybook land".^[123] Paul expressed his disgust with the political culture of both major parties in a speech delivered in 1984 upon resigning from the House of Representatives to prepare for a failed run for the Senate and eventually apologized to his libertarian friends for having supported Reagan.^[126] By 1987, Paul was ready to sever all ties to the Republican Party as explained in a blistering resignation letter.^[124] While affiliated with both Libertarian and Republican parties at different times, Paul said he had always been a libertarian at heart.^{[125][126]} Paul was the Libertarian Party candidate for president in 1988.^[127]

In the 1980s, libertarians such as Paul and Rothbard^{[128][129]} criticized President Reagan, Reaganomics and policies of the Reagan administration for, among other reasons, having turned the United States' big trade deficit into debt and the United States became a debtor nation for the first time since World War I under the Reagan administration.^{[130][131]} Rothbard argued that the presidency of Reagan has been "a disaster for libertarianism in the United States"^[132] and Paul described Reagan himself as "a dramatic failure".^[124]

21st century

In the 21st century, libertarian groups have been successful in advocating tax cuts and regulatory reform. While some argue that the American public as a whole shifted away from libertarianism following the fall of the Soviet Union, citing the success of multinational organizations such as NAFTA and the increasingly interdependent global financial system,^[133] others argue that libertarian ideas have moved so far into the mainstream that many Americans who do not identify as libertarian now hold libertarian views.^[134] Circa 2006 polls find that the views and voting habits of between 10 and 20 percent (increasing) of voting age Americans may be classified as "fiscally conservative and socially liberal, or libertarian".^{[135][136]} This is based on pollsters and researchers defining libertarian views as fiscally conservative and socially liberal (based on the common United States meanings of the terms) and against government intervention in economic affairs and for expansion of personal freedoms.^[135] Through 20 polls on this topic spanning 13 years, Gallup found that voters who are libertarian on the political spectrum ranged from 17 to 23% of the electorate.^[35] While libertarians make up a larger portion of the electorate than the much-discussed "soccer moms" and "NASCAR dads", this is not widely recognized as most of these vote for Democratic and Republican party candidates, leading some libertarians to believe that dividing people's political leanings into "conservative", "liberal" and "confused" is not valid.^[137]

In the United States, libertarians may emphasize economic and constitutional rather than religious and personal policies, or personal and international rather than economic policies^[138] such as the Tea Party movement (founded in 2009) which has become a major outlet for libertarian Republican ideas,^{[139][140]} especially rigorous adherence to the Constitution, lower taxes and an opposition to a growing role for the federal government in health care. However, polls show that many people who identify as Tea Party members do not hold traditional libertarian views on most social issues and tend to poll similarly to socially conservative Republicans.^{[141][142][143]} During the 2016 presidential election, many Tea Party members eventually abandoned more libertarian-leaning views in favor of Donald Trump and his right-wing populism.^[144] Additionally, the Tea Party was considered to be a key force in Republicans reclaiming control of the House of Representatives in 2010.^[145]

Texas Congressman Ron Paul's 1988, 2008 and 2012 campaigns for the Republican Party presidential nomination were largely libertarian.^[17] Along with Goldwater and others, Paul popularized *laissez-faire* economics and libertarian rhetoric in opposition to interventionism and worked to pass some reforms. Likewise, California Governor and future President of the United States Ronald Reagan appealed to



Ron Paul, former Texas Congressman and three-time presidential candidate

cultural conservative libertarians due its social conservatism and in a 1975 interview with Reason stated: "I believe the very heart and soul of conservatism is libertarianism".^[146] However, many libertarians are ambivalent about Reagan's legacy as president due its social conservatism and how the Reagan administration turned the United States' big trade deficit into debt, making the United States a debtor nation for the first time since World War I.^{[147][148]} Ron Paul was affiliated with the libertarian-leaning Republican Liberty Caucus^[149] and founded the Campaign for Liberty, a libertarian-leaning membership and lobbying organization.^[150] Rand Paul is a Senator who continues the tradition of his father Ron Paul, albeit more moderately as he has described himself as a constitutional conservative^[151] and has both embraced^[152] and rejected libertarianism.^[153]

Since 2012, former New Mexico Governor and two-time Libertarian Party presidential nominee Gary Johnson has been one of the public faces of the libertarian movement. The 2016 Libertarian National Convention saw Johnson and Bill Weld nominated as the 2016 presidential ticket and resulted in the most successful result for a third-party presidential candidacy since 1996 and the best in the Libertarian Party's history by vote number. Johnson received 3% of the popular vote, amounting to more than 4.3 million votes.^[154] Johnson expressed a desire to win at least 5% of the vote so that the Libertarian Party candidates could get equal ballot access and federal funding, ending the two-party system.^{[155][156][157]} While some political commentators have described Senator Rand Paul and Congressman Thomas Massie of Kentucky as Republican libertarians or libertarian-leaning,^{[152][158]} they prefer to identify as constitutional conservatives.^{[151][153]} One federal officeholder openly professing some form of libertarianism is Congressman Justin Amash, who represents Michigan's 3rd congressional district since January 2011.^{[159][160][161][162]} Initially elected to Congress as a Republican,^[163] Amash left the party and became an independent in July 2019.^[164] In April 2020, Amash joined the Libertarian Party and became the first member of the party in the House of Representatives.^[165]



Former New Mexico Governor Gary Johnson, 2012 and 2016 Libertarian Party presidential nominee

Anti-capitalist libertarianism has recently aroused renewed interest in the early 21st century. The Winter 2006 issue of the Journal of Libertarian Studies published by the Mises Institute was dedicated to reviews of Kevin Carson's Studies in Mutualist Political Economy.^[166] One variety of this kind of libertarianism has been a resurgent mutualism, incorporating modern economic ideas such as marginal utility theory into mutualist theory.^[167] Carson's Studies in Mutualist Political Economy helped to stimulate the growth of new-style mutualism, articulating a version of the labor theory of value incorporating ideas drawn from Austrian economics.^[168]

Schools of thought

Consequentialist and deontological libertarianism

There are broadly two ethical viewpoints within libertarianism, namely consequentialist libertarianism and deontological libertarianism. The first type is based on consequentialism, only taking into account the consequences of actions and rules when judging them and holds that free markets and strong property

rights have good consequences.^{[169][170]} The second type is based on deontological ethics and is the theory that all individuals possess certain natural or moral rights, mainly a right of individual sovereignty. Acts of initiation of force and fraud are rights-violations and that is sufficient reason to oppose those acts.^[171]

Deontological libertarianism is supported by the Libertarian Party. In order to become a card-carrying member, one must sign an oath opposing the initiation of force to achieve political or social goals.^[172] Prominent consequentialist libertarians include David D. Friedman,^[173] Milton Friedman, Friedrich Hayek,^{[174][175][176]} Peter Leeson, Ludwig von Mises^[177] and R. W. Bradford.^[178] Prominent deontological libertarians include Hans-Hermann Hoppe, Ayn Rand and Murray Rothbard.^[171]

In addition to the consequentialist libertarianism as promoted by Hayek, Mark Bevir holds that there is also left and right libertarianism.^[179]

Left and right libertarianism

Left-libertarianism and right-libertarianism is a categorization used by some political analysts, academics and media sources in the United States to contrast related yet distinct approaches to libertarian philosophy.^{[180][181][182]} Peter Vallentyne defines right-libertarianism as holding that unowned natural resources "may be appropriated by the first person who discovers them, mixes her labor with them, or merely claims them—without the consent of others, and with little or no payment to them". He contrasts this with left-libertarianism, where such "unappropriated natural resources belong to everyone in some egalitarian manner".^[183] Similarly, Charlotte and Lawrence Becker maintain that left-libertarianism most often refers to the political position that holds natural resources are originally common property while right-libertarianism is the political position that considers them to be originally unowned and therefore may be appropriated at-will by private parties without the consent of, or owing to, others.^[184]

Followers of Samuel Edward Konkin III, who characterized agorism as a form of left-libertarianism^{[86][87]} and strategic branch of left-wing market anarchism,^[85] use the terminology as outlined by Roderick T. Long, who describes left-libertarianism as "an integration, or I'd argue, a reintegration of libertarianism with concerns that are traditionally thought of as being concerns of the left. That includes concerns for worker empowerment, worry about plutocracy, concerns about feminism and various kinds of social equality".^[185] Konkin defined right-libertarianism as an "activist, organization, publication or tendency which supports parliamentarianism exclusively as a strategy for reducing or abolishing the state, typically opposes Counter-Economics, either opposes the Libertarian Party or works to drag it right and prefers coalitions with supposedly 'free-market' conservatives".^[85]

While holding that the important distinction for libertarians is not left or right, but whether they are "government apologists who use libertarian rhetoric to defend state aggression", Anthony Gregory describes left-libertarianism as maintaining interest in personal freedom, having sympathy for egalitarianism and opposing social hierarchy, preferring a liberal lifestyle, opposing big business and having a New Left opposition to imperialism and war. Right-libertarianism is described as having interest in economic freedom, preferring a conservative lifestyle, viewing private business as a "great victim of the state" and favoring a non-interventionist foreign policy, sharing the Old Right's "opposition to empire".^[186]

Although some libertarians such as Walter Block,^[187] Harry Browne,^[188] Leonard Read^[189] and Murray Rothbard^[190] reject the political spectrum (especially the left-right political spectrum)^{[190][191]} whilst denying any association with both the political right and left,^[192] other libertarians such as Kevin Carson,^[193] Karl Hess,^[194] Roderick T. Long^[195] and Sheldon Richman^[196] have written about libertarianism's left-wing opposition to authoritarian rule and argued that libertarianism is fundamentally a left-wing position.^{[26][197]} Rothbard himself previously made the same point, rejecting the association of statism with the left.^[198]

Thin and thick libertarianism

Thin and thick libertarianism are two kinds of libertarianism. Thin libertarianism deals with legal issues involving the non-aggression principle only and would permit a person to speak against other groups as long as they did not support the initiation of force against others.^[199] Walter Block is an advocate of thin libertarianism.^[200] Jeffrey Tucker describes thin libertarianism as "brutalism" which he compares unfavorably to "humanitarianism".^[201]

Thick libertarianism goes further to also cover moral issues. Charles W. Johnson describes four kinds of thickness, namely thickness for application, thickness from grounds, strategic thickness and thickness from consequences.^[202] Thick libertarianism is sometimes viewed as more humanitarian than thin libertarianism.^[203] Wendy McElroy has stated that she would leave the movement if thick libertarianism prevails.^[204]

Stephan Kinsella rejects the dichotomy altogether, writing: "I have never found the thick-thin paradigm to be coherent, consistent, well-defined, necessary, or even useful. It's full of straw men, or seems to try to take credit for quite obvious and uncontroversial assertions".^[205]

Organizations

Alliance of the Libertarian Left

The Alliance of the Libertarian Left is a left-libertarian organization that includes a multi-tendency coalition of agorists, geolibertarians, green libertarians, left-Rothbardians, minarchists, mutualists and voluntaryists.^[206]

Cato Institute

The Cato Institute is a libertarian think tank headquartered in Washington, D.C. It was founded as the Charles Koch Foundation in 1974 by Ed Crane, Murray Rothbard and Charles Koch,^[207] chairman of the board and chief executive officer of the conglomerate Koch Industries, the second largest privately held company by revenue in the United States.^[208] In July 1976, the name was changed to the Cato Institute.^{[207][209]}



Cato Institute building in Washington, D.C.

The Cato Institute was established to have a focus on public advocacy, media exposure and societal influence.^[210] According to the *2014 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report* by the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program of the University of Pennsylvania, the Cato Institute is number 16 in the "Top Think Tanks Worldwide" and number 8 in the "Top Think Tanks in the United States".^[211] The Cato Institute also topped the 2014 list of the budget-adjusted ranking of international development think tanks.^[212]

Center for Libertarian Studies

The Center for Libertarian Studies was a libertarian educational organization founded in 1976 by Murray Rothbard and Burton Blumert which grew out of the Libertarian Scholars Conferences. It published the Journal of Libertarian Studies from 1977 to 2000 (now published by the Mises Institute), a newsletter (*In*

Pursuit of Liberty), several monographs and sponsors conferences, seminars and symposia. Originally headquartered in New York, it later moved to Burlingame, California. Until 2007, it supported LewRockwell.com, web publication of vice president Lew Rockwell. It also had previously supported Antiwar.com, a project of the Randolph Bourne Institute.^[213]

Center for a Stateless Society

The Center for a Stateless Society is a left-libertarian organization and free-market anarchist think tank.^[214] Kevin Carson's *Studies in Mutualist Political Economy* aims to revive interest in mutualism in an effort to synthesize Austrian economics with the labor theory of value by attempting to incorporate both subjectivism and time preference.^{[215][216]}

Foundation for Economic Education

The Foundation for Economic Education is a libertarian think tank dedicated to the "economic, ethical and legal principles of a free society". It publishes books and daily articles as well as hosting seminars and lectures.^[217]

Free State Project

The Free State Project is an activist libertarian movement formed in 2001. It is working to bring libertarians to the state of New Hampshire to protect and advance liberty. Less successful similar projects include the Free West Alliance and Free State Wyoming. As of July 2018, the project website showed that 23,778 people have pledged to move within five years and 4,352 people identified as Free Staters in New Hampshire.^[218]

Libertarian Party

The Libertarian Party is a political party that promotes civil liberties, non-interventionism, *laissez-faire* capitalism and limiting the size and scope of government. The first-world such libertarian party, it was conceived in August 1971 at meetings in the home of David Nolan in Westminster, Colorado,^[16] in part prompted due to concerns about the Nixon administration, the Vietnam War, conscription and the introduction of fiat money. It was officially formed on December 11, 1971 in Colorado Springs, Colorado.^[219]

Liberty International

The Liberty International is a non-profit, libertarian educational organization based in San Francisco. It encourages activism in libertarian and individual rights areas by the freely chosen strategies of its members. Its history dates back to 1969^[220] as the Society for Individual Liberty founded by Don Ernsberger and Dave Walter.^[221]

The previous name of the Liberty International as the International Society for Individual Liberty^[222] was adopted in 1989 after a merger with the Libertarian International was coordinated by Vince Miller, who became president of the new organization.^{[223][224]}

Mises Institute

The Mises Institute is a tax-exempt, libertarian educative organization located in Auburn, Alabama.^[225] Named after Austrian School economist Ludwig von Mises, its website states that it exists to promote "teaching and research in the Austrian school of economics, and individual freedom, honest history, and international peace, in the tradition of



Campus of the Mises Institute in Auburn, Alabama

Ludwig von Mises and Murray N. Rothbard".^[226] According to the Mises Institute, Nobel Prize winner Friedrich Hayek served on their founding board.^[227]

The Mises Institute was founded in 1982 by Lew Rockwell, Burton Blumert and Murray Rothbard following a split between the Cato Institute and Rothbard, who had been one of the founders of the Cato Institute.^[228] Additional backing came from Mises's wife Margit von Mises, Henry Hazlitt, Lawrence Fertig and Nobel Economics laureate Friedrich Hayek.^[229] Through its publications, the Mises Institute promotes libertarian political theories, Austrian School economics and a form of heterodox economics known as praxeology ("the logic of action").^{[230][231]}

Molinari Institute

The Molinari Institute is a left-libertarian, free-market anarchist organization directed by philosopher Roderick T. Long. It is named after Gustave de Molinari, whom Long terms the "originator of the theory of Market Anarchism".^[232]

Reason Foundation

The Reason Foundation is a libertarian think tank and non-profit and tax-exempt organization that was founded in 1978.^{[233][234]} It publishes the magazine Reason and is committed to advancing "the values of individual freedom and choice, limited government, and market-friendly policies". In the *2014 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report* by the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program of the University of Pennsylvania, the Reason Foundation was number 41 out of 60 in the "Top Think Tanks in the United States".^[235]

People

Intellectual sources

- Stephen Pearl Andrews – individualist anarchist and mutualist
- Enrico Arrigoni – individualist anarchist and member of the Libertarian League
- Walter Block – Austrian School economist in the Rothbardian tradition, author of *Defending the Undefendable* and *Yes to Ron Paul and Liberty*
- Murray Bookchin – libertarian socialist philosopher and member of the Libertarian League
- Kevin Carson – social theorist, mutualist and left-libertarian
- Gary Chartier – legal scholar and left-libertarian philosopher
- Roy Childs – essayist and critic

- Joseph Déjacque – libertarian communist who first coined the word *libertarian* in political philosophy and publisher of *Libertarian: Journal of Social Movement*
- Sam Dolgoff – anarcho-syndicalist who co-founded the Libertarian League
- Ralph Waldo Emerson – individualist philosopher, whose "Politics" essay belies his feelings on government and the state
- Richard Epstein – legal scholar, specializing in the field of law and economics
- David D. Friedman – anarcho-capitalist economist of the Chicago school, author of *The Machinery of Freedom* and son of Milton Friedman
- Milton Friedman – Nobel Prize-winning monetarist economist associated with the Chicago school and advocate of economic deregulation and privatization
- William Batchelder Greene – individualist anarchist and mutualist
- Friedrich Hayek – Nobel Prize-winning Austrian School economist and classical liberal, notable for his political work *The Road to Serfdom*
- Robert A. Heinlein – science-fiction author who considered himself to be a *libertarian*
- Karl Hess – speechwriter and libertarian activist
- Hans-Hermann Hoppe – political philosopher and paleolibertarian trained under the Frankfurt School, staunch critic of democracy and developer of argumentation ethics
- John Hospers – philosopher and political activist
- Michael Huemer – political philosopher, ethical intuitionist and author of *The Problem of Political Authority*
- David Kelley – Objectivist philosopher open to libertarianism and founder of The Atlas Society
- Stephan Kinsella – deontological anarcho-capitalist and opponent of intellectual property
- Samuel Edward Konkin III – author of the *New Libertarian Manifesto* and proponent of agorism and counter-economics
- Rose Wilder Lane – silent editor of her mother's *Little House on the Prairie* books and author of *The Discovery of Freedom*
- Robert LeFevre – businessman and primary theorist of autarchism
- Roderick T. Long – professor of philosophy at Auburn University, proponent of bleeding-heart libertarianism and market anarchist philosopher
- H. L. Mencken – journalist who privately called himself *libertarian*
- Ludwig von Mises – prominent figure in the Austrian School, classical liberal and founder of the a priori economic method of praxeology
- Jan Narveson – political philosopher and opponent of the Lockean proviso
- Albert Jay Nock – author, editor of *The Freeman* and *The Nation*, Georgist and outspoken opponent of the New Deal
- Robert Nozick – multidisciplinary philosopher, minarchist, critic of utilitarianism and author of *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*
- Isabel Paterson – author of *The God of the Machine* who has been called one of the three founding mothers of libertarianism in the United States
- Ronald Radosh – historian and former Marxist who became a New Left and anti-Vietnam War activist
- Ayn Rand – philosophical novelist and founder of Objectivism who accused libertarians of haphazardly plagiarizing her ideas
- Leonard Read – founder of the Foundation for Economic Education
- Lew Rockwell – anarcho-capitalist writer, purveyor of LewRockwell.com and co-founder of paleolibertarianism
- Murray Rothbard – Austrian School economist, prolific author and polemicist, founder of anarcho-capitalism and co-founder of paleolibertarianism

- Chris Matthew Sciabarra – political theorist and advocate of dialectical libertarianism
- Thomas Sowell – economist, social theorist, political philosopher and author
- Lysander Spooner – individualist anarchist and mutualist
- Clarence Lee Swartz – individualist anarchist and mutualist
- Henry David Thoreau – author of *Civil Disobedience*, an argument for disobedience to an unjust state
- Benjamin Tucker – individualist anarchist and libertarian socialist
- Dave Van Ronk – folk singer and member of the Libertarian League
- Laura Ingalls Wilder – writer who became dismayed with the New Deal and has been referred to as one of the first libertarians in the United States

Politicians

- Justin Amash – Representative from Michigan
- Eric Brakey – State Representative from Maine and 2018 Senate candidate
- Nick Freitas – State Delegate from Virginia and 2018 Senate candidate
- Barry Goldwater – former Senator from Arizona and 1964 presidential candidate
- Glenn Jacobs (better known as Kane) – professional wrestler, libertarian Republican and Mayor of Knox County, Tennessee since September 2018
- Gary Johnson – former New Mexico Governor and 2012 and 2016 Libertarian Party presidential candidate
- Jo Jorgensen – Libertarian Party vice presidential nominee in 1996 and 2020 Libertarian Party presidential candidate
- Mike Lee – Senator from Utah
- Thomas Massie – Representative from Kentucky
- David Nolan – founder of the Libertarian Party
- Rand Paul – Senator from Kentucky and 2016 presidential candidate
- Ron Paul – former Representative from Texas and 1988, 2008 and 2012 presidential candidate
- Austin Petersen – 2016 Libertarian Party presidential candidate and 2018 Republican Missouri Senate candidate

Political commentators

- Nick Gillespie – *Reason* contributing editor
- Scott Horton – editorial director of *Antiwar.com*
- Lisa Kennedy Montgomery – host of *Kennedy*
- Mary O'Grady – editor of *The Wall Street Journal*
- John Stossel – host of *Stossel*
- Katherine Timpf – Fox News contributor
- Matt Welch – editor-in-chief of *Reason*
- Thomas Woods – host of *The Tom Woods Show*

Contentions

Political spectrum

Corey Robin describes libertarianism as fundamentally a conservative ideology united with more traditionalist conservative thought and goals by a desire to retain hierarchies and traditional social relations.^[236] Others also describe libertarianism as a reactionary ideology for its support of *laissez-faire* capitalism and a major reversal of the modern welfare state.^[34]

In the 1960s, Rothbard started the publication *Left and Right: A Journal of Libertarian Thought*, believing that the left-right political spectrum had gone "entirely askew". Since conservatives were sometimes more statist than liberals, Rothbard tried to reach out to leftists.^[237] In 1971, Rothbard wrote about his view of libertarianism which he described as supporting free trade, property rights and self-ownership.^[190] He would later describe his brand of libertarianism as anarcho-capitalism^{[238][239][240]} and paleolibertarianism.^{[241][242]}

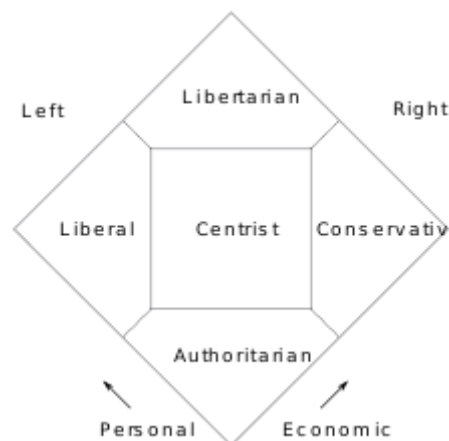
Anthony Gregory points out that within the libertarian movement, "just as the general concepts "left" and "right" are riddled with obfuscation and imprecision, left- and right-libertarianism can refer to any number of varying and at times mutually exclusive political orientations".^[186] Some libertarians reject association with either the right or the left. Leonard Read wrote an article titled "Neither Left Nor Right: Libertarians Are Above Authoritarian Degradation".^[189] Harry Browne wrote: "We should never define Libertarian positions in terms coined by liberals or conservatives—nor as some variant of their positions. We are not fiscally conservative and socially liberal. We are Libertarians, who believe in individual liberty and personal responsibility on all issues at all times".^[188]

Tibor R. Machan titled a book of his collected columns *Neither Left Nor Right*.^[192] Walter Block's article "Libertarianism Is Unique and Belongs Neither to the Right Nor the Left" critiques libertarians he described as left (C. John Baden, Randy Holcombe and Roderick T. Long) and right (Edward Feser, Hans-Hermann Hoppe and Ron Paul). Block wrote that these left and right individuals agreed with certain libertarian premises, but "where we differ is in terms of the logical implications of these founding axioms".^[187] On the other hand, libertarians such as Kevin Carson,^[193] Karl Hess,^[194] Roderick T. Long^[195] and Sheldon Richman^[196] consciously label themselves as left-libertarians.^{[22][26]}

Objectivism

Objectivism is a philosophical system developed by Russian-American writer Ayn Rand. Rand first expressed Objectivism in her fiction, most notably *We the Living* (1936), *The Fountainhead* (1943) and *Atlas Shrugged* (1957), but also in later non-fiction essays and books such as *The Virtue of Selfishness* (1964) and *Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal* (1966), among others.^[243] Leonard Peikoff, a professional philosopher and Rand's designated intellectual heir,^{[244][245]} later gave it a more formal structure. Rand described Objectivism as "the concept of man as a heroic being, with his own happiness as the moral purpose of his life, with productive achievement as his noblest activity, and reason as his only absolute".^[246] Peikoff characterizes Objectivism as a "closed system" that is not subject to change.^[247]

Objectivism's central tenets are that reality exists independently of consciousness, that human beings have direct contact with reality through sense perception, that one can attain objective knowledge from perception through the process of concept formation and inductive logic, that the proper moral purpose of one's life is the pursuit of one's own happiness, that the only social system consistent with this morality is



The Nolan Chart, a political spectrum diagram created by libertarian activist David Nolan

one that displays full respect for individual rights embodied in laissez-faire capitalism and that the role of art in human life is to transform humans' metaphysical ideas by selective reproduction of reality into a physical form—a work of art—that one can comprehend and to which one can respond emotionally. The Objectivist movement founded by Rand attempts to spread her ideas to the public and in academic settings.^[248]

Objectivism has been and continues to be a major influence on the libertarian movement. Many libertarians justify their political views using aspects of Objectivism.^{[249][250]} However, the views of Rand and her philosophy among prominent libertarians are mixed and many Objectivists are hostile to libertarians in general.^[251] Nonetheless, Objectivists such as David Kelley and his Atlas Society have argued that Objectivism is an "open system" and are more open to libertarians.^{[252][253]} Although academic philosophers have mostly ignored or rejected Rand's philosophy, Objectivism has been a significant influence among conservatives and libertarians in the United States.^{[254][255]}

Analysis and reception

Criticism of libertarianism includes ethical, economic, environmental, pragmatic and philosophical concerns,^{[256][257][258][259][260][261]} including the view that it has no explicit theory of liberty.^[121] It has been argued that laissez-faire capitalism does not necessarily produce the best or most efficient outcome^[262] and that its philosophy of individualism as well as policies of deregulation do not prevent the exploitation of natural resources.^[263]

Michael Lind has observed that of the 195 countries in the world today, none have fully actualized a society as advocated by libertarians, arguing: "If libertarianism was a good idea, wouldn't at least one country have tried it? Wouldn't there be at least one country, out of nearly two hundred, with minimal government, free trade, open borders, decriminalized drugs, no welfare state and no public education system?"^[264] Lind has criticized libertarianism for being incompatible with democracy and apologetic towards autocracy.^[265] In response, libertarian Warren Redlich argues that the United States "was extremely libertarian from the founding until 1860, and still very libertarian until roughly 1930".^[266]

Nancy MacLean has criticized libertarianism, arguing that it is a radical right ideology that has stood against democracy. According to MacLean, libertarian-leaning Charles and David Koch have used anonymous, dark money campaign contributions, a network of libertarian institutes and lobbying for the appointment of libertarian, pro-business judges to United States federal and state courts to oppose taxes, public education, employee protection laws, environmental protection laws and the New Deal Social Security program.^[267]

Left-wing

Libertarianism has been criticized by the political left for being pro-business and anti-labor,^[268] for desiring to repeal government subsidies to disabled people and the poor^[269] and being incapable of addressing environmental issues, therefore contributing to the failure to slow global climate change.^[270] Left-libertarians such as Noam Chomsky have characterized libertarian ideologies as being akin to corporate fascism because they aim to remove all public controls from the economy, leaving it solely in the hands of private corporations. Chomsky has also argued that the more radical forms of libertarianism such as anarcho-capitalism are entirely theoretical and could never function in reality due to business' reliance on the state as well as infrastructure and publicly-funded subsidies.^[271] Another criticism is based on the libertarian theory that a distinction can be made between positive and negative rights, according to which negative liberty (negative rights) should be recognized as legitimate, but positive liberty (positive rights) should be rejected.^[272] Socialists also have a different view and definition of liberty, with some arguing

that the capitalist mode of production necessarily relies on and reproduces violations of the liberty of members of the working class by the capitalist class such as through exploitation of labor and through alienation from the product of one's labor.^{[273][274][275][276][277]}

Anarchist critics such as Brian Morris have expressed skepticism regarding libertarians' sincerity in supporting a limited or minimal state, or even no state at all, arguing that anarcho-capitalism does not abolish the state and that anarcho-capitalists "simply replaced the state with private security firms, and can hardly be described as anarchists as the term is normally understood".^[278] Peter Sabatini has noted: "Within Libertarianism, Rothbard represents a minority perspective that actually argues for the total elimination of the state. However Rothbard's claim as an anarchist is quickly voided when it is shown that he only wants an end to the public state. In its place he allows countless private states, with each person supplying their own police force, army, and law, or else purchasing these services from capitalist vendors. [...] Rothbard sees nothing at all wrong with the amassing of wealth, therefore those with more capital will inevitably have greater coercive force at their disposal, just as they do now".^[279] For Bob Black, libertarians are conservatives and anarcho-capitalists want to "abolish the state to his own satisfaction by calling it something else". Black argues that anarcho-capitalists do not denounce what the state does and only "object to who's doing it".^[280] Similarly, Paul Birch has argued that anarcho-capitalism would dissolve into a society of city states.^[281]

Other libertarians have criticized what they term propertarianism,^[282] with Ursula K. Le Guin contrasting in The Dispossessed (1974) a propertarian society with one that does not recognize private property rights^[283] in an attempt to show that property objectified human beings.^{[284][285]} Left-libertarians such as Murray Bookchin objected to propertarians calling themselves libertarians.^[27] Bookchin described three concepts of possession, namely property itself, possession and usufruct, i.e. appropriation of resources by virtue of use.^[286]

Right-wing

From the political right, traditionalist conservative philosopher Russell Kirk criticized libertarianism by quoting T. S. Eliot's expression "chirping sectaries" to describe them. Kirk had questioned fusionism between libertarian and traditionalist conservatives that marked much of the post-war conservatism in the United States.^[287] Kirk stated that "although conservatives and libertarians share opposition to collectivism, the totalist state and bureaucracy, they have otherwise nothing in common"^[288] and called the libertarian movement "an ideological clique forever splitting into sects still smaller and odder, but rarely conjugating". Believing that a line of division exists between believers in "some sort of transcendent moral order" and "utilitarians admitting no transcendent sanctions for conduct", he included the libertarians in the latter category.^{[289][290]} He also berated libertarians for holding up capitalism as an absolute good, arguing that economic self-interest was inadequate to hold an economic system together and that it was even less adequate to preserve order.^[288] Kirk believed that by glorifying the individual, the free market and the dog-eat-dog struggle for material success libertarianism weakened community, promoted materialism and undermined appreciation of tradition, love, learning and aesthetics, all of which in his view were essential components of true community.^[288]

Author Carl Bogus states that there were fundamental differences between libertarians and traditionalist conservatives in the United States as libertarians wanted the market to be unregulated as possible while traditionalist conservatives believed that big business, if unconstrained, could impoverish national life and threaten freedom.^[291] Libertarians also considered that a strong state would threaten freedom while traditionalist conservatives regarded a strong state, one which is properly constructed to ensure that not too much power accumulated in any one branch, was necessary to ensure freedom.^[291]

See also

- [American Left](#)
- [Anarchism in the United States](#)
- [Libertarianism in South Africa](#)
- [Libertarianism in the United Kingdom](#)
- [List of libertarian organizations](#)
- [List of libertarians in the United States](#)
- [Progressivism in the United States](#)
- [Socialism in the United States](#)

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List of political ideologies

In social studies, a political ideology is a certain set of ethical ideals, principles, doctrines, myths or symbols of a social movement, institution, class or large group that explains how society should work and offers some political and cultural blueprint for a certain social order. A political ideology largely concerns itself with how to allocate power and to what ends it should be used. Some political parties follow a certain ideology very closely while others may take broad inspiration from a group of related ideologies without specifically embracing any one of them. The popularity of an ideology is in part due to the influence of moral entrepreneurs, who sometimes act in their own interests. Political ideologies have two dimensions: (1) goals: how society should be organized; and (2) methods: the most appropriate way to achieve this goal.

An ideology is a collection of ideas. Typically, each ideology contains certain ideas on what it considers to be the best form of government (e.g. autocracy or democracy) and the best economic system (e.g. capitalism or socialism). The same word is sometimes used to identify both an ideology and one of its main ideas. For instance, socialism may refer to an economic system, or it may refer to an ideology which supports that economic system. The same term may also be used to refer to multiple ideologies and that is why political scientists try to find consensus definitions for these terms. For example, while the terms have been conflated at times, communism has come in common parlance and in academics to refer to Soviet-type regimes and Marxist–Leninist ideologies, whereas socialism has come to refer to a wider range of differing ideologies which are most often distinct from Marxism–Leninism.^[1]

Political ideology is a term fraught with problems, having been called "the most elusive concept in the whole of social science".^[2] While ideologies tend to identify themselves by their position on the political spectrum (such as the left, the centre or the right), they can be distinguished from political strategies (e.g. populism as it is commonly defined) and from single issues around which a party may be built (e.g. civil libertarianism and support or opposition to European integration), although either of these may or may not be central to a particular ideology. There are several studies that show that political ideology is heritable within families.^{[3][4][5][6][7]}

The following list is strictly alphabetical and attempts to divide the ideologies found in practical political life into a number of groups, with each group containing ideologies that are related to each other. The headers refer to names of the best-known ideologies in each group. The names of the headers do not necessarily imply some hierarchical order or that one ideology evolved out of the other. Instead, they are merely noting that the ideologies in question are practically, historically and ideologically related to each other. As such, one ideology can belong to several groups and there is sometimes considerable overlap between related ideologies. The meaning of a political label can also differ between countries and political parties often subscribe to a combination of ideologies.

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- [International Confederation of Labor \(anarcho-syndicalism and revolutionary syndicalism\)](#)
- [International Union of Anarchists \(anarcho-communism\)](#)
- [International Workers' Association \(anarcho-syndicalism\)](#)



Anarchy symbol

Classical

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 - [Egoist anarchism](#)
 - [Communist egoism](#)
 - [Illegalism](#)
 - [Expropriative anarchism](#)
 - [Existentialist anarchism](#)
 - [Philosophical anarchism](#)
- [Libertarianism](#)
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 - [Libertarian socialism](#)
- [Mutualism](#)

- Social anarchism
 - Anarcho-communism
 - Anarcho-syndicalism
 - Collectivist anarchism

Post-classical

- Anarcha-feminism
- Anarchism without adjectives
 - Synthesis anarchism
- Anarcho-pacifism
- Green anarchism
 - Anarcho-naturism
 - Anarcho-primitivism
 - Communalism
 - Eco-communalism
 - Democratic confederalism
 - Libertarian municipalism
 - Social ecology
 - Veganarchism
- Insurrectionary anarchism
- Makhaevism
- Platformism
 - Makhnovism
 - Specifism

Contemporary

- Anarcho-transhumanism
- Black anarchism
- Free-market anarchism
- Post-anarchism
- Post-colonial anarchism
- Post-left anarchism
- Queer anarchism

Opposition

- Anti-anarchism
- Authoritarianism

Religious variants

- Buddhist anarchism
- Christian anarchism
 - Catholic Worker Movement
 - Diggers
 - Tolstoyan movement
- Hindu anarchism
- Islamic anarchism
- Jewish anarchism
 - Orthodox Jewish anarchism

Regional variants

African

- Algeria
- Egypt
- Libya
- Nigeria
- Somalia
- South Africa
- Tunisia
- Uganda
- Zambia
- Zimbabwe

American

- Latin America
 - Argentina
 - Bolivia
 - Fejuve
 - Brazil
 - Chile
 - Cuba
 - Anarcho-naturism
 - Ecuador
 - French Guiana
 - Mexico
 - Chiapas
 - Neo-Zapatism
 - Revolutionary Mexico
 - Magonism

- Zapatism
- Puerto Rico
- Venezuela
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 - Canada
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 - Anarcho-communism
 - Anarcho-syndicalism
 - Wobblyism
 - Egoist anarchism
 - Communist egoism
 - Free-market anarchism
 - Green anarchism
 - Individualist anarchism
 - Laissez-faire
 - Left-wing market anarchism
 - Mutualism
 - Neo-mutualism

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- Individualist anarchism
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 - Individualist anarchism
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- Sweden
- Ukraine
 - Free Territory
- United Kingdom
 - Anarcho-communism
 - Anarcho-naturism
 - Individualist anarchism

Oceanian

- Australia
- New Zealand

Authoritarianism

General

- Absolute monarchy

- Autocracy
 - Caudillismo
- Despotism
 - Soft despotism
- Dictatorship
 - Benevolent dictatorship
 - Constitutional dictatorship
 - Dictablanda
 - Family dictatorship
 - Military dictatorship
 - Stratocracy
 - Right-wing dictatorship
- Imperialism
 - Civilizing mission
 - Colonialism
 - Exploitation colonialism
 - Internal colonialism
 - Neocolonialism
 - Settler colonialism
 - Lebensraum
 - Manifest destiny
 - Cultural imperialism
 - Linguistic imperialism
 - Expansionism
- Kraterocracy
 - Mafia state
- Managerial state
- Ochlocracy
- Oligarchy
- One-party state
 - Communist state
- Plutocracy
 - Corporatocracy
- Police state
 - Counterintelligence state
- Soft authoritarianism
- Soft despotism
- Totalitarianism
 - Totalitarian democracy

- Transnational authoritarianism

Other

- Anti-democratism
- Authoritarian capitalism
 - Corporate capitalism
 - Corporate republic
 - State capitalism
- Authoritarian communism
 - Leninism
 - Stalinism
 - Trotskyism
 - Juche
 - Castroism
 - Titoism
 - Marxism–Leninism
 - Anti-revisionary Marxism
 - Hoxhaism
 - Maoism
- Authoritarian conservatism
- Authoritarian democracy
- Authoritarian populism
- Authoritarian socialism
 - Blanquism
 - Fitzhughism
- Byzantinism
- Digital authoritarianism
- Ecoauthoritarianism
- Liberal autocracy
- Minoritarianism
- Neo-feudalism
- Far-right ultranationalist authoritarianism
 - Fascism
 - Falangism
 - National Socialism (Nazism)
 - Neo-fascism
 - Neo-Nazism
 - National Bolshevism
 - Nazi-Maoism
 - Third Positionism



The symbol of Communism, the Hammer and sickle, inside of a Red star

Opposition

- Anti-authoritarianism
- Anti-fascism
- Anti-monarchism

Religious variants

- Theocracy

Regional variants

African

- Central African Republic
- Congo
- Egypt
- Equatorial Guinea
- Libya
- South Africa
- Sudan
- Uganda
- Zimbabwe

American

- Argentina
- Bolivia
- Brazil
- Chile
- Cuba
- Dominican Republic
- Guatemala
- Haiti
- Honduras
- Mexico
- Nicaragua
- Panama
- Paraguay
- United States
- Venezuela

Asian

- Afghanistan
- Cambodia



Eagle holding a Roman weapon, the fasces. This symbol was commonly used in Fascist Italy, and indeed, by many fascists today.

- China
- Indonesia
- Iraq
- Iran
- Japan
- Kazakhstan
- Myanmar
- North Korea
- Pakistan
- Philippines
- Saudi Arabia
- South Korea
 - Ilminism
- Syria
- Tajikistan
- Thailand
- Turkey
- Turkmenistan
- United Arab Emirates
- Uzbekistan

European

- Belarus
- France
- Italy
- Germany
- Greece
- Portugal
- Romania
- Russia
 - Putinism
- Serbia
- Spain

Christian democracy

Political internationals

- Centrist Democrat International (Christian democracy)
- Christian Democrat Organization of America (Christian democracy)

General

- Distributism

- Social credit movement
- Gremialismo
- Popularism

Other

- Christian corporatism
- Christian democratic welfarism
- Christian egalitarianism
- Communitarianism
- Ordoliberalism
- Progressive conservatism
- Social conservatism

Regional variants

African

- Burundi
- Capo Verde
- Rwanda
- São Tomé and Príncipe

American

- Caribbean
 - Saint Lucia
- Latin America
 - Argentina
 - Bolivia
 - Brazil
 - Chile
 - Colombia
 - Costa Rica
 - Cuba
 - Dominican Republic
 - Ecuador
 - El Salvador
 - Honduras
 - Mexico
 - Nicaragua
 - Panama
 - Paraguay
 - Peru

- Uruguay
- Venezuela
- North America
 - Canada
 - United States

Asian

- Cyprus
- East Timor
- Indonesia
- Iraq
- Lebanon
- Philippines

European

- Albania
- Austria
- Belarus
- Belgium
- Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Bulgaria
- Croatia
- Czech Republic
- Denmark
 - Faroe Islands
- Estonia
- Finland
- France
- Georgia
- Germany
- Greece
- Hungary
- Ireland
- Italy
- Kosovo
- Liechtenstein
- Lithuania
- Luxembourg
- Malta
- Moldova
- Netherlands
 - Aruba

- Curaçao
- North Macedonia
- Norway
- Poland
- Portugal
- Romania
- Russia
- San Marino
- Serbia
- Slovakia
- Slovenia
- Spain
- Sweden
- Switzerland
- Ukraine
- United Kingdom
 - Gibraltar

Oceanian

- Australia
- Papua New Guinea

Communitarianism

General

- Christian democracy
- Communitarian corporatism
- Radical centrism
- Third Way
- Distributism
- Mutualism
- Democratic confederalism

Other

- Anarcho-capitalist communitarianism
- Christian socialism
- Pre-Marxist communism
- Primitive communism
- Religious communism
 - Christian communism
 - Islamic communism

- Jewish communism
- Utopian socialism
- Eurasianism

Regional variants

- Kibbutz
- Obshchina
- Singapore
- Zadruga

Communism

Political internationals

- Committee for a Workers' International (Trotskyism)
- Committee for Revolutionary International Regroupment (Trotskyism)
- Coordinating Committee for the Refoundation of the Fourth International (Trotskyism)
- Fourth International (Trotskyism)
- Fourth International (ICR) (Trotskyism)
- Fourth International (post-reunification) (Trotskyism)
- Fourth International Posadist (Trotskyism)
- International Bolshevik Tendency (Trotskyism)
- International Committee of the Fourth International (Trotskyism)
- International Communist Current (left communism)
- International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) (Trotskyism)
- International Communist Party (left communism)
- International Conference of Marxist–Leninist Parties and Organizations (International Newsletter) (Maoism)
- International Conference of Marxist–Leninist Parties and Organizations (Unity & Struggle) (Hoxhaism)
- International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organizations (anti-revisionism)
- International League of Peoples' Struggle (Marxism–Leninism–Maoism)
- International Marxist Tendency (orthodox Trotskyism)
- International Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties (Marxism–Leninism)
- International Socialist Alternative (Trotskyism)
- International Socialist Tendency (neo-Trotskyism)
- International Workers League – Fourth International (Trotskyism)
- International Workers' Unity – Fourth International (Trotskyism)
- Internationalist Communist Tendency (left communism)
- Internationalist Communist Union (Trotskyism)
- League for the Fifth International (Trotskyism)
- League for the Fourth International (Trotskyism)
- Liaison Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (Trotskyism)
- Revolutionary Communist International (Trotskyism)
- Trotskyist Fraction – Fourth International (Trotskyism)

- United Secretariat of the Fourth International (Trotskyism)
- World Socialist Movement (anti-Leninism, classical Marxism, impossibilism and international socialism)
- Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International (Trotskyism)

Authoritarian

- Barracks communism
 - Nechayevshchina
- Blanquism
- Leninism
 - Democratic centralism
 - Marxism–Leninism
 - Brezhnevism
 - Brezhnev Doctrine
 - Real socialism
 - Castroism
 - Ceaușism
 - Dubčekism
 - Gorbachevism
 - Glasnost
 - Perestroika
 - Guevarism
 - Focalism
 - Ho Chi Minh Thought
 - Hoxhism
 - Husakism
 - Juche
 - Kimilsungism
 - Kimilsungism–Kimjongilism
 - Songun
 - Kadarism
 - Khrushchevism
 - De-Stalinization
 - Khrushchev Thaw
 - Maoism
 - Khmer Rouge ideology
 - Maoism–Third Worldism
 - Third Worldism
 - Third World socialism
 - Nazi-Maoism

- Mao-Spontex
- Marxism–Leninism–Maoism
 - Gonzalo Thought
 - Marxism–Leninism–Maoism–Prachanda Path
 - National Democracy
- Socialism with Chinese characteristics
 - Deng Xiaoping Theory
 - Mao Zedong Thought
 - Scientific Outlook on Development
 - Three Principles of the People
 - Three Represents
 - Xi Jinping Thought
- Marxist–Leninist atheism
- Scientific communism
- Stalinism
 - Anti-revisionism
 - Neo-Stalinism
 - Socialism in one country
 - National communism
 - National Bolshevism
 - Socialist patriotism
 - Soviet socialist patriotism
 - Soviet nostalgia
 - Soviet antisemitism
 - Left-wing antisemitism
 - Soviet anti-Zionism
- Titoism
 - Đilasism
 - Rankovićism
 - Socialist nationalism
 - Socialist Yugoslavism
 - Yugo-nostalgia
- Trotskyism
 - Neo-Trotskyism
 - Pabloism
 - Posadism
 - Third camp Trotskyism
 - Orthodox Trotskyism
- Vanguardism
- War communism

- Nechayevism
- Tkachevism

Libertarian

- Anarcho-communism
 - Egoist communism
- Communard movement
- Marxism
 - Classical Marxism
 - Orthodox Marxism
 - Impossibilism
 - World Socialist Movement
 - Kautskyism
 - Libertarian Marxism
 - Autonomism
 - Workerism
 - Left communism
 - Bordigism
 - Communization
 - Council communism
 - Spartacism
 - Luxemburgism
 - Socialisme ou Barbarie
 - Solidarity
 - Situationism
 - Spontaneism
 - Ultra-leftism
 - Mao-Spontex
 - Marxism–De Leonism
 - Neo-Trotskyism
 - Chaulieu–Montal tendency
 - Johnson–Forest tendency
 - Third camp
 - Shachtmanism
 - Left Shachtmanism
 - Open Marxism
 - Western Marxism
 - Austro-Marxism



An Anarchist A laid over a Communist Hammer and sickle.

- Frankfurt School
- Freudo-Marxism
- Hegelian Marxism
- Marxist humanism
 - Budapest School
 - Praxis School
- Neo-Marxism
 - Analytical Marxism
 - Conflict theories
 - Dependency theory
 - Social conflict theory
 - World-systems theory
 - Freudo–Marxism
 - Gramscianism
 - Neo-Gramscianism
 - Instrumental Marxism
 - Neue Marx-Lektüre
 - Political Marxism
 - Structural Marxism
- Post-Marxism
 - Radical democracy
 - Abahlali baseMjondolo
 - Landless Workers' Movement
 - Piqueteros
 - Zapatistas

Other

- Agrarian communism
- Centrist Marxism
- Eco-communism
- Eurocommunism
- International communism
- Marxist democracy
- National communism
- Nihilist communism
- Primitive communism
- Pre-Marxist communism
- Queer communism
- World communism

Opposition

- Anti-communism
- Anti-Marxism
- Anti-socialism

Religious variants

- Christian communism
 - Bruderhofs
 - Diggers
 - Hutterites
 - Shakers
- Islamic communism
- Jewish communism

Regional variants

African

- Angola
- Benin
- Congo
- Egypt
- Eritrea
- Ethiopia
- Mozambique
- Somalia
- South Africa
 - Trotskyism
- Tanzania
- Tunisia

American

- Canada
 - Quebec
- Chile
- Colombia
- Cuba
- Grenada
- Peru
 - Shining Path
- United States

Asian

- Afghanistan
- Armenia
- Azerbaijan
- Cambodia
 - Khmer Rouge
 - Salvation Front
- China
 - New Left
 - Ultra-left
- India
 - Kerala
 - Naxalism
- Georgia
- Indonesia
 - Sumatra
- Iran
- Israel
- Japan
 - New Left
- Kazakhstan
- Korea
 - North Korea
 - South Korea
- Kurdistan
- Kyrgyzstan
- Laos
- Mongolia
- Nepal
- Palestine
- Pakistan
- Philippines
- Soviet Union
- Tajikistan
- Thailand
- Turkey
- Turkmenistan
- Uzbekistan
- Vietnam
 - Trotskyism
- Yemen

- South Yemen

European

- Albania
- Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Bulgaria
- Belarus
- Croatia
- Cyprus
- Czechoslovakia
 - Bohemia and Moravia
 - Slovakia
- Estonia
- Finland
- France
- Germany
 - East Germany
 - West Germany
- Greece
- Hungary
- Italy
- Latvia
- Lithuania
- Macedonia
- Moldova
- Montenegro
- Poland
- Portugal
- Romania
 - National communism
- Russia
 - Bolshevism
 - Bolsheviks
 - Centre
 - Kamenevism
 - Stalinism
 - Zinovievism
 - Left Opposition
 - Left communism
 - Group of Democratic Centralism
 - Left-Right Bloc

- Trotskyism
- United Opposition
- Workers' Opposition
 - Workers Group of the Russian Communist Party
 - Workers' Truth
- Old Bolsheviks
 - Recallists
 - Ultimatists
- Right Opposition
 - Anti-Party Group
 - Bukharinism
 - Noginism
 - Rykovism
 - Tomskyism
 - Gang of Eight
 - Left–Right Bloc
 - Soyuz
 - Union of Marxist–Leninists
 - United Opposition
- Serbia
- Slovenia
- Spain
- Ukraine
- United Kingdom
 - Trotskyism
 - Neo-Trotskyism
- Yugoslavia

Oceanian

- Australia
- New Zealand

Conservatism

Political internationals

- International Democrat Union (conservatism)
- International Monarchist League (monarchism)

General

- Authoritarian conservatism

- Bioconservatism
- Black conservatism
- Civic conservatism
- Classical conservatism
 - Distributism
- Conservative corporatism
- Cultural conservatism
- Fiscal conservatism
- Green conservatism
- National conservatism
- Neoconservatism
- Paternalistic conservatism
 - Compassionate conservatism
 - Conservative socialism
 - Conservative welfarism
 - Progressive conservatism
- LGBT conservatism
- Liberal conservatism
- Libertarian conservatism
 - Fusionism
 - Libertarian Republicanism
 - Paleolibertarianism
 - Western conservatism
- Monarchism
 - Absolute monarchism
 - Enlightened absolutism
 - Patriarchalism
 - Constitutional monarchism
 - Crowned republic
- Paleoconservatism
 - Paleolibertarianism
- Social conservatism
 - Anti-abortion movement
 - Anti-feminism
 - Anti-LGBT movement
- Theoconservatism
 - Christian right
 - State religion
 - Antidisestablishmentarianism
 - Caesaropapism
 - Dominionism

- Theocracy
- Theonomy
- Ultramontanism

Reactionary

- Alt-lite movement
- Alt-right movement
- Integralism
- Neo-feudalism
- Neo-reactionary movement
- Reactionary modernism
- Reactionary populism

Opposition

- Anti-establishmentarianism
- Anti-monarchism
- Cultural liberalism
- Cultural radicalism
- Radicalism
- Revolutionarism
- Postmodernism
- Progressivism

Religious variants

- Christian right
 - Christian fundamentalism
 - Traditionalist Catholicism
 - Radical traditional Catholicism
- Hindu fundamentalism
 - Hindutva
- Islamism
 - Islamic fundamentalism
- Jewish Conservatism
 - Revisionist Zionism

Regional variants

African

- Egypt
- Gabon
- Ghana
- Ivory Coast
- Kenya
- Liberia
- Malawi
- Morocco
- Niger
- Nigeria
- South Africa
 - Apartheid
- Sudan
- Uganda

American

- Latin America
 - Brazil
 - Bolsonarism
 - Modern conservatism
 - Monarchism
 - Nativism
 - Colombia
 - Puerto Rico
- North America
 - Canada
 - Bernierism
 - Blue Toryism
 - Monarchism
 - Nativism
 - Pink Toryism
 - Red Toryism
 - Trumpism
- United States
 - Black conservatism
 - Conservative coalition
 - Conservative democratism
 - Anti-abolitionism
 - Blue Dogs

- Jacksonianism
- Southern democratism
 - Confederatism
 - Neo-confederatism
 - Dixiecratism
 - Segregationism
 - Southern nationalism
- Federalism
 - Classical conservatism
 - New Federalism
- Nativism
 - Know Nothing movement
- New Right
 - Jacobinism
- Old Right
 - Paleoconservatism
 - Paleolibertarianism
- Republicanism
 - Conservative republicanism
 - Libertarian republicanism
 - Moderate republicanism
 - Main Street republicanism
 - Republican Main Street Partnership
 - Tuesday Group
 - Modern conservatism
 - Movement conservatism
 - Reaganism
 - Reagan Doctrine
 - Reaganomics
 - Tea Party movement
 - Freedom Caucus
 - Jacobinism
 - Trumpism
 - Christian Trumpism
 - QAnon

Asian

- China

- Hong Kong
 - Localism
 - Nativism
- India
 - Modern conservatism
 - Modrism
- Japan
 - Abeism
 - Monarchism
 - Neoconservatism
- Pakistan
 - Nativism
- Philippines
- South Korea
 - Modern conservatism
- Taiwan
 - Nativism
- Turkey
 - Erdoganism
 - Conservative democracy
 - Neo-Ottomanism

European

- Ancient Rome
- Belgium
- Denmark
- Finland
- France
 - Bonapartism
 - Neo-Bonapartism
 - Gaullism
 - LePenism
 - Monarchism
 - Legitimism
 - Orléanism
 - Ultra-royalism
 - Nouvelle Droite
 - Revolutionary France
 - Ancien Régime

- Chouannerie
 - Historical Right
 - Thermidorians
- Germany
 - Bismarkianism
 - Conservative socialism
 - State socialism
 - Conservative revolutionary movement
 - Prussian socialism
 - Monarchism
 - Neue Rechte
- Greece
- Hungary
 - Orbanism
- Iceland
- Conservatism in Italy
 - Historical Right
 - Modern conservatism
 - Berlusconism
 - Liberal conservatism
 - Sanfedismo
- Luxembourg
- Poland
 - Golden Liberty
 - Sarmatism
 - Modern conservatism
- Norway
- Russia
 - Monarchism
 - Octobristism
 - Modern conservatism
 - Putinism
 - Chekism
 - Nashism
 - Eurasianism
 - Neo-Sovietism
 - Neo-Stalinism
- Serbia
- Spain

- Falangism
- Francoism
- Integrism
- Monarchism
 - Carlism
 - Hugism
 - Neocatholicism
- Sweden
- Switzerland
- United Kingdom
 - Andism
 - Butskellism
 - Cavaliers
 - Tories
 - New Tories
 - Jacobitism
 - Monarchism
 - Nativism
 - Neoconservatism
 - One-nation conservatism
 - Cameronism
 - Big Society
 - Muscular liberalism
 - Johnsonism
 - Thatcherism
 - Blatcherism
 - Toryism
 - High Toryism
 - Johnsonism
 - Powellism
 - Tory anarchism
 - Tory democracy
 - Tory socialism
 - Ultra-Toryism

Oceanian

- Australia
 - Monarchism

- Modern conservatism
- Nativism
- New Zealand

Corporatism

General

- Absolutist corporatism
- Communitarian corporatism
- Conservative corporatism
- Economic corporatism
- Fascist corporatism
- Kinship corporatism
- Liberal corporatism
- National corporatism
- Neo-corporatism
- Neo-liberalism
- Progressive corporatism
- Social corporatism
- Solidar corporatism
- State corporatism

Other

- Consociationalism
- Cooperativism
- Corporate feudalism
- Corporate welfarism
- Guild socialism
- Guildism
- Managerialism
- Mutualist movement
- National syndicalism
- Neo-feudalism

Religious variants

- Christian corporatism
 - Distributism

Regional variants

- China

- Nordic countries
- Russia
- Western Europe
 - Austria
 - Belgium
 - France
 - National syndicalism
 - Yellow socialism
 - Germany
 - Bismarkianism
 - Conservative socialism
 - State socialism
 - Conservative revolutionary movement
 - Fascist corporatism
 - Prussian socialism
 - Ordoliberalism
 - Rhine model
 - Ireland
 - Italy
 - Christian democratic corporatism
 - Consociationalism
 - Fascist corporatism
 - National syndicalism
 - Luxembourg
 - Portugal
 - National syndicalism
 - Netherlands
 - Spain
 - Fascist corporatism
 - National syndicalism
 - Switzerland

Democracy

General

- Associative democracy
- Bioregional democracy
- Bourgeois democracy
- Cellular democracy

- Conservative democracy
- Constitutional democracy
- Cosmopolitan democracy
- Defensive democracy
- Economic democracy
- E-democracy
 - Collaborative e-democracy
 - E-government
 - E-participation
 - Interactive democracy
- Ethnic democracy
 - Herrenvolk democracy
- Guided democracy
- Liquid democracy
- Market democracy
- Media democracy
- Multiparty democracy
- Non-partisan democracy
- Participatory democracy
- Pluralist democracy
- Procedural democracy
- Proletarian democracy
- Racial democracy
- Radical democracy
- Representative democracy
 - Council democracy
 - Electoral democracy
 - Ethnocracy
 - Liberal democracy
 - Democratic liberalism
 - Illiberal democracy
 - Parliamentary democracy
 - Westminster democracy
 - Presidential democracy
 - Totalitarian democracy
- Republican democracy
- Revolutionary democracy
- Sectarian democracy
- Semi-democracy
- Semi-direct democracy
- Social democracy
- Socialist democracy
 - Economic democracy

- Council democracy
- Inclusive democracy
- Industrial democracy
- Soviet democracy
- Workplace democracy
- Marxist democracy
- Marxist–Leninist democracy
 - New Democracy
 - People's democracy
 - People's dictatorship democracy
- Sovereign democracy
- Substantive democracy
- Tory democracy

Other

- Demarchism
- Democratic capitalism
- Democratic centralism
- Democratic confederalism
- Democratic globalization
 - Democratic mundialization
- Democratic republicanism
- Democratic socialism
- Democratic transhumanism
- Majoritarianism
- Producerism
- Sortitionism

Direct democracy movements

- Anticipatory democracy
- Anti-corruption movements
- Anti-establishmentarianism
- Anti-particracy movements
- Cellular democracy
- Collaborative governance
- Consensus democracy
- Copyright reform movements
- Council democracy
- Cyber-utopianism
- Deliberative democracy
- Delegative democracy
- Dynamic governance

- E-democracy
- Economic democracy
- Empowered democracy
- Grassroots democracy
- Inclusive Democracy
- Localism
- Marxist democracy
- Net neutrality movements
- Open-source governance
- Pirate politics
- Popular democracy
- Producerism
- Semi-direct democracy

Pirate politics

Political internationals

- Pirate Parties International (pirate politics)
- Anti-copyright movement
 - Copyleft movement
 - Copyright abolitionism
 - Free-culture movement
- Anti-corruption movement
- Civil rights movement
- Civil libertarianism
- Direct democracy
 - Economic democracy
 - E-democracy
 - Participatory democracy
- Free speech movement
- Information privacy movement
- Net neutrality movement
- Free and open-source software
 - Free software movement
 - Open-source-software movement

Opposition

- Anti-democratism

Religious variants

- Christian democracy

Pirate politics	
	
Ideology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>Anti-corruption</u> <u>Civil libertarianism</u> <u>Civil rights</u> <u>Direct democracy</u> <u>E-democracy</u> <u>Participatory democracy</u> <u>Social liberalism</u>

- Islamic democracy
- Jewish democracy
- Theodemocracy

Regional variants

African

- Egypt
- Morocco

Asian

- Bangladesh
- China
 - Hong Kong
- India
- Iran
- Israel
- Lebanon
- Pakistan
- Palestine
- Rojava
- Singapore
- Vietnam

American

- Chile
- Chiapas
- United States
 - Direct democracy
 - Jacksonian democracy
 - Jeffersonian democracy

European

- Ancient Greece
 - Athenian democracy
 - Spartan democracy
- Ancient Rome
 - Roman democracy
- Belarus
- France

- Paris Commune
- Poland
- Russia
 - Soviet democracy
- Switzerland
- United Kingdom

Oceanian

- Australia

Environmentalism

Political internationals

- Friends of the Earth (environmentalism)
- Global Greens (green politics)
- World Ecological Parties (bright green environmentalism)

Bright green environmentalism

- Car-free movement
- Climate movement
- Conservation movement
- Eco-modernism
 - Ecological modernization
 - Prometheanism
 - Technogaianism
- Positive environmentalism

Deep green environmentalism

- Anti-consumerism
 - Degrowth movement
- Anti-globalization movement
 - Alter-globalization movement
 - Global justice movement
- Anti-nuclear movement
- Bioregionalism
- Ecoauthoritarianism
- Ecocentrism
- Eco-fascism
- Green anarchism

- Anarcho-naturism
- Anarcho-primitivism
 - Rewilding
- Communalism
 - Eco-communalism
 - Back-to-the-land movement
 - Democratic confederalism
 - Green municipalism
 - Libertarian municipalism
 - Social ecology
- Inclusive democracy
- Neo-Luddism
- Radical environmentalism
 - Animal rights movement
 - Deep Green Resistance
 - Earth liberation movement

Light green environmentalism

- Free-market environmentalism
 - Eco-capitalism
 - Sustainable capitalism
 - Georgism
 - Geolibertarianism
 - Green libertarianism
- Green conservatism
 - Fiscal environmentalism
- Green liberalism

Other

- Eco-feminism
- Eco-nationalism
 - Green Zionism
- Green left
 - Eco-socialism
- Localism
- Queer ecology

Opposition

- Anti-environmentalism

Religious variants

- Christian environmentalism
 - Eco-theology
 - Evangelical environmentalism
- Islamic environmentalism
- Jewish environmentalism
- Maori environmentalism
- Spiritual ecology

Regional variants

African

- South Africa

American

- United States

Asian

- Bangladesh
- China
- India
- Israel
- South Korea
- Taiwan

European

- Switzerland

Oceanian

- Australia
- New Zealand

Fascism and Nazism

General

- Classical fascism

- Crypto-fascism
- Eco-fascism
- Gay fascism
- Neo-fascism
- Para-fascism
- Post-fascism
- Proto-fascism
- Techno-fascism
- Tropical fascism

Other

- Alt-right movement
- Aryanism
- Conservative revolutionary movement
- Corporate statism
- Far-right terrorism
- Fascist corporatism
- Fascist mysticism
- Fascist syndicalism
- Feudal fascism
- Identitarian movement
- National populism
- Nazism
- Neo-Nazism
- Nouvelle Droite
- Palingenetic ultranationalism
- Racial nationalism
- Reactionary modernism
- Revolutionary nationalism
- Right-wing authoritarianism
- Supremacism
- Syncretism
- Third Position
- Ultranationalism

Opposition

- Anti-authoritarianism
- Anti-imperialism
- Anti-militarism
- Anti-nationalism
- Anti-racism

By country

- During and before World War II
 - Albania
 - Austria
 - Belgium
 - Bulgaria
 - Burma
 - China
 - Czech Republic
 - Denmark
 - France
 - Francs-Tireurs et Partisans
 - Germany
 - Antifaschistische Aktion
 - Iron Front
 - Greece
 - Hungary
 - Italy
 - Arditi del Popolo
 - Japan
 - Lithuania
 - Malaysia
 - Moldova
 - Netherlands
 - Norway
 - Partisan resistance movement (multinational)
 - Jewish partisans
 - Philippines
 - Poland
 - Anti-Fascist Bloc
 - Jewish Combat Organization
 - Portugal
 - Slovakia
 - Soviet Union
 - Spain
 - Thailand
 - Yugoslavia
- Post-World War II
 - Austria
 - Burma
 - Germany
 - Denazification
 - Sweden

- United Kingdom
 - Anti-Fascist Action
 - Anti-Nazi League
 - Movement for Justice
 - Red Action
 - Squadism
 - Unite Against Fascism
- United States
 - Anti-Racist Action
 - By Any Means Necessary
 - Redneck Revolt
 - Refuse Fascism
 - Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice

Religious variants

- Christofascism
 - Christian Identity
 - Positive Christianity
- Clerical fascism
- Esoteric Nazism
 - Ariosophy
- Islamofascism

Regional variants

African

- Rwanda
- South Africa
 - Nazism
- Zaire

American

- Latin America
 - Argentina
 - Bolivia
 - Neo-fascism
 - Brazil
 - Integralism
 - Nazism

- Neo-Nazism
- Chile
 - Nazism
 - Neo-Nazism
- Costa Rica
- Mexico
- Peru
- North America
 - Canada
 - Nazism
 - Neo-Nazism
 - United States
 - Nazism
 - Neo-Nazism
 - Neo-fascism
 - Anarcho-fascism

Asian

- East Asian
 - China
- Indonesia
 - Japan
- Mongolia
 - Neo-Nazism
 - Pakistan
 - Taiwan
 - Neo-Nazism
- West Asian
 - Iran
 - Neo-Nazism
 - Israel
 - Kahanism
 - Neo-Nazism
 - Lebanon
 - Syria
 - Turkey
 - Neo-Nazism

European

- Albania
 - Nazism
- Austria
 - Antisemitism
 - Nazism
- Belgium
 - Neo-Nazism
- Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Bulgaria
- Belarus
- Croatia
 - Neo-fascism
 - Neo-Nazism
- Czech Republic
- Czechoslovakia
- Denmark
 - Neo-Nazism
- Estonia
 - Antisemitism
 - Neo-Nazism
- France
 - Antisemitism
 - Nazism
 - Neo-Nazism
 - Neo-socialism
 - Révolution nationale
- Germany
 - Nazi Germany
 - Antisemitism
 - Hitlerism
 - Strasserism
 - Neo-Nazism
 - Völkisch movement
- Greece
 - Antisemitism
 - Nazism
 - Neo-Nazism
 - Golden Dawn

- Neo-fascism
- Hungary
 - Antisemitism
 - Nazism
 - Neo-Nazism
- Italy
 - Classical fascism
 - Actual idealism
 - Antisemitism
 - Fasci movement
 - Futurism
 - Mussolinism
 - Republican fascism
 - Revolutionary fascism
 - Sansepolcristo
 - Nazism
 - Neo-Nazism
 - Neo-fascism
 - Italian Social Movement
 - Post-fascism
- Latvia
 - Antisemitism
- Lithuania
- Netherlands
 - Antisemitism
 - Nazism
 - Neo-Nazism
- Norway
 - Antisemitism
- Poland
 - Antisemitism
 - National radicalism
- Portugal
 - Antisemitism
 - Neo-fascism
- Romania
 - Antisemitism
 - Nazism
 - Neo-Nazism

- Antonism
- Russia
 - Eurasianism
 - Duginism
 - Neo-Eurasianism
 - Extremist nationalism
 - Black Hundreds
 - Nashism
 - Nazism
 - Neo-Nazism
- Serbia
- Slovakia
 - Neo-fascism
 - Neo-Nazism
- Slovenia
 - Antisemitism
 - Neo-Nazism
- Spain
 - Antisemitism in Spain
 - Francoism
- Sweden
 - Sweden
 - Neo-Nazism
- Switzerland
- Ukraine
 - Antisemitism
 - Neo-Nazism
- United Kingdom
 - Neo-fascism
- Yugoslavia
 - Antisemitism

Oceanian

- Australia
- New Zealand
 - Neo-Nazism

Identity politics

Political internationals

- International Council of Women (feminism)
- Minority Rights Group International (minority rights)
- Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (indigenous rights and self-determination)

Age-related rights movements

- Pro-life movement
- Children's rights movement
- Elder rights movement
- Intergenerational equity
- Youth rights movement

Animal-related rights movements

- Abolitionism
- Animal egalitarianism
 - Anti-specism
- Animal protectionism
- Animal rights movement
- Animal liberation movement
- Animal welfarism
 - Anti-naturalism

Disability-related rights movements

- Disability rights movement
 - Deaf rights movement
 - Neurodiversity movement
 - Autism rights movement
 - Mad pride movement
 - Psychiatric survivors movement
 - Anti-psychiatry
- Fat acceptance movement
 - Fat feminism

Feminism

General

- Analytical feminism
- Anarcha-feminism

- Care-focused feminism
- Conservative feminism
- Cultural feminism
- Cyberfeminism
- Difference feminism
- Eco-feminism
 - Vegetarian eco-feminism
- Equality feminism
- Gender feminism
- Individualist feminism
- Intersectional feminism
- Labor feminism
- Lesbian feminism
- Liberal feminism
 - Equity feminism
- Lipstick feminism
 - Neo-feminism
- Material feminism
- Maternal feminism
- Post-modern feminism
- Pro-feminism
- Radical feminism
 - Trans-exclusionary radical feminism
 - Women's liberation movement
- Separatist feminism
- Sex-positive feminism
- Social feminism
- Socialist feminism
 - Marxist feminism
- Standpoint feminism
- State feminism
- Transfeminism

Opposition

- Antifeminism

Chronological variants

- Proto-feminism
- First-wave feminism
- Second-wave feminism
- Third-wave feminism

- Fourth-wave feminism
- Post-feminism

Ethnic and social variants

- Black feminism
 - Hip-hop feminism
 - Womanism
 - Africana womanism
- Chicana feminism
- Dalit feminism
- French feminism
 - Post-structural feminism
- Indigenous feminism
 - Native American feminism
- Kurdish feminism
- Post-colonial feminism
 - Global feminism
 - Third-world feminism
 - Transnational feminism
- White feminism

Religious variants

- Atheist feminism
- Buddhist feminism
- Christian feminism
 - New feminism
- Hindu feminism
- Islamic feminism
- Jewish feminism
 - Orthodox Jewish feminism
- Mormon feminism
- Neopagan feminism
 - Dianic Wicca
 - Reclaiming
- Sikh feminism

Regional variants

African

- Congo
- Egypt
- Ethiopia
- Ghana
- Mali
- Nigeria
- South Africa

American

- Latin America
 - Argentina
 - Brazil
 - Chile
 - Haiti
 - Honduras
 - Mexico
 - Paraguay
 - Trinidad and Tobago
- North America
 - Canada
 - United States

Asian

- Bangladesh
- China
- Hong Kong
- India
- Indonesia
- Iran
- Iraq
- Israel
- Japan
- Lebanon
- Malaysia
- Nepal
- Northern Cyprus
- Pakistan
- Philippines
- South Korea
- Syria
- Taiwan
- Thailand
- Turkey

- Vietnam

European

- Albania
- Denmark
- Finland
- France
- Germany
- Greece
- Ireland
- Italy
- Netherlands
- Norway
- Poland
- Russia
- Sweden
- Ukraine
- United Kingdom

Oceanian

- Australia
- New Zealand

LGBT social movements

- Gay liberation
- Gay pride
- Gay socialism
- Homonationalism
- LGBT conservatism
- LGBT rights opposition
- Pink capitalism
- Queer anarchism
- Queer ecology
- Queer nationalism
- Queer socialism
- Transfeminism

Men's movement

- Anti-feminism
- Fathers' rights movement
- Intactivism
- Masculism

- Meninism
- Men's rights movement
- Mythopoetic men's movement
- Patriarchy
- Pro-feminism
 - Men's liberation movement

Regional variants

- Australia
- India
- Italy
- United Kingdom
- United States

Self-determination movements

African-American

- African-American self-determination movement
- Black anarchism
- Black capitalism
 - Black conservatism
- Black feminism
 - Womanism
 - Africana womanism
- Black power
- Pan-Africanism

Indigenous peoples

- Australian Aborigines self-determination movement
- First Nations self-determination movement
- Greenlandic independence movement
- Indigenous self-determination movement
- Māori self-determination movement
- Native American self-determination movement
 - American Indian Movement
- Pan-Indianism

Latin American

- Chicanism

- Chicano movement
- Hispanicism
- Indigenism
 - Mexico
 - Peru
- Pan-Americanism
- Pan-Hispanism

Separatist and supremacist movements

Ethnic

- Afrocentrism
- Anglo-Saxonism
- Apartheidism
- Antisemitism
 - Cultural antisemitism
 - Economic antisemitism
 - New antisemitism
 - Political antisemitism
 - Racial antisemitism
 - Religious antisemitism
- Arab supremacism
- Auto-segregationism
- Eurocentrism
- Indocentrism
- Institutional racism
- Manifest destiny
- Nordicism
- Racialism
- Racial segregationism
- Racial separatism
- Racial supremacism
- Racism
- Scientific racism
- Secessionism
- Sinocentrism

Black

- Black nationalism
- Black separatism
- Black supremacism

White

- Alt-right movement
- White nationalism
- White separatism
- White supremacy

Regional variants

African

- South Africa

American

- Latin America
 - Racial segregationism
- North America
 - Canada
 - Racial segregationism
 - Greater Vancouver
 - United States
 - Racial segregationism
 - Atlanta segregationism
 - Auto-segregationism
 - Church segregationism
 - Public house segregationism
 - Residential segregationism
 - School segregationism
 - Academic segregationism
 - Black school segregationism
 - United States Armed Forces
 - White nationalism
 - White supremacy

Asian

- Pakistan

European

- Ukraine
- United Kingdom

Oceania

- Australia
 - Tasmania

Gender

- Feminist separatism
 - Lesbian separatism
- Homonationalism
- Matriarchy
- Patriarchy

Religious variants

- Fundamentalism
 - Buddhist fundamentalism
 - Christian fundamentalism
 - Catholic fundamentalism
 - Protestant fundamentalism
 - Hindu fundamentalism
 - Islamic fundamentalism
 - Jewish fundamentalism
 - Pagan fundamentalism

Student movements

General

- Anarchist free school movement
- Student activism

Regional variants

- Argentina
- Australia
- Bangladesh
- Canada
- Chile
- China
- Congo
- Eastern Europe
 - Albania
 - Belarus

- Czechoslovakia
- Georgia
- Hungary
- Kyrgyzstan
- Serbia
- Ukraine
- European Union
 - France
 - Germany
 - United Kingdom
- Hong Kong
 - Umbrella Revolution
 - Hong Kong Federation of Students
 - Occupy Tamar
 - Scholarism
 - Umbrella Movement
- India
 - Assam Movement
 - Pro-jallikattu movement
- Indonesia
- Iran
- Israel
- Japan
- Korea
- Malaysia
- Mexico
- Philippines
- Taiwan
 - Anti-Black Box Curriculum Movement
 - Sunflower Student Movement
- Uganda
- United States
 - New Students for a Democratic Society
 - Rouge Forum
 - Students for a Democratic Society
 - Worker Student Alliance
 - Student Press Law Center

Liberalism

Political internationals

- Liberal International (liberalism)

- Transnational Radical Party (radicalism)

General

- Agonistic liberalism
- Classical liberalism
- Conservative liberalism
- Constitutional liberalism
- Cultural liberalism
- Democratic liberalism
- Economic liberalism
- Green liberalism
- Muscular liberalism
- National liberalism
- Neoclassical liberalism
- Neo-liberalism
- Ordoliberalism
- Secular liberalism
- Social liberalism
- Technoliberalism

Other

- Liberal centrism
 - Liberal communitarianism
 - Liberal moderatism
 - Liberal syncretism
 - Radical centrism
 - Sinistrisme
 - Third Way
 - Trasformismo
- Liberal constitutionalism
- Liberal egalitarianism
 - Modern egalitarianism
 - Political egalitarianism
- Liberal autocracy
- Liberal conservatism
- Liberal corporatism
- Liberal democracy
- Liberal feminism
 - Equity feminism
- Liberal internationalism
 - Cosmopolitanism

- Globalism
- Globalizationism
 - Cultural globalizationism
 - Economic globalizationism
 - Political globalizationism
- Liberal progressivism
- Liberal socialism
 - Ethical socialism
- Liberal transhumanism
- Liberal welfarism
- Liberal radicalism
- Liberal republicanism
 - Classical republicanism
 - Democratic republicanism
 - Legal egalitarianism
 - Modern republicanism
 - Neo-republicanism
- Social libertarianism
- Whiggism

Opposition

- Anti-liberalism
- Illiberal democracy

Regional variants

African

- Egypt
- Nigeria
- Senegal
- South Africa
- Tunisia
- Zimbabwe

American

- Latin America
 - Bolivia
 - Brazil
 - Chile
 - Colombia

- Cuba
- Ecuador
- Honduras
- Mexico
- Nicaragua
- Panama
- Paraguay
- Peru
- Puerto Rico
- Uruguay
- Venezuela

- North America
 - Canada
 - United States
 - Abolitionism
 - Anti-Federalism
 - Anti-Administration party
 - Democratic republicanism
 - Jacobinism
 - Jeffersonianism
 - Democratism
 - New democratism
 - Clintonism
 - Liberal republicanism
 - Moderate republicanism
 - Radical republicanism
 - Modern liberalism
 - Classical liberalism
 - New Deal liberalism
 - New Deal coalition
 - Progressive movement
 - Wilsonianism

Asian

- China
- Hong Kong
- India
- Iran
- Israel
- Japan

- Philippines
- South Korea
- Taiwan
- Thailand
- Turkey
 - Liberal Kemalism

European

- Albania
- Armenia
- Austria
 - Jacobinism
- Belgium
- Bulgaria
- Croatia
- Cyprus
- Czech lands
- Denmark
- Estonia
- Finland
- France
 - Abolitionism
 - Society of the Friends of the Blacks
 - Republican Left
 - Revolutionary France
 - Historical Left
 - Jacobins
 - Cordeliers
 - Dantonists
 - Girondins
 - Hébertists
 - Montagnards
 - Modérantisme
 - Feuillants Club
 - Maraisards
 - Thermidorians
 - Monarchiens
 - Society of 1789
- Germany
- Greece

- Hungary
- Iceland
- Italy
 - Historical Left
 - Historical Right
- Latvia
- Lithuania
- Luxembourg
- Macedonia
- Moldova
- Montenegro
- Netherlands
- Norway
- Poland
- Portugal
- Romania
- Russia
- Serbia
- Slovakia
- Slovenia
- Spain
 - Krausism
- Sweden
- Switzerland
- Ukraine
- United Kingdom
 - Abolitionism
 - Gladstonian liberalism
 - Manchester Liberalism
 - Cobdenism
 - Muscular liberalism
 - New liberalism
 - Radicalism
 - Chartism
 - Foxites
 - Jacobinism
 - Philosophical Radicalism
 - Roundheads
 - Cromwellism
 - Whigs
 - Spencerianism

Oceanian

- [Australia](#)
- [New Zealand](#)

Libertarianism

Political internationals

- [Alliance of the Libertarian Left \(left-libertarianism\)](#)
- [Center for a Stateless Society \(left-libertarianism\)](#)
- [International Alliance of Libertarian Parties \(right-libertarianism\)](#)
- [International of Anarchist Federations \(anarchism\)](#)
- [International Union for Land Value Taxation \(geoism\)](#)
- [Liberty International \(right-libertarianism\)](#)

Left-libertarianism

- [Classical liberal radicalism](#)
- [Eco-socialism](#)
- [Free-market anarchism](#)
- [Free-market anti-capitalism](#)
 - [Agorism](#)
 - [Counter-economics](#)
 - [Free-market socialism](#)
 - [Left-wing laissez-faire](#)
 - [Market-oriented left-libertarianism](#)
 - [Really Really Free Market movement](#)
- [Geolibertarianism](#)
- [Green anarchism](#)
- [Individualist anarchism](#)
- [Libertarian communism](#)
- [Libertarian Marxism](#)
- [Libertarian socialism](#)
- [Mutualism](#)
- [Social anarchism](#)
- [Social libertarianism](#)
- [Steiner–Vallentyne school](#)

Right-libertarianism

- [Anarcho-capitalism](#)
 - [Crypto-anarchism](#)
- [Austro-libertarianism](#)
- [Chicagoanism](#)

- Conservative libertarianism
- Fiscal conservatism
- Free-marketism
 - Free-market fundamentalism
 - Right-wing laissez-faire
- Fusionism
- Neo-liberalism
- Paleolibertarianism
- Propertarianism

Other

- Autarchism
- Civil libertarianism
- Consequentialist libertarianism
- Constitutionalism
- Laissez-faire
- Libertarian conservatism
- Libertarian feminism
- Libertarian paternalism
- Minarchism
- Natural-rights libertarianism
- Neoclassical liberalism
- Panarchism
- Radicalism
- Technolibertarianism
 - Libertarian transhumanism
 - Anarcho-transhumanism
 - Californian Ideology
 - Techno-utopianism
- Voluntaryism

Opposition

- Anti-libertarianism

Religious variants

- Christian libertarianism
- Libertarian Christianity

Regional variants

African

- South Africa
 - Anarchism

American

- Canada
 - Anarchism
- United States
 - Anarcho-capitalism
 - Freedmanian anarcho-capitalism
 - Rothbardian anarcho-capitalism
 - Hoppean anarcho-capitalism
 - Anarcho-communism
 - Anarcho-syndicalism
 - Wobblyism
 - Crypto-anarchism
 - Egoist anarchism
 - Free-market anti-capitalism
 - Free-market anarchism
 - Agorism
 - Free-market socialism
 - Laissez-faire socialism
 - Mutualism
 - Neo-mutualism
 - Market-oriented left-libertarianism
 - Left-wing laissez-faire
 - Laissez-faire socialism
 - Left-wing market anarchism
 - Green anarchism
 - Individualist anarchism
 - Libertarian democratism
 - Bleeding-heart libertarianism
 - Libertarian republicanism
 - Conservative libertarianism
 - Reaganism
 - Right-wing laissez-faire
 - Laissez-faire capitalism
 - Raw capitalism

- Social anarchism

Asian

- Hong Kong

European

- United Kingdom
 - Anarchism
 - Anarcho-communism
 - Anarcho-naturism
 - Individualist anarchism
 - Thatcherism

Oceanian

- Australia
 - Anarchism
 - Anarcho-technocracy

Nationalism

Political internationals

- International Conference of Asian Political Parties (pan-Asianism and regionalism)
- The Movement (neo-nationalism and right-wing populism)
- Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (nationalism and self-determination)

General

- Bourgeois nationalism
- Civic nationalism
- Cultural nationalism
- Diaspora nationalism
- Eco-nationalism
- Economic nationalism
 - Business nationalism
 - Corporate nationalism
 - Developmentalism
 - Protectionism
- Ethnic nationalism
- Expansionist nationalism

- Imperialism
- Irridentism
- Jingoism
- Neo-colonialism
- Neo-imperialism
- Revanchism
- Homonationalism
- Integral nationalism
 - Brazilian Integralism
 - Maurassisme
 - Lusitanian integralism
- Left-wing nationalism
- Liberal nationalism
- Liberation nationalism
- Pan-nationalism
- Post-colonial nationalism
- Queer nationalism
- Radical nationalism
- Revolutionary nationalism
- Right-wing nationalism
 - Neo-nationalism
- Romantic nationalism
- Socialist nationalism
 - Socialism in one country
 - Socialist Yugoslav nationalism
 - Yugo-nostalgia
 - Soviet nationalism
 - Neo-Stalinism
 - Neo-Sovietism
 - Soviet nostalgia
- Territorial nationalism
- Ultranationalism

Other

- Anti-imperialism
 - Isolationism
 - Souverainism
- Chauvinism
 - Fascism
 - Nazism

- Neo-Nazism
 - Neo-fascism
 - Welfare chauvinism
- Communitarianism
- Euroscepticism
 - Hard Euroscepticism
 - Soft Euroscepticism
- Nashism
- National-anarchism
- National Bolshevism
- National capitalism
- National communism
- National conservatism
- National liberalism
- National mysticism
- National populism
- National socialism
- National syndicalism
- Nativism
- Patriotism
- Sovereignism
- Ataturk nationalism

Opposition

- Anationalism
- Anti-patriotism
- Anti-Zionism
 - Religious anti-Zionism
- Cosmopolitanism
- Globalism
- Internationalism
 - Cosmopolitan democracy
 - Liberal internationalism
 - Postnationalism
 - Proletarian internationalism
 - Socialist internationalism

Religious variants

- Christian nationalism
- Hindu nationalism
- Muslim nationalism
- Religious Zionism

- Christian Zionism
- Sikh nationalism
- Sinhalese Buddhist nationalism

Regional variants

African

- Algeria
- Berber
- East Congo
 - Lumumbism
- Egypt
- Ethiopia
- Hutu Power
- Madagascar
- Nigeria
 - Igbo nationalism
- Somalia
- South Africa
 - Afrikaners

American

- Argentina
- Brazil
- Canada
 - Quebec
- Greenland
- United States
 - American exceptionalism
 - Americanism
 - Hawaiian sovereignty movement
 - Manifest destiny
 - New Nationalism
 - Puerto Rico independence movement
 - Southern nationalism
 - Confederatism
 - Neo-confederate movement

Asian

- Arab
 - Lebanon
 - Palestine
- Assyria
- Azerbaijan
- Cambodia
- China
 - East Turkistan
 - Taiwan
 - Taiwan independence movement
 - Tibet
- India
 - Bangladesh
 - Dravidian
 - Punjabi
- Indonesia
- Iran
- Israel
 - Green Zionism
 - Golus nationalism
 - Labor Zionism
 - Neo-Zionism
 - Post-Zionism
 - Revisionist Zionism
- Japan
- Karen
- Korean
 - Korean ethnic nationalism
- Kurdistan
- Malaysia
- Pakistan
 - Kashmir
- Philippines
- Sri Lanka
 - Tamil
- Turkey
 - Kemalism
- Vietnam
 - Degar

European

- Albania
 - Kosovo
- Armenia
- Austria
- Belarus
- Belgium
 - Flanders
 - Walloonia
- Bulgaria
- Czechoslovakia
 - Czech Republic
 - Slovakia
- Estonia
- Faroe Islands
- Finland
- France
 - Alsace
 - Brittany
 - Corsica
 - Gaullism
 - Occitania
 - Souverainism
- Georgia
- Germany
 - Bavaria
- Golus
- Greek
 - Cyprio
- Hungary
- Ireland
 - Irish republicanism
 - Ulster unionism
- Italy
 - Padania
 - Sardinia
- Latvia
- Lithuania
- Moldova
- Norway
- Poland

- National Democracy
- Polish Messianism
- Silesia
- Zadrugism
- Romania
 - Szeklerland
- Russia
 - Chechnya
 - Circassia
- Spain
 - Basque
 - Canary Islands
 - Catalonia
 - Galicia
 - Valencia
 - Blaverism
- Ukraine
- United Kingdom
 - British unionism
 - Cornwall
 - England
 - Northern Ireland
 - Ulster loyalism
 - Ulster nationalism
 - Scotland
 - Welsh
- Yugoslavia
 - Bosnia
 - Croatia
 - Serbia
 - Macedonia
 - Montenegro
 - Slovenia

Oceanian

- Australia
- New Zealand
 - Māori
 - South Island

Unification movements

- Continentalism
- Eurasianism
- Hui pan-nationalism
- Indigenism
 - Indigenism movement
 - Pan-Indianism
- Multiculturalism
 - Interculturalism
 - Pluriculturalism
 - Plurinationalism
 - Polyculturalism
- Neo-Sovietism
- Pan-Africanism
- Pan-Albanianism
- Pan-Americanism
- Pan-Arabism
 - Ba'athism
 - Nasserism
 - Neo-Ba'athism
 - Assadism
 - Saddamism
- Pan-Asianism
- Pan-Celticism
- Pan-Europeanism
 - European federalism
 - United States of Europe
 - Pan-European nationalism
- Pan-Germanism
- Pan-Hellenism
- Pan-Hispanism
 - Patria Grande
- Pan-Iberism
- Pan-Iranism
- Pan-Irishism
- Pan-Islamism
- Pan-Latin Americanism
- Pan-Latinism
- Pan-Mongolism
- Pan-Scandinavianism
- Pan-Slavism

- Pan-Somalism
- Pan-Turanism
- Pan-Turkism
- Postnationalism
- Regionalism

Populism

Political internationals

- Foro de São Paulo (democratic socialism, left-wing populism, social democracy and socialism of the 21st century)
- The Movement (neo-nationalism and right-wing populism)
- Progressive International (democratic socialism, left-wing populism, progressivism and social democracy)

General

- Conservative populism
- Economic populism
- Liberal populism
- Reactionary populism
- Social populism
- Socialist populism
- Techno-populism

Left-wing populism

- Agrarian socialism
- Anti-austerity movement
- Anti-corporate movement
 - Anti-corporate activism
- Anti-globalization movement
 - Alter-globalization movement
 - Global citizens movement
 - Global justice movement
- Anti-nuclear movement
- Copyright reform movement
- Communism
- Marxism
- Red Army Faction
- Autonomism
- Globalism
 - Copyleft

- Cyber-utopianism
- Economic democracy
 - Council democracy
 - Inclusive democracy
 - Industrial democracy
 - Soviet democracy
 - Workers' self-management
 - Workplace democracy
- Economic progressivism
- Egalitarianism
- Labour movement
- Left-wing nationalism
- Net neutrality movement
- Occupy movement
- Open-source-software movement
- Participism
 - Parecon
 - Participatory budgeting
 - Parpolity
 - Participatory democracy
 - Participatory justice
 - Participatory planning
- Peace movement
 - Anti-militarism
 - Anti-war movement
 - Pacifism
- Radical democracy
- Social democratic populism
- Socialist populism

Right-wing populism

- Alt-lite movement
- Alt-right movement
- Anti-intellectualism
- Chauvinism
 - Welfare chauvinism
- Conservative populism
- Demagogy
- Market populism
- National conservatism
 - Post-communism

- National populism
- Nativism
 - Anti-immigration movement
- Neo-nationalism
- Neo-reactionary movement
- Paleoconservatism
- Penal populism
- Right-wing nationalism
- Reactionary populism
 - Radical right-wing populism
- Third Position
- Trumpism
- Völkisch movement

Other

- Agrarianism
 - Agrarian reformism
 - Land reform movement
- Communitarianism
- Direct democracy
- Euroscepticism
 - Hard Euroscepticism
 - Soft Euroscepticism
- Localism
- Regionalism
 - Sovereignism

Regional variants

African

- Arab Spring movement

Asian

- Cyprus
 - Progressive Party of Working People
 - Solidarity Movement
- Georgia
 - Alliance of Patriots of Georgia

- India
 - Bahujan Samaj Party
 - Ambedkarism
 - Hindutva
 - Bharatiya Janata Party
 - Modism
- Iran
 - Iranian Green Movement
- Pakistan
 - Tehreek-e-Insaf
- Turkey
 - Justice and Development Party
 - Erdoğanism
 - Neo-Ottomanism
 - Nationalist Movement Party
 - Idealism
 - Millî Görüş
 - Erbakanism

American

- Latin America
 - Argentina
 - Kirchnerism
 - Peronism
 - Bolivia
 - Movement for Socialism
 - Brazil
 - Bolsonarism
 - Lulism
 - Petism
 - Podemos
 - Chile
 - Ibañism
 - Ecuador
 - PAIS Alliance
 - Correanism
 - Mexico

- Nicaragua
 - Sandinism
- Puerto Rico
- Venezuela
 - Bolivarianism
 - Chavism
 - Fifth Republic Movement
- North America
 - Canada
 - United States
 - Black populism movement
 - Bull Moose populism
 - Coffee Party movement
 - Jacksonian democracy
 - Jeffersonian democracy
 - Longism
 - People's Party populism
 - Perotism
 - Progressive populism
 - Tea Party movement
 - Trumpism

European

- Ancient Rome
 - Caesarism
 - Populares
- Austria
 - Freedom Party of Austria
 - NOW – List Pilz
- Belarus
 - Liberal Democratic Party of Belarus
- Belgium
 - People's Party
 - Vlaams Belang
- Bulgaria
 - United Patriots
 - Volya
- Croatia
 - Croatian Democratic Alliance of Slavonia and Baranja

- Human Shield
- Cyprus
 - Citizens' Alliance
- Czech Republic
 - ANO 2011
 - Czech Pirate Party
 - Dawn – National Coalition
 - Euroscepticism
 - Freedom and Direct Democracy
 - Party of Civic Rights
- Denmark
 - Danish People's Party
 - Inuit Ataqatigiit
 - Red–Green Alliance
- Estonia
 - Conservative People's Party of Estonia
- European Union
 - Alliance for Direct Democracy in Europe
 - European Alliance for Freedom
 - European United Left–Nordic Green Left
 - Euroscepticism
 - Hard Euroscepticism
 - Soft Euroscepticism
 - Movement for a Europe of Nations and Freedom
 - Party of the European Left
- Finland
 - Finns Party
 - Blue Reform
 - Seven Star Movement
 - Left Alliance
- France
 - Debout la France
 - Frexit
 - La France Insoumise
 - Left Party
 - Paris Commune
 - Communard movement
 - Poujadism
 - Revolutionary France
 - Cordeliers

- Hébertists
 - National Rally
 - Souverainism
 - Yellow vests movement
- Germany
 - Alternative for Germany
 - The Left
- Greece
 - Ancient Athenian democracy
 - Anti-austerity movement
 - Golden Dawn
 - Grexit
 - Independent Greeks
 - Popular Unity
 - Syriza
- Hungary
 - Fidesz
 - Orbánism
 - Jobbik
- Italy
 - Five Star Movement
 - Italexit
 - Italian Left
 - Lega Nord
- Iceland
 - Centre Party
 - Left-Green Movement
 - Pirate Party
 - People's Party
- Ireland
 - Anti-austerity movement
 - Solidarity
 - Euroscepticism
 - Sinn Féin
- Liechtenstein
 - The Independents
- Lithuania
 - Order and Justice
- Luxembourg
 - Alternative Democratic Reform Party

- The Left
- Netherlands
 - Forum for Democracy
 - Nexit
 - Party for Freedom
- Norway
 - Progress Party
- Poland
 - Congress of the New Right
 - Kukiz'15
 - Law and Justice
 - Real Politics Union
- Portugal
 - Anti-austerity movement
 - Left Bloc
- Romania
 - Greater Romania Party
 - Poporanism
 - Romanian withdrawal from the European Union
- Russia
 - A Just Russia
 - Liberal Democratic Party of Russia
 - Narodnik movement
 - Putinism
- San Marino
 - Active Citizenship
 - United Left
- Serbia
 - Dveri
 - Serbian Progressive Party
 - Serbian Radical Party
- Slovenia
 - The Left
 - List of Marjan Šarec
 - Slovenian Democratic Party
 - Slovenian National Party
- Spain
 - Anti-austerity movement
 - Anova–Nationalist Brotherhood
 - Podemos

- United Left
- Citizens
- Vox
- Sweden
 - Left Party
 - Sweden Democrats
- Switzerland
 - Geneva Citizens' Movement
 - Landsgemeinde
 - Popular initiative
 - Swiss People's Party
 - Swiss semi-direct democracy
 - Ticino League
- Ukraine
 - Svoboda
- United Kingdom
 - Anti-austerity movement
 - Democratic Unionist Party
 - Euroscepticism
 - Brexit movement
 - UK Independence Party

Oceanian

- Australia
 - One Nation Party
- New Zealand
 - New Zealand First

Progressivism

Political internationals

- Progressive Alliance (progressivism and social democracy)
- Progressive International (democratic socialism, left-wing populism, progressivism and social democracy)

General

- Economic progressivism
- Social progressivism
- Techno-progressivism

- Transnational progressivism

Other

- Progressive conservatism
- Reform movement
- Social justice movement
- Technocracy movement

Opposition

- Anti-progressivism

Religious variants

- Islamic progressivism

Regional variants

- Canada
- South Korea
- United Kingdom
- United States
 - American System
 - Great Society
 - War on Poverty
 - New Deal
 - Fair Deal
 - Green New Deal
 - New Freedom
 - New Frontier
 - Progressive democratism
 - Justice democratism
 - Progressive Era
 - Eugenics
 - New Nationalism
 - Square Deal
 - Temperance movement
 - Prohibitionism
 - Wilsonianism
 - Whigs

Religio-political ideologies

Political internationals

- Centrist Democrat International (Christian democracy)
- Hizb ut-Tahrir (Islamism)
- Humanist International (humanism)
- Muslim Brotherhood (Islamism)

General

- Anti-Masonry
 - Christian anti-Masonry
 - Muslim anti-Masonry
- Antisemitism
 - Economic antisemitism
 - New antisemitism
 - Racial antisemitism
 - Religious antisemitism
- Clericalism
- Complementarianism
- Confessionalism
- Feminist theology
 - Theology
 - Womanist theology
- Freemasonry
- Humanism
 - Religious humanism
 - Secular humanism
- Messianism
- Political religion
- Postcolonial theology
- Religious anarchism
- Religious anti-Zionism
- Religious apoliticism
- Religious communism
- Religious egalitarianism
- Religious environmentalism
 - Spiritual ecology
- Religious liberalism
- Religious nationalism
- Religious pacifism
- Religious socialism

- Religious terrorism
- Secularism
 - Anti-clericalism
 - Cult of Reason
 - Disestablishmentarianism
 - Secular religion
 - Secular state
- Spiritual left
- State religion
 - Antidisestablishmentarianism
 - Cult of the Supreme Being
 - Theophilanthropy
 - Theocracy
 - Theonomy

Political atheism and agnosticism

- Atheist feminism
- Marxist–Leninist atheism
- Secular humanism
- Secular liberalism
- State atheism

Political Buddhism

- Buddhist anarchism
- Buddhist feminism
- Buddhist modernism
 - Engaged Buddhism
 - Humanistic Buddhism
 - Secular Buddhism
- Buddhist nationalism
 - 969 Movement
 - Buddhist terrorism
 - Sinhalese Buddhist nationalism
- Buddhist socialism

Political Christianity

- Caesaropapism
- Christian antisemitism
- Christian democracy
 - Christian corporatism

- Distributism
- Gremialismo
- Popolarismo
- Social credit
- Christian egalitarianism
- Christian environmentalism
 - Ecotheology
 - Evangelical environmentalism
- Christian feminism
- Christian humanism
- Christianism
- Christian left
 - Christian anarchism
 - Catholic Worker Movement
 - Diggers
 - Tolstoyan movement
 - Christian communism
 - Bruderhofs
 - Hutterites
 - Proto-communism
 - Shakers
 - Christian socialism
 - Utopian socialism
 - Levellers
 - Evangelical left
 - Liberal Christianity
 - Liberation theology
 - Progressive Christianity
 - Social Gospel
- Christian pacifism
- Christian right
 - Christian fundamentalism
 - Christian terrorism
 - Traditionalist Catholicism
 - Christian libertarianism
 - Libertarian Christianity
 - Christian nationalism
 - Christian Zionism
 - Christofascism
 - Clerical fascism

- Clerico-nationalism
- National Catholicism
- Christian reconstructionism
 - Dominionism
- Theoconservatism
- Distributism
 - Social credit movement
- Integralism
 - Integral humanism
 - Integrism
 - Integral nationalism
 - Brazilian
 - French
 - Maurrassisme
 - Lusitanian
- Jesuism
- Political Catholicism
- Ultramontanism
 - Neo-ultramontanism

Political Confucianism

- Neo-Confucianism
- New Confucianism

Political Hinduism

- Gandhism
 - Gandhian socialism
- Hindu feminism
- Hindu nationalism
 - Akhand Bharat
 - Hindu revolution
 - Hindutva
 - Integral humanism
- Hindu revivalism

Political indigenous religions

- Maori environmentalism

Political Islam

- Gülen movement
- Islamic anarchism
- Islamic antisemitism
- Islamic democracy
- Islamic environmentalism
- Islamic egalitarianism
- Islamic feminism
- Islamism
 - Islamic fundamentalism
 - Islamic fascism
 - Islamic terrorism
 - Jihadism
 - Post-Islamism
- Islamic liberalism
- Islamic Modernism
- Islamic monarchism
 - Islamic Zionism
 - Muslim nationalism in South Asia
- Islamic pacifism
- Islamic republicanism
- Islamic socialism
- Khilafat movement
- Khomeinism
- Pan-Islamism

Political Judaism

- Cultural Zionism
- Jewish anarchism
- Jewish anti-Zionism
- Jewish Autonomism
- Jewish democracy
- Jewish egalitarianism
- Jewish environmentalism
- Jewish feminism
 - Orthodox Jewish feminism
- Jewish fundamentalism
 - Jewish terrorism
- Jewish humanism
 - Homaranismo
- Jewish left

- Bundism
- Jewish secularism
- Kibbutzim
 - Kibbutz movement
 - Religious Kibbutz Movement
- Zionism
 - Halachic state
 - Religious Zionism

Political Mormonism

- Deseret Nationalism
- Mormon authoritarianism
- Mormon feminism
- Mormon fundamentalism
- Theodemocracy

Political Neopaganism

- Neopagan feminism
 - Reclaiming
- Odalism
- Slavic Native Faith
 - Praskozorje
 - Peterburgian Vedism
 - Ynglism
 - Zadrugism

Political Shinto

- State Shinto
 - Showa Statism

Political Sikhism

- Khalistan movement
- Sikh feminism

Satirical and anti-politics

General

- Abstentionism
- Apoliticism

Other

- Populism

Religious variants

- Political quietism

Regional variants

- Australia
- Belarus
- Belgium
- Canada
- Czechoslovakia
- Czech Republic
- Denmark
- Estonia
- Faroe Island
- Germany
- Hungary
- Iceland
- Iran
- Italy
- Japan
- Malta
- New Zealand
- Netherlands
- Norway
- Poland
- Romania
- Serbia
- Spain
- Sweden
- United Kingdom
- United States

Social democracy

Political internationals

- Foro de São Paulo (democratic socialism, left-wing populism, social democracy and socialism of the 21st century)

- Progressive Alliance (progressivism and social democracy)
- Progressive International (democratic socialism, left-wing populism, progressivism and social democracy)
- Socialist International (democratic socialism and social democracy)

General

- Labourism
- Marxism
 - Democratic socialism
 - Marxist revisionism
 - Bernsteinism
 - Eurocommunism
 - Orthodox Marxism
 - Revolutionary socialism
- Progressivism
 - Economic progressivism
 - Social progressivism
- Reformism
 - Reformist socialism
 - Ethical socialism
 - Fabianism
 - Gradualism
 - Immediatism
 - Lassallism
 - Liberal socialism
 - Possibilism
 - Utopian socialism

Other

- Social democratic corporatism
- Social democratic populism
- Social democratic Shachtmanism
- Social democratic transhumanism
- Social democratic welfarism
- Social libertarianism
- Third Way

Opposition

- Anti-welfarism
- Lemon socialism

- Social fascism

Regional variants

African

- Egypt
- Ghana
- Guinea
- Kenya
- Tanzania
- Tunisia

American

- Caribbean
- Latin America
 - Argentina
 - Bolivia
 - Brazil
 - Chile
 - Colombia
 - Costa Rica
 - Ecuador
 - Mexico
 - Nicaragua
 - Paraguay
 - Puerto Rico
 - Uruguay
 - Venezuela
- North America
 - Canada
 - United States

Asian

- Bangladesh
- China
- Hong Kong
- India
- Indonesia
- Iran
- Israel
- Japan

- Korea
- Kurdistan
- Myanmar
- Pakistan
- Philippines
- Syria

European

- Andorra
- Bulgaria
- Cyprus
- Denmark
- Finland
- France
- Germany
- Greece
- Iceland
- Ireland
- Italy
- Moldova
- Netherlands
- Norway
- Poland
- Portugal
- Romania
- Russia
- Serbia
- Slovakia
- Spain
- Sweden
- United Kingdom
 - England
 - New Labourism
 - Blairism
 - Blatcherism
 - Brownism
 - Gaitskellism
 - Butskellism
 - Labour revisionism
 - Third Way
 - Northern Ireland
 - Scotland

- Wales

Oceanian

- Australia
- Melanesia
- New Zealand

Socialism

Political internationals

- Foro de São Paulo (democratic socialism, left-wing populism and socialism of the 21st century)
- Progressive International (democratic socialism, left-wing populism, progressivism and social democracy)
- Socialist International (democratic socialism and social democracy)
- World Socialist Movement (anti-Leninism, classical Marxism, impossibilism and international socialism)

General

- Democratic socialism
- Reformist socialism
 - Fabianism
 - Gradualism
 - Lassallism
 - Immediatism
 - Marxist revisionism
 - Bernsteinism
 - Eurocommunism
 - Social democracy
 - Sorelianism
 - Possibilism
- Revolutionary socialism
 - Impossibilism

Authoritarian

- Arab socialism
 - Ba'athism
 - Nasserism
 - Third International Theory
- African socialism

- Harambee
- Nkrumaism
- Senghorism
- Ubuntuism
- Ujamaa
- Barracks socialism
 - Nechayevshchina
- Blanquism
- Fitzhughism
- Leninism
 - Democratic centralism
 - Marxism–Leninism
 - Brezhnevism
 - Real socialism
 - Castroism
 - Ceaușism
 - Dubčekism
 - Gorbachevism
 - Guevarism
 - Focalism
 - Ho Chi Minh Thought
 - Hoxhaism
 - Husakism
 - Juche
 - Kimilsungism
 - Kimilsungism–Kimjongilism
 - Kadarism
 - Khrushchevism
 - De-Stalinization
 - Maoism
 - Maoism–Third Worldism
 - Third Worldism
 - Third World socialism
 - Mao-Spontex
 - Marxism–Leninism–Maoism
 - Gonzalo Thought
 - Marxism–Leninism–Maoism–Prachanda Path
 - Socialism with Chinese characteristics
 - Deng Xiaoping Theory
 - Mao Zedong Thought

- Scientific Outlook on Development
- Three Principles of the People
- Three Represents
- Xi Jinping Thought
- Marxist–Leninist atheism
- Scientific socialism
- Stalinism
 - Anti-revisionism
 - Neo-Stalinism
 - Socialism in One Country
 - National communism
 - Socialist patriotism
 - Soviet socialist patriotism
 - Soviet anti-Zionism
- Titoism
 - Đilasism
 - Rankovićism
 - Socialist nationalism
- Trotskyism
 - Neo-Trotskyism
 - Pabloism
 - Posadism
 - Third camp Trotskyism
 - Orthodox Trotskyism
- Vanguardism
- War socialism
- Nechayevism
- Tkachevism

Libertarian

- Anarchism
 - Anarcho-Socialism
 - Libertarian Socialism
- Communard movement
- Communalism
 - Democratic confederalism
 - Eco-communalism
 - Libertarian municipalism
 - Social ecology
- Communism

- Left-libertarianism
 - Economic democracy
 - Council democracy
 - Inclusive democracy
 - Industrial democracy
 - Soviet democracy
 - Workers' self-management
 - Workplace democracy
 - Free-market anarchism
 - Free-market socialism
 - Laissez-faire socialism
 - Mutualism
 - Neo-mutualism
 - Proudhonian socialism
 - Spoonerian socialism
 - Tuckerite socialism
 - Individualist anarchism
 - Libertarian possibilism
 - Participism
 - Parecon
 - Parpolity
 - Social anarchism
 - Steiner–Vallentyne school
- Marxism
 - Classical Marxism
 - Orthodox Marxism
 - Impossibilism
 - World Socialist Movement
 - Kautskyism
 - Libertarian Marxism
 - Autonomism
 - Workerism
 - Left communism
 - Bordigism
 - Communization
 - Council communism
 - Spartacism
 - Luxemburgism
 - Situationism
 - Socialisme ou Barbarie

- Solidarity
 - Spontaneism
 - Ultra-leftism
- Mao-Spontex
- Marxism–De Leonism
- Neo-Trotskyism
 - Chaulieu–Montal tendency
 - Johnson–Forest tendency
 - Third camp
 - Shachtmanism
 - Left Shachtmanism
- Open Marxism
- Western Marxism
 - Austro-Marxism
 - Christofiasism
 - Frankfurt School
 - Freudo-Marxism
 - Hegelian Marxism
 - Marxist humanism
 - Budapest School
 - Praxis School
- Neo-Marxism
 - Analytical Marxism
 - Conflict theories
 - Dependency theory
 - Social conflict theory
 - World-systems theory
 - Freudo–Marxism
 - Gramscianism
 - Neo-Gramscianism
 - Instrumental Marxism
 - Neue Marx-Lektüre
 - Political Marxism
 - Structural Marxism
- Post-Marxism
 - Radical democracy
 - Abahlali baseMjondolo
 - Landless Workers' Movement
 - Piqueteros
 - Zapatistas

- Syndicalism
 - De Leonism
 - Revolutionary syndicalism
 - Wobblyism
- Third camp socialism

Other

- Agrarian socialism
- Centrist Marxism
- Communitarianism
- Copyleft
- Eco-socialism
- Economic egalitarianism
- Economic progressivism
- Ethical socialism
- Guild socialism
- International socialism
- Kibbutz movement
- Labourism
- Liberal socialism
- Market socialism
 - Langian socialism
 - Millian socialism
 - Ricardian socialism
 - Smithian socialism
 - Veblenian socialism
- Marxist democracy
- Municipal socialism
- Queer socialism
- Proto-socialism
 - Chartists
 - Communards
 - Diggers
 - Jacobins
 - Levellers
 - Radicals
- Radicalism
- Scientific socialism
- Social egalitarianism
- Social democracy
- Socialism of the 21st century
- Socialist feminism

- Marxist feminism
- Socialist nationalism
- Socialist populism
- Utopian socialism
 - Fourierism
 - Icarians
 - Owenism
 - Saint-Simonianism
- World socialism

Opposition

- Anti-socialism

Religious variants

- Buddhist socialism
- Christian socialism
 - Diggers
 - Levellers
 - Liberation theology
 - Proto-socialism
 - Social Gospel
- Islamic socialism
- Jewish socialism
 - Kibbutzim
- Mazdakism

Regional variants

African

- Angola
 - MPLA
- Benin
 - People's Revolutionary Party of Benin
- Congo
 - Congolese Party of Labour
- Egypt
 - Arab Socialist Union
- Eritrea

- Eritrean People's Liberation Front
- Tigray People's Liberation Front
- Ethiopia
 - Workers' Party of Ethiopia
- Ghana
 - Convention People's Party
- Guinea
 - Democratic Party of Guinea – African Democratic Rally
- Kenya
 - Kenya People's Union
- Libya
 - Third International Theory
- Madagascar
 - Association for the Rebirth of Madagascar
- Mali
 - Sudanese Union – African Democratic Rally
- Mozambique
 - FRELIMO
- Senegal
 - Socialist Party of Senegal
- Somalia
 - Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party
- South Africa
 - Abahlali baseMjondolo
 - Trotskyism
- Tanzania
 - Chama Cha Mapinduzi
- Tunisia
 - Social Democratic Path
 - Socialist Party
- Zanzibar
 - Afro-Shirazi Party

American

- Caribbean
 - Granada
 - New Jewel Movement

- Latin America
 - Argentina
 - Piqueteros
 - Bolivia
 - Fejuve
 - Brazil
 - Landless Workers' Movement
 - Workers' Party
 - Chile
 - Colombia
 - Costa Rica
 - Ecuador
 - Mexico
 - Magonism
 - Zapatism
 - Neo-Zapatism
 - Zapatistas
 - New Left
 - Nicaragua
 - Sandinismo
 - Paraguay
 - Uruguay
 - Venezuela
- North America
 - Canada
 - United States
 - African-American leftism
 - American Left
 - Libertarian socialism
 - Free-market socialism
 - Laissez-faire socialism
 - New Left

Asian

- Afghanistan
 - People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
- Armenia
- Azerbaijan

- Bangladesh
 - Awami League
- Bukharan
- Cambodia
- China
 - Chinese Soviet Republic
 - Hong Kong
 - Kuomintang
 - China Association for Promoting Democracy
 - Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang
 - Tridemism
- Georgia
- India
 - Gandhian socialism
 - Indian National Congress
 - Nehruism
- Indonesia
- Iran
 - Gilan
- Israel
 - Kibbutz Movement
- Japan
- Kazakhstan
- Kyrgyzstan
- Korea
 - North Korea
 - South Korea
- Kurdistan
 - Iranian Kurdistan
 - Iraqi Kurdistan
 - Syrian Kurdistan
 - Turkish Kurdistan
- Laos
- Mongolia
- Myanmar
- Nepal
- Pakistan
- Palestine
- Pakistan
- Philippines
- Syria

- Rojava
 - Democratic confederalism
 - Revolutionary Rojava
- Syrian Kurdistan
- United Arab Republic
- Tajikistan
- Turkey
- Turkmenistan
- Uzbekistan
- Vietnam
 - Trotskyism
- Yemen
 - South Yemen

European

- Albania
- Andorra
- Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Bulgaria
 - Bulgarian Socialist Party
- Byelarus
 - Belarusian People's Republic
 - Lithuanian–Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic
- Croatia
- Cyprus
- Czechoslovakia
 - Czech Socialist Republic
 - Czech Social Democratic Party
 - Slovakia
 - Direction – Social Democracy
 - Slovak Soviet Republic
- Denmark
 - Red–Green Alliance
 - Socialist People's Party
- Estonia
 - Commune of the Working People of Estonia
- Finland
 - Left Alliance

- France
 - French Section of the Workers' International
 - French Workers' Party
 - Génération.s
 - Historical Left
 - Jacobinism
 - Jacobins
 - Cordeliers
 - Dantonists
 - Hébertists
 - Montagnards
 - Democratic Socialists
 - Sans-culottes
 - New Left
 - Republican Left
 - Socialist Party
- Germany
 - East Germany
 - Socialist Unity Party of Germany
 - Free Socialist Republic of Germany
 - People's State of Bavaria
 - Bavarian Soviet Republic
 - Soviet Republic of Saxony
 - General German Workers' Association
 - Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany
 - The Left
 - Social Democratic Workers' Party of Germany
 - Social Democratic Party of Germany
 - West Germany
 - Social Democratic Party of Germany
- Greece
- Hungary
 - Hungarian Soviet Republic
 - Socialist Party of Hungary
- Iceland
 - Left–Green Movement
- Ireland
 - Labour Party
 - Sinn Féin

- Solidarity–People Before Profit
- Italy
 - Biennio Rosso
 - Historical Left
 - Historical Far Left
 - Italian Radical Party
 - Italian Left
- Latvia
- Lithuania
 - Lithuanian–Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic
- Macedonia
- Moldova
 - Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova
- Montenegro
- Netherlands
 - Socialist Party
- Norway
 - Socialist Left Party
- Poland
 - Democratic Left Alliance
- Portugal
- Romania
 - National Union for the Progress of Romania
 - Socialist nationalism
- Social Democratic Party
- Russia
 - A Just Russia
 - Narodniks
 - Socialist Revolutionary Party
 - Left Socialist-Revolutionaries
 - Russian Social Democratic Labour Party
 - Bolsheviks
 - Centre
 - Kamenevism
 - Stalinism
 - Zinovievism
 - Left Opposition
 - Left communism

- Group of Democratic Centralism
- Left–Right Bloc
- Trotskyism
- United Opposition
- Workers' Opposition
 - Workers Group of the Russian Communist Party
 - Workers' Truth
- Old Bolsheviks
 - Recallists
 - Ultimatists
- Right Opposition
 - Anti-Party Group
 - Bukharinism
 - Noginism
 - Rykovism
 - Tomskyism
 - Gang of Eight
 - Left–Right Bloc
 - Soyuz
 - Union of Marxist–Leninists
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- Mensheviks
 - Liquidationists
 - Menshevik-Internationalists
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- Yedinstvo
- Yuzhny Rabochy
- Soviet democracy
- Serbia
 - Kosovo
 - Movement of Socialists
 - Socialist Party of Serbia
 - Vojvodina
- Slovenia
- Spain
 - Libertarian socialism
 - Podemos
 - Revolutionary Catalonia
- Sweden

- Left Party
- Ukraine
 - Free Territory
 - Makhnovism
- United Kingdom
 - England
 - Old Labourism
 - Bennism
 - Bevanism
 - Corbynism
 - New Left
 - Northern Ireland
 - Scotland
 - Scottish Labour Party
 - Independent Labour Party
 - Social Democratic Federation
 - British Socialist Party
 - Trotskyism
 - Neo-Trotskyism
 - Wales
- Yugoslavia
 - Užice

Oceanian

- Australia
 - Australian Labor Party
- Melanesia
 - National United Party
 - Vanua'aku Pati
- New Zealand
 - New Zealand Labour Party

Syndicalism

Political internationals

- International Confederation of Labor (anarcho-syndicalism and revolutionary syndicalism)
- International Workers' Association (anarcho-syndicalism)

General

- Anarcho-syndicalism
- Co-operatism
- De Leonism
- Revolutionary syndicalism
- Sorelianism
- Wobblyism

Other

- Council communism
- Democratic socialism
- Guild socialism
- Libertarian socialism
- National syndicalism
 - France
 - Italy
 - Portugal
 - Spain
- Social anarchism
- Social democracy
- Orthodox Marxism
- Utopian socialism

Opposition

- Anti-unionism

Regional variants

- Argentina
- Brazil
- France
- Germany
- Italy
- Netherlands
- Norway
- Russia
- Spain
- Sweden
- United Kingdom
- United States

Transhumanist politics

Political internationals

- Humanity+ (transhumanist politics)

General

- Anarcho-transhumanism
- Democratic transhumanism
- Libertarian transhumanism

Other

- Anti-aging movement
- Extropianism
- Immortalism
- Post-genderism
- Post-politicism
- Singularitarianism
- Technogaianism
- Techno-progressivism

Regional variants

- United States

See also

- Ideology
- List of communist ideologies
- List of forms of government
- List of ideologies named after people
- Political international
- Political party

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External links

- "Useful notes on political ideologies" (<https://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/UsefulNotes/PoliticalIdeologies>). TV Tropes. Retrieved 19 November 2019.
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Retrieved from "https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=List_of_political_ideologies&oldid=1048146952"

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Neoclassical liberalism

Neoclassical liberalism,^{[1][2]} also referred to as **Arizona School liberalism**^{[1][3]} and **bleeding-heart libertarianism**,^[4] is a libertarian political philosophy^[3] that focuses on the compatibility of support for civil liberties and free markets on the one hand and a concern for social justice and the well-being of the worst-off on the other. Adherents of neoclassical liberalism broadly hold that an agenda focused upon individual liberty will be of most benefit to the economically weak and socially disadvantaged.^[5]

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History

The first known use of the term "Arizona School" was by Andrew Sabl, introducing David Schmidtz at a UCLA Department Colloquium in 2012. Upon being pressed to define "Arizona School" Sabl said the school is broadly libertarian but that its most distinguishing characteristic is that it produces political philosophy that aims to be observation-based and empirically accountable. The first recorded use of the term *bleeding-heart libertarian* seems to have been in a 1996 essay by Roderick T. Long.^[6] It was subsequently used in a blog post by Stefan Sharkansky^[7] and later picked up and elaborated on by Arnold Kling in an article for *TCS Daily*.^[8] Since then, the term has been used sporadically by a number of libertarian writers including Anthony Gregory^[9] and Bryan Caplan.^[10]

In March 2011, a group of academic philosophers, political theorists and economists created the Bleeding Heart Libertarians blog.^[4] Regular contributors to the blog include Fernando Tesón, Gary Chartier, Jason Brennan, Roderick T. Long and Steven Horwitz.

Criticism

Critics of the bleeding-heart libertarian movement include economist David D. Friedman, for whom bleeding-heart libertarians "insist that social justice ought to be part of libertarianism but are unwilling to tell us what it means."^[11]

See also

- [Classical liberalism](#)

- [Gary Chartier](#)
- [Compassionate conservatism](#)
- [Distributive justice](#)
- [Fred Foldvary](#)
- [Free Market Fairness](#)
- [Geolibertarianism](#)
- [Left-wing market anarchism](#)
- [Left-libertarianism](#)
- [Libertarian paternalism](#)
- [Lockean proviso](#)
- [Michael Munger](#)
- [Neo-libertarianism](#)
- [Michael Otsuka](#)
- [Poverty reduction](#)
- [Radical centrism](#)
- [Radicalism \(historical\)](#)
- [David Schmitz](#)
- [Hillel Steiner](#)

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1. [Brennan, Jason \(2012\). *Libertarianism: What Everyone Needs to Know* \(<https://books.google.com/books?id=7QuzSDXsKQQC&q=arizona+school+libertarianism&pg=PA188>\). Oxford University Press. p. 188. ISBN 978-0199933914.](#)
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3. Neoclassical liberal philosophers such as [David Schmitz](#), [Jerry Gaus](#), [John Tomasi](#), [Kevin Vallier](#), [Matt Zwolinski](#) and [Jason Brennan](#) all have a connection to the [University of Arizona](#) (cf. "On the ethics of voting" (<https://www.3ammagazine.com/3am/on-the-ethics-of-voting/>) Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20180907221350/https://www.3ammagazine.com/3am/on-the-ethics-of-voting/>) 2018-09-07 at the [Wayback Machine](#), *3:AM Magazine*, January 14, 2013).
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External links

- [Bleeding Heart Libertarians \(http://www.bleedingheartlibertarians.com\)](http://www.bleedingheartlibertarians.com) – The official blog
- [Matt Zwolinski discusses Bleeding Heart Libertarianism with Reason TV \(http://reason.com/blog/2011/10/05/reason-tv-philosopher-matt-zwol\)](http://reason.com/blog/2011/10/05/reason-tv-philosopher-matt-zwol)
- [New Libertarians: New Promoters of a Welfare State \(http://www.johnmccaskey.com/new-libertarians/\)](http://www.johnmccaskey.com/new-libertarians/) – A historical look at the development of (and ultimately a criticism of) Bleeding Heart Libertarianism by John P. McCaskey
- [Instituto Mercado Popular \(http://www.mercadopopular.org\)](http://www.mercadopopular.org) – BHL Brazilian research institute (in Portuguese)

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Neo-libertarianism

Neo-libertarianism is a political and social philosophy that combines "the libertarian's moral commitment to negative liberty with a procedure that selects principles for restricting liberty on the basis of a unanimous agreement in which everyone's particular interests receive a fair hearing."^[1]

Neo-libertarianism has its roots at least as far back as 1980 when it was first described by James Sterba of the University of Notre Dame. Sterba observed that libertarianism advocates for a government that does no more than protection against force, fraud, theft, enforcement of contracts and other "negative liberties" as contrasted with "positive liberties" by Isaiah Berlin.^[2] He contrasted this with the older libertarian ideal of a "night watchman state", or "minarchism". Sterba held that it is "obviously impossible for everyone in society to be guaranteed complete liberty as defined by this ideal: after all, people's actual wants as well as their conceivable wants can come into serious conflict. [...] [I]t is also impossible for everyone in society to be completely free from the interference of other persons".^[3] In 2013, Sterba wrote:

I shall show that moral commitment to an ideal of "negative" liberty, which does not lead to a night-watchman state, but instead requires sufficient government to provide each person in society with the relatively high minimum of liberty that persons using Rawls' decision procedure would select. The political program actually justified by an ideal of negative liberty I shall call *Neo-Libertarianism*.^[4]

See also

- Bleeding-heart libertarianism

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Night-watchman state

A **night-watchman state** or **minarchy**, whose proponents are known as **minarchists**, is a model of a state that is limited and minimal, whose functions depends on libertarian theory. Right-libertarians support it only as an enforcer of the non-aggression principle by providing citizens with the military, the police, and courts, thereby protecting them from aggression, theft, breach of contract, fraud, and enforcing property laws.^{[1][2][3]}

In the United States, this form of government is mainly associated with libertarian and Objectivist political philosophy. In other countries, minarchism is also associated to some non-anarchist libertarian socialists and other left-libertarians.^{[4][5]} A night-watchman state has been advocated and made popular by Robert Nozick in *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (1974).^[6] 19th-century Britain has been described by historian Charles Townshend as a standard-bearer of this form of government.^[7]



The term was coined by Ferdinand Lassalle and derived from the watchman system used by various European cities starting in the Medieval period. The voluntary militia functioned as a city guard for internal policing and against external aggression.

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Origin

As a term, *night-watchman state* (German: *Nachtwächterstaat*) was coined by German socialist Ferdinand Lassalle in an 1862 speech in Berlin. He criticized the bourgeois-liberal limited government state, comparing it to a night-watchman whose sole duty was preventing theft. The phrase quickly caught on as a description of capitalist government, even as liberalism began to mean a more involved state, or a state with a larger sphere of responsibility.^[8] Ludwig von Mises later opined that Lassalle tried to make limited government look ridiculous but it was no more ridiculous than governments that concerned themselves with "the preparation of sauerkraut, with the manufacture of trouser buttons, or with the publication of newspapers".^[9]

Proponents of the night-watchman state are *minarchists*, a portmanteau of *minimum* and *-archy*. *Arche* (/ˈɑːrki/; Ancient Greek: ἀρχή) is a Greek word which came to mean "first place, power", "method of government", "empire, realm", "authorities" (in plural: ἄρχαί), or "command".^[10] The term *minarchist* was coined by Samuel Edward Konkin III in 1980.^[11]

Philosophy

Within right-libertarian philosophy, minarchists generally justify the state on the grounds that it is the logical consequence of adhering to the non-aggression principle.^{[1][2][3]} They argue that anarcho-capitalism is impractical because it is not sufficient to enforce the non-aggression principle, as the enforcement of laws under anarchism is open to competition.^[12] Another common objection to anarchism is that private defense and court firms would tend to represent the interests of those who pay them enough.^[13]

Within left-libertarian philosophy, the state is justified as a temporary measure on the grounds that social safety nets benefit the working class. Some anarchists, such as Noam Chomsky, are in agreement with social democrats on the welfare state and welfare measures, but prefer using non-state authority.^[14] Left-libertarians such as Peter Hain are decentralists, who do not advocate abolishing the state,^[4] but do wish to limit and devolve state power,^[5] stipulating that any measures favoring the wealthy be repealed before those which benefit the poor.^[15]

Some minarchists argue that a state is inevitable, believing anarchy to be futile.^[16] Robert Nozick, who publicized the idea of a minimal state in *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (1974), argued that a night-watchman state provides a framework that allows for any political system that respects fundamental individual rights. It therefore morally justifies the existence of a state.^{[6][17]}

Some anarchists and left-libertarians, who do not accept the non-aggression principle or capitalist property rights, propose it with the functions of a minimal welfare state on the grounds that social safety nets are short-term goals for the working class,^[14] and believe in stopping welfare programs only if it means abolishing both government and capitalism.^[18] Other left-libertarians prefer repealing corporate welfare before social welfare for the poor.^[15]

See also

- Anarchism and anarcho-capitalism
- Anarcho-capitalism and minarchism
- Big government
- Classical liberalism
- Constitutional liberalism
- Debates within libertarianism
- Objectivist movement
- Objectivism and libertarianism
- Property is theft!
- Small government
- Taxation as theft
- Voluntaryism

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- *Anarchism/Minarchism: Is a Government Part of a Free Country?* (<https://web.archive.org/web/201111130195736/http://www.calstatela.edu/faculty/areed2/LongXXXMachan.pdf>) by Roderick T. Long and Tibor R. Machan
- "Market Anarchism as Constitutionalism" (<http://praxeology.net/Anarconst2.pdf>) by Roderick T. Long
- "Chaos Theory: Two Essays on Market Anarchy" (<https://mises.org/books/chaostheory.pdf>) by Robert P. Murphy
- *Robert Nozick and the Immaculate Conception of the State* (https://mises.org/journals/jls/1_1/1_1_6.pdf) by Murray Rothbard

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Paleolibertarianism

Paleolibertarianism was a strategy of political activism for libertarianism developed by American anarcho-capitalist theorists Murray Rothbard and Lew Rockwell in the American political context after the end of Cold War, from 1989 to 1995, that sought to deliver the libertarian ideas of opposition to government intervention using messages accessible to working and middle-class people of the time—an approach usually identified as right-wing populism—to radicalize them against the state.^{[1][2][3]} The name elected for this kind of activism was in remembrance of the roots of the modern libertarian movement: the American classical liberal movement of the first half of the 20th century that was part of the anti-war and anti-New Deal Old Right (hence the prefix *paleo*).

The paleolibertarian strategy was expected to move libertarian movement away from the influence of public policy libertarian organizations based in Washington, D.C., who were accused of giving up communicating the complete libertarian message while adopting the political and cultural values of the U.S. capital to gain acceptance among the political elite,^{[1][4]} and to move American right-wing politics away from the neoconservative movement and its promotion of a U.S. foreign policy usually identified as imperialist by libertarian thinkers.^[2]

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Tenets

According to Rockwell, the paleolibertarian movement harkens back to such thinkers as "Ludwig von Mises, Albert Jay Nock, Garet Garrett, and the entire interwar Old Right that opposed the New Deal and favored the Old Republic"^[5] and distinguished themselves from neo-libertarians, Beltway libertarianism (a pejorative term used by hardline libertarians to describe libertarians who have gained traction in the Beltway, i.e., Washington, D.C., who are accused of surrendering libertarian values to the Beltway values in order to have better public relations with the Beltway elite), left-libertarianism and lifestyle libertarianism.^{[5][6]} According to Rockwell, paleolibertarianism "made its peace with religion as the bedrock of liberty, property, and the natural order".

Paleolibertarianism developed in opposition to the link between social cosmopolitanism and libertarianism as if they were indivisible issues. In his 1990's essay "The Case for Paleo-Libertarianism", Rockwell charged mainstream libertarians with "hatred of Western culture".^[3] He argued that "pornographic photography, 'free'-thinking, chaotic painting, atonal music, deconstructionist literature, Bauhaus

architecture, and modernist films have nothing in common with the libertarian political agenda—no matter how much individual libertarians may revel in them".^[3] Of paleolibertarians, he wrote that "we obey, and we ought to obey, traditions of manners and taste".^[3] After explaining why libertarians friendly with conventional culture could make a better argument for liberty to the middle classes, Rockwell predicted "in the new movement, libertarians who personify the present corruption will sink to their natural level, as will the Libertarian Party, which has been their diabolic pulpit".^[3]

In short, according to Lew Rockwell, the motivation of this "paleo" libertarian movement—in contrast with the "modal" libertarian movement of the Beltway and the Libertarian Party of the beginnings of the 90s—was the application of the libertarian principles in ways that lead to the radicalization of the middle classes against the state.^[1]

History

In the 1992's essay "Right-Wing Populism: A Strategy for the Paleo Movement", Rothbard reflected on the ability of libertarians to gain the disaffected working and middle classes using right-wing populism methods to deliver libertarian ideas.^{[7][8]}

In the 1990s, a "paleoconservative-paleolibertarian alliance was forged", centred on the John Randolph Club founded in 1989 by traditionalist Catholic Thomas Fleming and Rothbard.^[9] Rockwell and Rothbard supported paleoconservative Republican candidate Pat Buchanan in the 1992 presidential election and described Buchanan as the political leader of the "paleo movement".^[10] In 1992, Rothbard declared that "with Pat Buchanan as our leader, we shall break the clock of social democracy".^[11] The Rockwell and Rothbard intention with this alliance was to rebirth an anti-war and anti-welfare right-wing and to fight the neoconservative leadership of the Republican Party in the context of the end of Cold War.^[2]

Three years later, Rothbard said Buchanan developed too much faith in economic planning and centralized state power which eventually led paleolibertarians to withdraw their support for Buchanan.^[2] In addition to Buchanan's economic nationalism, Paul Gottfried later complained of a lack of funding, infighting, media hostility or blackout and vilification as "racists" and "anti-Semites".^[12] John Randolph Club was disintegrated in 1995 due to incompatibility of ideas and personalities between libertarian and conservative factions.^[13]

Rothbard died in 1995. Rockwell asserted in 1999 that with Rothbard's death the paleolibertarian organizing had ended.^[1] In 2007, Rockwell stated that he no longer used the term "paleolibertarian" — because it was distorted by its past association with the term paleoconservative as "some kind of socially conservative libertarian", something that "was not the point at all" of paleolibertarianism— and that all libertarians should be "happy with the term libertarian."^[4]

Controversy

Ron Paul newsletters

The libertarian publication *Reason* asserted that "a half-dozen longtime libertarian activists—including some still close to Ron Paul—all named the same man as Paul's chief ghostwriter: Ludwig von Mises Institute founder Llewellyn Rockwell, Jr.", although Rockwell denied it.^{[14][15][16][17][18]}

Reminiscence

During the 2016 Republican Party presidential primaries and the campaign for the 2016 United States presidential election, several of the protagonists of 1990s paleolibertarian activism expressed some level of sympathy for the message against warfare state and against the bureaucratic and partisan elites in Washington D.C. of then-candidate Donald Trump. In a move similar to his and Murray Rothbard's support for Pat Buchanan's candidacy, Lew Rockwell was sympathetic to Trump's 2016 presidential campaign because of his message against the establishment of Republican Party and Democratic Party,^[19] as was Rothbardian Justin Raimondo, who voted for Trump on the basis of his message for an anti-war foreign policy.^[20] In a 2016 pre-election debate with Reason editor Nick Gillespie, Austrian School anarcho-capitalist economist Walter Block advised libertarians living in battleground states to support Trump rather than cast their votes for Libertarian Party nominee Gary Johnson, citing the Trump campaign's antiwar foreign policy as the main reason.^{[21][22]}

In line with these views, libertarian columnist Ilana Mercer authored a book in June 2016 about presidential candidate Trump titled *The Trump Revolution: The Donald's Creative Destruction Deconstructed*, a critical examination of then-candidate Trump from a libertarian perspective.^[23] In discussing Mercer's book, Objectivist-libertarian scholar Chris Matthew Sciabarra observed that Mercer endorsed "not necessarily the policies of Trump, but 'The Process of Trump'".^[24] Sciabarra further noted that "[t]he most interesting of her arguments is the bolstering of liberty by Donald J. Trump [...] smashing an enmeshed political spoils system to bits: the media complex, the political and party complex, the conservative poseur complex. In the age of unconstitutional government—Democratic and Republican—this process of creative destruction can only increase the freedom quotient".^[24]

See also

- Alt-lite
- Austrian School
- Coalition for the Renewal of the Republic—Liberty and Hope
- Conservative liberalism
- Criticism of democracy
- Dark Enlightenment
- Libertarian conservatism
- Libertarian perspectives on immigration
- National conservatism
- National-anarchism
- Nativism (politics)
- Paleoconservatism
- Party of Free Citizens
- Radical right (United States)
- Real Politics Union
- Right-libertarianism
- Right-wing populism

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paleoization, if you will, a systematic radicalization of the middle class. [...] all the real political dissidents and radicals, the people who are raising fundamental objections to the status quo of the American civil project, are on the right.» Libertarianism and the Old Right (<https://mises.org/library/libertarianism-and-old-right>), Lew Rockwell (2006), Mises Institute.

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Propertarianism

Propertarianism, or **proprietaryism**, is a political philosophy that reduces all questions of ethics to the right to own property.^[1] On property rights, it advocates private property based on Lockean sticky property norms, where an owner keeps his property more or less until he consents to gift or sell it, rejecting the Lockean proviso.

Closely related to and overlapping with right-libertarianism, it is also often accompanied with the idea that state monopoly law should be replaced by market-generated law centered on contractual relationships. Propertarian ideals are most commonly cited to advocate for an anarcho-capitalist or minarchist society with governance systems limited to enforcing contracts and private property.

According to its advocates, propertarianism is synonymous with capitalism.^[2]

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History

The term appears to have been coined by Edward Cain in 1963:

Since their use of the word "liberty" refers almost exclusively to property, it would be helpful if we had some other word, such as "propertarian," to describe them. [...] Novelist Ayn Rand is not a conservative at all but claims to be very relevant. She is a radical capitalist, and is the closest to what I mean by a propertarian.^[3]

Marcus Cunliffe defined propertarianism in his 1973 lectures as "characteristic values of American history" in regard to property.^{[4][5][6][7]} David Boaz writes that the "propertarian approach to privacy", both morally and legally, has ensured Americans' privacy rights.^[8]

Markus Verhaegh states that Rothbardian anarcho-capitalism advocates the neo-Lockean idea that property only legitimately originates from labor and may then only legitimately change hands by trade or gift.^[9] Brian Doherty describes Murray Rothbard's form of libertarianism as propertarian because he "reduced all human rights to rights of property, beginning with the natural right of self-ownership".^[10]

L. Neil Smith describes propertarianism as a positive libertarian philosophy in his alternate history novels *The Probability Broach* (1980) and *The American Zone* (2002).^{[11][12]}

Alternative meanings

Hans Morgenthau used propertarianism to characterize the connection between property and suffrage.^[13]

Criticism

In the science fiction novel *The Dispossessed* (1974), author Ursula K. Le Guin contrasted a propertarian statist society with an anarchist anti-propertarian society^{[14][15]} in an attempt to show that property and state objectified human beings.^{[16][17]}

Murray Bookchin objected to propertarians calling themselves *libertarians*, arguing:

We have permitted cynical political reactionaries and the spokesmen of large corporations to pre-empt these basic libertarian American ideals. We have permitted them not only to become the specious voice of these ideals such that individualism has been used to justify egotism; the pursuit of happiness to justify greed, and even our emphasis on local and regional autonomy has been used to justify parochialism, insularism, and exclusivity – often against ethnic minorities and so-called deviant individuals. We have even permitted these reactionaries to stake out a claim to the word libertarian, a word, in fact, that was literally devised in the 1890s in France by Elisée Reclus as a substitute for the word anarchist, which the government had rendered an illegal expression for identifying one's views. The propertarians, in effect – acolytes of Ayn Rand, the earth mother of greed, egotism, and the virtues of property – have appropriated expressions and traditions that should have been expressed by radicals but were willfully neglected because of the lure of European and Asian traditions of socialism, socialisms that are now entering into decline in the very countries in which they originated.^[18]

Bookchin described three concepts of possession: property itself; possession; and usufruct (i.e. appropriation of resources by virtue of use.^[19])

See also

- Anarcho-capitalism
- Capitalism
- Creative disruption
- Private law society
- Private property
- Privatism
- Privatization
- Producerism
- Right-libertarianism

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Right-libertarianism

Right-libertarianism,^{[1][2][3][4][5]} also known as **libertarian capitalism**^[6] or **right-wing libertarianism**,^{[1][7]} is a political philosophy and type of libertarianism that supports capitalist property rights and defends market distribution of natural resources and private property.^[8] The term *right-libertarianism* is used to distinguish this class of views on the nature of property and capital^[9] from left-libertarianism, a type of libertarianism that combines self-ownership with an egalitarian approach to natural resources.^[10] In contrast to socialist libertarianism,^[4] right-libertarianism supports free-market capitalism.^[1] Like most forms of libertarianism, it supports civil liberties,^[1] especially natural law,^[11] negative rights^[12] and a major reversal of the modern welfare state.^[13]

Right-libertarian political thought is characterized by the strict priority given to liberty, with the need to maximize the realm of individual freedom and minimize the scope of public authority.^[14] Right-libertarians typically see the state as the principal threat to liberty. This anti-statism differs from anarchist doctrines in that it is based upon an uncompromising individualism that places little or no emphasis upon human sociability or cooperation.^{[2][14][15]} Right-libertarian philosophy is also rooted in the ideas of individual rights and *laissez-faire* economics. The right-libertarian theory of individual rights generally follow the homestead principle and the labor theory of property, stressing self-ownership and that people have an absolute right to the property that their labor produces.^[14] Economically, right-libertarians make no distinction between capitalism and free markets and view any attempt to dictate the market process as counterproductive, emphasizing the mechanisms and self-regulating nature of the market whilst portraying government intervention and attempts to redistribute wealth as invariably unnecessary and counterproductive.^[14] Although all right-libertarians oppose government intervention, there is a division between anarcho-capitalists, who view the state as an unnecessary evil and want property rights protected without statutory law through market-generated tort, contract and property law; and minarchists, who support the need for a minimal state, often referred to as a night-watchman state, to provide its citizens with courts, military and police.^[3]

While influenced by classical liberal thought, with some viewing right-libertarianism as an outgrowth or as a variant of it,^[16] there are significant differences. Edwin Van de Haar argues that "confusingly, in the United States the term libertarianism is sometimes also used for or by classical liberals. But this erroneously masks the differences between them".^[17] Classical liberalism refuses to give priority to liberty over order and therefore does not exhibit the hostility to the state which is the defining feature of libertarianism.^[14] As such, right-libertarians believe classical liberals favor too much state involvement,^[18] arguing that they do not have enough respect for individual property rights and lack sufficient trust in the workings of the free market and its spontaneous order leading to support of a much larger state.^[18] Right-libertarians also disagree with classical liberals as being too supportive of central banks and monetarist policies.^[19]

Like libertarians of all varieties, right-libertarians refer to themselves simply as *libertarians*.^{[2][3][7]} Being the most common type of libertarianism in the United States,^[4] right-libertarianism has become the most common referent of *libertarianism*^{[20][21]} there since the late 20th century while historically and elsewhere^{[22][23][24][25][26][27]} it continues to be widely used to refer to anti-state forms of socialism such as anarchism^{[28][29][30][31]} and more generally libertarian communism/libertarian Marxism and libertarian socialism.^{[22][32]} Around the time of Murray Rothbard, who popularized the term *libertarian* in the United States during the 1960s, anarcho-capitalist movements started calling themselves *libertarian*, leading to the rise of the term *right-libertarian* to distinguish them. Rothbard himself acknowledged the co-opting of the term and boasted of its "capture [...] from the enemy".^[22] Criticism of right-libertarianism includes ethical,

economic, environmental, pragmatic and philosophical concerns,^{[33][34][35][36][37][38][39]} including the view that it has no explicit theory of liberty.^[40] It has been argued that *laissez-faire* capitalism^[6] does not necessarily produce the best or most efficient outcome,^{[41][42]} nor does its philosophy of individualism and policies of deregulation prevent the abuse of natural resources.^[43]

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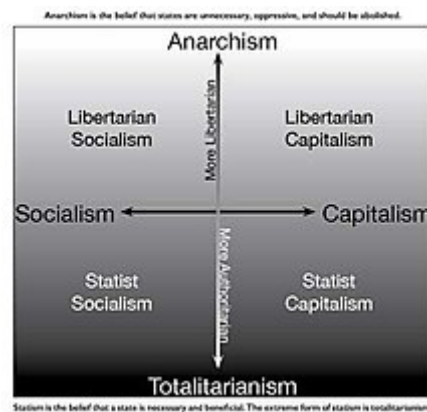
Definition

People described as being *left-libertarian* or *right-libertarian* generally tend to call themselves simply *libertarians* and refer to their philosophy as *libertarianism*. In light of this, some authors and political scientists classify the forms of libertarianism into two groups,^{[44][45]} namely left-libertarianism and right-libertarianism,^{[1][2][3][4][7]} to distinguish libertarian views on the nature of property and capital.^[9]

The term *libertarian* was first used by late Enlightenment freethinkers, referring to those who believed in free will, as opposed to necessity, a now-disused philosophy that posited a kind of determinism.^[46] The word *libertarian* is first recorded in 1789 coined by the British historian William Belsham, in a discussion against free will from the author's deterministic point of view.^{[47][48]} This debate between libertarianism in a philosophical-metaphysical sense and determinism would continue into the early nineteenth century, especially in the field of Protestant theology.^[49] The Merriam-Webster Dictionary, in English, attests to this ancient use of the word *libertarian* by describing its meaning as "an advocate of the doctrine of free will

"and, taking a broad definition, also says that he is" a person who holds the principles of individual freedom especially in thought and action ".^[50]

Many decades later, *libertarian* was a term used by the French libertarian communist Joseph Déjacque^{[28][29][51][52][53]} to mean a form of left-wing politics that has been frequently used to refer to anarchism^{[2][24][28][29]} and libertarian socialism^[26] since the mid-to late 19th century.^{[30][31]} With the modern development of right-libertarian ideologies such as anarcho-capitalism and minarchism co-opting^{[22][23][25]} the term *libertarian* in the mid-20th century to instead advocate laissez-faire capitalism and strong private property rights such as in land, infrastructure and natural resources,^[54] the terms *left-libertarianism* and *right-libertarianism* have been used more often as to differentiate between the two.^{[2][3]} Socialist libertarianism^[55] has been included within a broad left-libertarianism^{[56][57][58]} while right-libertarianism mainly refers to laissez-faire capitalism such as Murray Rothbard's anarcho-capitalism and Robert Nozick's minarchism.^{[2][3][7]}



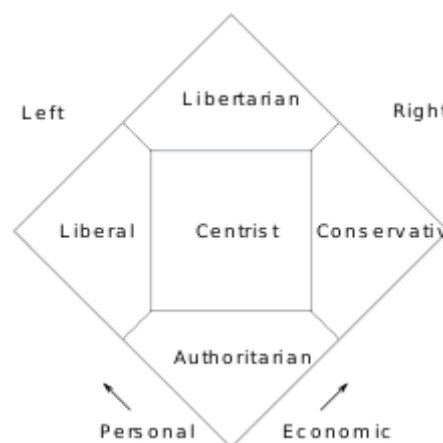
An economic group diagram in which right-libertarianism falls within libertarian capitalism as right-libertarians oppose state capitalism, supporting instead laissez-faire economics within capitalism

Right-libertarianism has been described as combining individual freedom and opposition to the state, with strong support for free markets and private property. Property rights have been the issue that has divided libertarian philosophies. According to Jennifer Carlson, right-libertarianism is the dominant form of libertarianism in the United States. Right-libertarians "see strong private property rights as the basis for freedom and thus are—to quote the title of Brian Doherty's text on libertarianism in the United States —"Radicals for Capitalism".^[4]

Herbert Kitschelt and Anthony J. McGann contrast right-libertarianism—"a strategy that combines pro-market positions with opposition to hierarchical authority, support of unconventional political participation, and endorsement of feminism and of environmentalism"—with right-authoritarianism.^{[59][60]}

Mark Bevir holds that there are three types of libertarianism, namely left, right and consequentialist libertarianism as promoted by Friedrich Hayek.^[61]

According to contemporary American libertarian Walter Block, left-libertarians and right-libertarians agree with certain libertarian premises, but "where [they] differ is in terms of the logical implications of these founding axioms".^[62] Although some libertarians may reject the political spectrum, especially the left-right political spectrum,^{[1][63][64][65][66]} right-libertarianism and several right-oriented strands of libertarianism in the United States have been described as being right-wing,^[67] New Right,^{[68][69][70][71]} radical right^{[59][60]} and reactionary.^{[13][72]}



The Nolan Chart

American libertarian activist and politician David Nolan, the principal founder of the Libertarian Party, developed what is now known as the Nolan Chart to replace the traditional left-right political spectrum. The Nolan Chart has been used by several modern American libertarians and right-libertarians who reject the traditional political spectrum for its lack of inclusivity and see themselves as north-of-center. It is used in an effort to quantify typical libertarian views that support both free markets and social liberties and reject what

they see as restrictions on economic and personal freedom imposed by the left and the right, respectively,^[73] although this later point has been criticized.^[74] Other libertarians reject the separation of personal and economic liberty or argue that the Nolan Chart gives no weight to foreign policy.^[75]

Since the resurgence of neoliberalism in the 1970s, right-libertarianism has spread beyond North America via think tanks and political parties.^{[76][77][78]} In the United States, libertarianism is increasingly viewed as this capitalist free-market position.^{[2][3][7][4]}

Terminology

As a term, *right-libertarianism* is used by some political analysts, academics and media sources, especially in the United States, to describe the libertarian philosophy which is supportive of free-market capitalism and strong right to property, in addition to supporting limited government and self-ownership,^[79] being contrasted with left-wing views which do not support the former. In most of the world, this particular political position is mostly known as classical liberalism, economic liberalism and neoliberalism.^[80] It is mainly associated with right-wing politics, support for free markets and private ownership of capital goods. Furthermore, it is usually contrasted with similar ideologies such as social democracy and social liberalism which generally favor alternative forms of capitalism such as mixed economies, state capitalism and welfare capitalism.^{[81][82]}

Peter Vallentyne writes that libertarianism, defined as being about self-ownership, is not a right-wing doctrine in the context of the typical left–right political spectrum because on social issues it tends to be left-wing, opposing laws restricting consensual sexual relationships between or drug use by adults as well as laws imposing religious views or practices and compulsory military service. He defines right-libertarianism as holding that unowned natural resources "may be appropriated by the first person who discovers them, mixes her labor with them, or merely claims them—without the consent of others, and with little or no payment to them". He contrasts this with left-libertarianism, where such "unappropriated natural resources belong to everyone in some egalitarian manner".^[21] Similarly, Charlotte and Lawrence Becker maintain that right-libertarianism most often refers to the political position that because natural resources are originally unowned, they may be appropriated at-will by private parties without the consent of, or owing to, others.^[83]

Samuel Edward Konkin III, who characterized agorism as a form of left-libertarianism^{[84][85]} and strategic branch of left-wing market anarchism,^[86] defined right-libertarianism as an "activist, organization, publication or tendency which supports parliamentarianism exclusively as a strategy for reducing or abolishing the state, typically opposes Counter-Economics, either opposes the Libertarian Party or works to drag it right and prefers coalitions with supposedly 'free-market' conservatives".^[87]

Anthony Gregory maintains that libertarianism "can refer to any number of varying and at times mutually exclusive political orientations". While holding that the important distinction for libertarians is not left or right, but whether they are "government apologists who use libertarian rhetoric to defend state aggression", he describes right-libertarianism as having and maintaining interest in economic freedom, preferring a conservative lifestyle, viewing private business as a "great victim of the state" and favoring a non-interventionist foreign policy, sharing the Old Right's "opposition to empire".^[88]

Old Right

Murray Rothbard, whose writings and personal influence helped create some strands of right-libertarianism,^[89] wrote about the Old Right in the United States, a loose coalition of individuals formed in the 1930s to oppose the New Deal at home and military interventionism abroad, that they "did not describe or think of themselves as conservatives: they wanted to repeal and overthrow, not conserve".^[90] Bill

Kauffman has also written about such "old right libertarians".^[91] Peter Marshall dates right-libertarianism and anarcho-capitalism in particular back to the Old Right and as being popularized again by the New Right.^[70]

Individuals who are seen in this Old Right libertarian tradition^{[90][92][93]} include Frank Chodorov,^{[94][95]} John T. Flynn,^{[96][97]} Garet Garrett,^{[98][99]} Rose Wilder Lane,^{[100][101]} H. L. Mencken,^[102] Albert Jay Nock^{[103][104][105]} and Isabel Paterson.^{[106][107]} What those thinkers had in common was opposition to the rise of the managerial state during the Progressive Era and its expansion in connection with the New Deal and the Fair Deal whilst challenging imperialism and military interventionism.^[108] However, *Old Right* was a label about which many or most of these figures might have been skeptical as most thought of themselves effectively as classical liberals rather than the national defense and social conservatism of thinkers associated with the later movement conservatism, with Chodorov famously writing: "As for me, I will punch anyone who calls me a conservative in the nose. I am a radical".^{[109][110][111]} Their opposition and resistance to the state approached philosophical anarchism with Nock and amounted to statelessness in Chodorov's case.^[91] On the other hand, Lew Rockwell and Jeffrey Tucker identifies the Old Right as being culturally conservative, arguing that "[v]igorous social authority—as embodied in the family, church, and other mediating institutions—is a bedrock of the virtuous society" and that "[t]he egalitarian ethic is morally reprehensible and destructive of private property and social authority".^[112]

While *libertarian* was popularized by the libertarian socialist Benjamin Tucker around the late 1870s and early 1880s,^[113] H. L. Mencken and Albert Jay Nock were the first prominent figures in the United States to describe themselves as *libertarian* as synonym for *liberal*. They believed that Franklin D. Roosevelt had co-opted the word *liberal* for his New Deal policies which they opposed and used *libertarian* to signify their allegiance to classical liberalism, individualism and limited government.^[114]

In the 1960s, Rothbard started publishing *Left and Right: A Journal of Libertarian Thought*, believing that the left–right political spectrum had gone "entirely askew" since conservatives were sometimes more statist than liberals and tried to reach out to leftists and go beyond left and right.^[115] In 1971, Rothbard wrote about right-libertarianism which he described as supporting free trade, property rights and self-ownership.^[1] Rothbard would later describe it as anarcho-capitalism^{[116][117][118]} and paleolibertarianism.^{[119][120]}

Philosophy

Right-libertarianism developed in the United States in the mid-20th century from the works of European liberal writers such as John Locke, Friedrich Hayek and Ludwig von Mises and is the most popular conception of libertarianism in the United States today.^{[4][40]} It is commonly referred to as a continuation or radicalization of classical liberalism.^{[46][121]} The most important of these early right-libertarian philosophers were modern American libertarians such as Robert Nozick and Murray Rothbard.^[2]

Although often sharing the left-libertarian advocacy for social freedom, right-libertarians also value capitalism while rejecting institutions that intervene the free market on the grounds that such interventions represent unnecessary coercion of individuals and therefore a violation of their economic freedom.^[122] Anarcho-capitalists^{[123][124]} seek complete elimination of the state in favor of private defense agencies while minarchists defend night-watchman states which maintain only those functions of government necessary to safeguard natural rights, understood in terms of self-ownership or autonomy.^[125]

Right-libertarians are economic liberals of either the Austrian School (majority) or the Chicago school of economics (minority) and support *laissez-faire* capitalism which they define as the free market in opposition to state capitalism and interventionism.^[126] Right-libertarianism and its individualism have been discussed

as part of the New Right^{[70][71]} in relation to neoliberalism and Thatcherism.^[69] In the 20th century, New Right liberal conservatism influenced by right-libertarianism marginalized other forms of conservatism.^[127]

The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy describes right-libertarian philosophy as follows:

Libertarianism is often thought of as 'right-wing' doctrine. This, however, is mistaken for at least two reasons. First, on social—rather than economic—issues, libertarianism tends to be 'left-wing'. It opposes laws that restrict consensual and private sexual relationships between adults (e.g., gay sex, non-marital sex, and deviant sex), laws that restrict drug use, laws that impose religious views or practices on individuals, and compulsory military service. Second, in addition to the better-known version of libertarianism—right-libertarianism—there is also a version known as 'left-libertarianism'. Both endorse full self-ownership, but they differ with respect to the powers agents have to appropriate unappropriated natural resources (land, air, water, etc.).^[21]

Right-libertarians are distinguished from the dominant libertarian tradition by their relation to property and capital. While both libertarianism and right-libertarianism share general antipathy towards power by government authority, the latter exempts power wielded through free-market capitalism. Historically, libertarians such as Herbert Spencer and Max Stirner supported the protection of an individual's freedom from powers of government and private ownership. While condemning governmental encroachment on personal liberties, right-libertarians support freedoms on the basis of their agreement with private property rights and the abolishment of public amenities is a common theme in right-libertarian writings.^{[9][128]}

While associated with free-market capitalism, right-libertarianism is not opposed in principle to voluntary egalitarianism and socialism.^{[129][130]} However, right-libertarians believe that their advocated economic system would prove superior and that people would prefer it to socialism.^{[131][132]} For Nozick, it does not imply support of capitalism, but merely that capitalism is compatible with libertarianism,^[133] something which is rejected by anti-capitalist libertarians.^{[134][135][136][137]}

According to Stephen Metcalf, Nozick expressed serious misgivings about capitalism, going so far as to reject much of the foundations of the theory on the grounds that personal freedom can sometimes only be fully actualized via a collectivist politics and that wealth is at times justly redistributed via taxation to protect the freedom of the many from the potential tyranny of an overly selfish and powerful few.^[138] Nozick suggested that citizens who are opposed to wealth redistribution which fund programs they object to should be able to opt out by supporting alternative government approved charities with an added 5% surcharge.^[139] Nonetheless, Nozick did not stop from self-identifying as a libertarian in a broad sense^[140] and Julian Sanchez has argued that his views simply became more nuanced.^[141]

Non-aggression principle

The non-aggression principle (NAP) is often described as the foundation of several present-day libertarian philosophies, including right-libertarianism.^{[142][143][144][145][146]} The NAP is a moral stance which forbids actions that are inconsistent with capitalist private property and property rights. It defines aggression and initiation of force as violation of these rights. The NAP and property rights are closely linked since what constitutes aggression depends on what it is considered to be one's property.^[147]

While the principle has been used rhetorically to oppose policies such as military drafts, taxation and victimless crime laws, use of the NAP as a justification for right-libertarianism has been criticized as circular reasoning and as a rhetorical obfuscation of the coercive nature of right-libertarian property law enforcement^[6] because the principle redefines aggression in their own terms.^{[33][34][35][36][37][38][39]}

Property rights

While there is debate on whether right-libertarianism and left-libertarianism or socialist libertarianism "represent distinct ideologies as opposed to variations on a theme", right-libertarianism is most in favor of capitalist private property and property rights.^[148] Right-libertarians maintain that unowned natural resources "may be appropriated by the first person who discovers them, mixes his labor with them, or merely claims them—without the consent of others, and with little or no payment to them". This contrasts with left-libertarianism in which "unappropriated natural resources belong to everyone in some egalitarian manner".^[149] Right-libertarians believe that natural resources are originally unowned and therefore private parties may appropriate them at will without the consent of, or owing to, others (e.g. a land value tax).^[150]

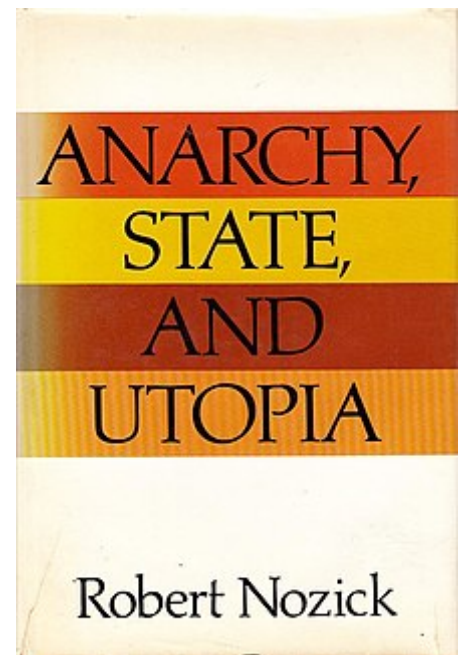
Right-libertarians are also referred to as propertarians because they hold that societies in which private property rights are enforced are the only ones that are both ethical and lead to the best possible outcomes.^[151] They generally support free-market capitalism and are not opposed to any concentrations of economic power, provided it occurs through non-coercive means.^[152] This has been criticized because "the holders of large amounts of property have great power to dictate the terms upon which others work for them and thus in effect the power to 'force' others to be resources for them".^[6]

State

There is a debate amongst right-libertarians as to whether or not the state is legitimate. While anarcho-capitalists advocate its abolition, minarchists support minimal states, often referred to as night-watchman states. Minarchists maintain that the state is necessary for the protection of individuals from aggression, breach of contract, fraud and theft. They believe the only legitimate governmental institutions are courts, military and police, although some expand this list to include the executive and legislative branches, fire departments and prisons. These minarchists justify the state on the grounds that it is the logical consequence of adhering to the non-aggression principle.^{[153][154][155]} Some minarchists argue that a state is inevitable, believing anarchy to be futile.^[156] Others argue that anarchy is immoral because it implies that the non-aggression principle is optional and not sufficient to enforce the non-aggression principle because the enforcement of laws under anarchy is open to competition.^[157] Another common justification is that private defense agencies and court firms would tend to represent the interests of those who pay them enough.^[158]

Right-libertarians such as anarcho-capitalists argue that the state violates the non-aggression principle by its nature because governments use force against those who have not stolen or vandalized private property, assaulted anyone, or committed fraud.^{[159][160]} Others argue that monopolies tend to be corrupt and inefficient and that private defense and court agencies would have to have a good reputation to stay in business. Linda and Morris Tannehill argue that no coercive monopoly of force can arise on a truly free market and that a government's citizenry can desert them in favor of a competent protection and defense agency.^[161]

Philosopher Moshe Kroy argues that the disagreement between anarcho-capitalists who adhere to Murray Rothbard's view of human consciousness and the nature of values and minarchists who adhere to Ayn Rand's view of human consciousness and the nature of values over whether or not the state is moral is not



Anarchy, State, and Utopia (1974), a book by philosopher Robert Nozick arguing for a minimal state

due to a disagreement over the correct interpretation of a mutually held ethical stance. He argues that the disagreement between these two groups is instead the result of their disagreement over the nature of human consciousness and that each group is making the correct interpretation of their differing premises. According to Kroy, these two groups are not making any errors with respect to deducing the correct interpretation of any ethical stance because they do not hold the same ethical stance.^[162]

Taxation as theft

The idea of taxation as theft is a viewpoint found in a number of political philosophies. Under this view, government transgresses property rights by enforcing compulsory tax collection.^{[163][164]} Right-libertarians see taxation as a violation of the non-aggression principle.^[165]

Schools of thought

Anarcho-capitalism

Anarcho-capitalism advocates the elimination of centralized states in favor of capitalism,^{[166][167][168]} contracts, free markets, individual sovereignty, private property, the right-libertarian interpretation of self-ownership and voluntaryism. In the absence of statute, anarcho-capitalists hold that society tends to contractually self-regulate and civilize through participation in the free market which they describe as a voluntary society.^{[169][170]} In an anarcho-capitalist society, courts, law enforcement and all other security services would be provided by privately funded competitors rather than through taxation and money would be privately and competitively provided in an open market.^[171] Under anarcho-capitalism, personal and economic activities would be regulated by private law rather than through politics.^[172] Anarcho-capitalists support wage labour and believe that neither protection of person and property nor victim compensation requires a state.^[70] Autarchism promotes the principles of individualism, the moral ideology of individual liberty and self-reliance whilst rejecting compulsory government and supporting the elimination of government in favor of ruling oneself to the exclusion of rule by others. Robert LeFevre, a "self-proclaimed autarchist",^[173] recognized by Rothbard,^[174] distinguished autarchism from anarchy, whose economics he felt entailed interventions contrary to freedom in contrast to his own laissez-faire economics of the Austrian School.^[175]



Murray Rothbard

The most well-known version of anarcho-capitalism was formulated in the mid-20th century by Austrian School economist and paleolibertarian Murray Rothbard.^[176] Widely regarded as its founder,^[177] Rothbard combined the free-market approach from the Austrian School with the human rights views and a rejection of the state from 19th-century American individualist anarchists and mutualists such as Lysander Spooner and Benjamin Tucker, although rejecting their anti-capitalism and socialist economics, along with the labor theory of value and the normative implications they derived from it.^[178] In Rothbardian anarcho-capitalism, exemplified in *For a New Liberty*, there would first be the implementation of a mutually agreed-upon libertarian "legal code which would be generally accepted and which the courts would pledge themselves to follow".^[179] This legal code would recognize contracts, individual sovereignty, private property, self-ownership and tort law as part of the principle of non-aggression.^[180] In the tradition following David D. Friedman, exemplified in *The Machinery of Freedom*, anarcho-capitalists do not rely upon the idea of natural law or natural rights (deontological libertarianism) and follow consequentialist libertarianism, presenting economic justifications for a free-market capitalist society.^[181]

While some authors consider anarcho-capitalism a form of individualist anarchism, this has been criticized for being taken at face value and misunderstanding 19th-century individualist anarchists, who were anti-capitalists, libertarian socialists and mutualists.^[182] Many anarchist activists and scholars deny that anarcho-capitalism is a form of anarchism, or that capitalism is compatible with anarchism,^[182] regarding it instead as right-libertarian.^{[2][3][7]} Anarcho-capitalists are distinguished from anarchists and minarchists. The latter advocate a night-watchman state limited to protecting individuals from aggression and enforcing private property.^[183] On the other hand, anarchists support personal property (defined in terms of possession and use, i.e. mutualist usufruct)^{[184][185]} and oppose capital concentration, interest, monopoly, private ownership of productive property such as the means of production (capital, land and the means of labor), profit, rent, usury and wage slavery which are viewed as inherent to capitalism.^{[186][187]} Anarchism's emphasis on anti-capitalism, egalitarianism and for the extension of community and individuality sets it apart from anarcho-capitalism and other types of right-libertarianism.^{[188][189][190][191]}

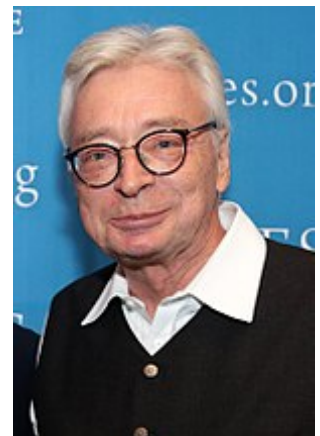
Ruth Kinna writes that *anarcho-capitalism* is a term coined by Rothbard to describe "a commitment to unregulated private property and laissez-faire economics, prioritizing the liberty-rights of individuals, unfettered by government regulation, to accumulate, consume and determine the patterns of their lives as they see fit". According to Kinna, anarcho-capitalists "will sometimes label themselves market anarchists because they recognize the negative connotations of 'capitalism'. But the literatures of anarcho-capitalism draw on classical liberal theory, particularly the Austrian School – Friedrich von Hayek and Ludwig von Mises – rather than recognizable anarchist traditions. Ayn Rand's laissez-faire, anti-government, corporate philosophy – Objectivism – is sometimes associated with anarcho-capitalism".^[192] Other scholars similarly associates anarcho-capitalism with anti-state liberal schools such as neo-classical liberalism, radical neoliberalism and right-libertarianism.^{[2][3][4][7][193]} Anarcho-capitalism is usually seen as part of the New Right.^{[71][194]}

Conservative libertarianism

Conservative libertarianism combines *laissez-faire* economics and conservative values. It advocates the greatest possible economic liberty and the least possible government regulation of social life whilst harnessing this to traditionalist conservatism, emphasizing authority and duty.^[195]

Conservative libertarianism prioritizes liberty as its main emphasis, promoting free expression, freedom of choice and *laissez-faire* capitalism to achieve cultural and social conservative ends whilst rejecting liberal social engineering.^[196] This can also be understood as promoting civil society through conservative institutions and authority such as education, family, fatherland and religion in the quest of libertarian ends for less state power.^[197]

In the United States, conservative libertarianism combines conservatism and libertarianism, representing the conservative wing of libertarianism and vice versa. Fusionism combines traditionalist and social conservatism with *laissez-faire* economics.^[198] This is most closely associated with Frank Meyer.^[199] Hans-Hermann Hoppe is a cultural conservative right-libertarian, whose belief in rights of property owners to establish private covenant communities, from which homosexuals and political dissidents may be "physically removed",^[200] has proven particularly divisive.^{[201][202][203][204]} Hoppe also garnered controversy due to his support for restrictive limits on immigration which critics argue is at odds with libertarianism.^[205]



Hans-Hermann Hoppe

Minarchism

Within right-libertarian philosophy, minarchism^[206] is supportive of a night-watchman state, a model of a state whose only functions are to provide its citizens with courts, military and police, protecting them from aggression, breach of contract, fraud and theft whilst enforcing property laws.^{[153][154][155]} 19th-century Britain has been described by historian Charles Townshend as standard-bearer of this form of government among European countries.^[207]

As a term, *night-watchman state* (German: *Nachtwächterstaat*) was coined by German socialist Ferdinand Lassalle, an advocate of social-democratic state socialism, to criticize the bourgeois state.^[208] Austrian School economist Ludwig von Mises, a classical liberal who greatly influenced right-libertarianism, later opined that Lassalle tried to make limited government look ridiculous, but that it was no more ridiculous than governments that concerned themselves with "the preparation of sauerkraut, with the manufacture of trouser buttons, or with the publication of newspapers".^[209]

Robert Nozick, a right-libertarian advocate of minarchism, received a National Book Award in category Philosophy and Religion for his book *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (1974),^[210] where he argued that only a minimal state limited to the narrow functions of protection against "force, fraud, theft, and administering courts of law" could be justified without violating people's rights.^{[211][212]}

Neo-classical liberalism

Traditionally, liberalism's primary emphasis was placed on securing the freedom of the individual by limiting the power of the government and maximizing the power of free market forces. As a political philosophy, it advocated civil liberties under the rule of law, with an emphasis on economic freedom. Closely related to economic liberalism, it developed in the early 19th century, emerging as a response to urbanization and to the Industrial Revolution in Europe and the United States.^{[213][214][215][216]} It advocated a limited government and held a belief in *laissez-faire* economic policy.^{[217][218][219]}



Friedrich Hayek

Built on ideas that had already arisen by the end of the 18th century such as selected ideas of John Locke,^[220] Adam Smith, Thomas Robert Malthus, Jean-Baptiste Say and David Ricardo, it drew on classical economics and economic ideas as espoused by Smith in *The Wealth of Nations* and stressed the belief in progress,^[221] natural law^[222] and utilitarianism.^[223] These liberals were more suspicious than conservatives of all but the most minimal government and adopted Thomas Hobbes's theory of government, believing government had been created by individuals to protect themselves from one another.^[224] The term *classical liberalism* was applied in retrospect to distinguish earlier 19th-century liberalism from the newer *social liberalism*.^[225]

Neoliberalism emerged in the era following World War II during which social liberalism was the mainstream form of liberalism while Keynesianism and social democracy were the dominant ideologies in the Western world. It was led by neoclassical economists such as Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman, who advocated the reduction of the state and a return to classical liberalism, hence the term *neo-classical liberalism*,^[226] not to be confused with the more left-leaning neoclassical liberalism,^{[227][228]} an American bleeding-heart libertarian school originating in Arizona.^[227] However, it did accept some aspects of social liberalism such as some degree of welfare provision by the state, but on a greatly reduced scale. Hayek and Friedman used the term *classical liberalism* to refer to their ideas, but others use the term to refer to all liberalism before the 20th century, not to designate any particular set of political views and therefore see all modern developments as being by definition not classical.^[16]

In the late 19th century, classical liberalism developed into neo-classical liberalism which argued for government to be as small as possible to allow the exercise of individual freedom. In its most extreme form, neo-classical liberalism advocated social Darwinism.^[229] Right-libertarianism has been influenced by these schools of liberalism. It has been commonly referred to as a continuation or radicalization of classical liberalism^{[16][46][121][230]} and referred to as neo-classical liberalism.^[229]

Neoliberalism

The concept of neoliberalism gained a small following in the mid-2000s^[231] among right-leaning commentators who distinguished themselves from neoconservatives by their support for individual liberties^[232] and from libertarians by their support for foreign interventionism.^[231]

Paleolibertarianism

Paleolibertarianism was developed by American libertarian theorists Murray Rothbard and Lew Rockwell. Combining conservative cultural values and social philosophy with a libertarian opposition to government intervention,^[233] it overlaps with paleoconservatism.^{[234][235]}

In the United States, paleolibertarianism is a controversial current due its connections to the alt-right^{[202][203][204]} and the Tea Party movement.^{[236][237]} Besides their anti-gun control stance in regard to gun laws and politics in support of the right to keep and bear arms, these movements, especially the Old Right and paleoconservatism, are united by an anti-leftist stance.^{[234][238]} In the essay "Right-Wing Populism: A Strategy for the Paleo Movement", Rothbard reflected on the ability of paleolibertarians to engage in an "outreach to rednecks" founded on libertarianism and social conservatism.^[239] He cited former Louisiana State Representative David Duke and former United States Senator Joseph McCarthy as models for the new movement.^[235]



Lew Rockwell

In Europe, paleolibertarianism has some significant overlap with right-wing populism. Former European Union-parliamentarian Janusz Korwin-Mikke from KORWiN supports both *laissez-faire* economics and anti-immigration and anti-feminist positions.^{[240][241][242]}

Propertarianism

Propertarianism advocates the replacement of states with contractual relationships. Propertarian ideals are most commonly cited to advocate for a state or other governance body whose main or only job is to enforce contracts and private property.^{[243][244]}

Propertarianism is generally considered right-libertarian^[192] because it "reduce[s] all human rights to rights of property, beginning with the natural right of self-ownership".^[245]

As a term, *propertarian* appears to have been coined in 1963 by Edward Cain, who wrote:

Since their use of the word "liberty" refers almost exclusively to property, it would be helpful if we had some other word, such as "propertarian," to describe them. [...] Novelist Ayn Rand is not a conservative at all but claims to be very relevant. She is a radical capitalist, and is the closest to what I mean by a propertarian.^[246]

By country

Since the 1970s, right-libertarianism has spread beyond the United States.^{[77][78]} With the foundation of the Libertarian Party in 1971,^{[247][248]} many countries followed the example and led to the creation of libertarian parties advocating this type of libertarianism, along with classical liberalism, economic liberalism and neoliberalism, around the world, including Britain,^[249] Israel^{[250][251][252][253]} and South Africa.^[254] Internationally, the majority of those libertarian parties are grouped within the International Alliance of Libertarian Parties.^{[255][256][257][258]} There also exists the European Party for Individual Liberty at the European level.^[259]

Murray Rothbard was the founder and co-founder of a number of right-libertarian and right-libertarian-leaning journals and organizations. Rothbard was the founder of the Center for Libertarian Studies in 1976, the *Journal of Libertarian Studies* and co-founder of the Mises Institute in 1982,^[260] including the founding in 1987 of the Mises Institute's *Review of Austrian Economics*, a heterodox economics^[261] journal later renamed the *Quarterly Journal of Austrian Economics*.^[262]

United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom, right-libertarianism emerged and became more prominent in British politics after the 1980s neoliberalism and the economic liberalism of the premiership of Margaret Thatcher, albeit not as prominent as in the United States during the 1970s and the presidency of Republican Ronald Reagan during the 1980s.^[263]

Prominent British right-libertarians include former director of the Libertarian Alliance Sean Gabb and philosopher Stephen R. L. Clark, who are seen as rightists. Gabb has called himself "a man of the right"^[264] and Clark self-identifies as an "anarcho-conservative."^{[265][266]} Gabb has also articulated a libertarian defense of the British Empire.^[267] At the same time, Gabb has given a generally appreciative commentary of left-libertarian Kevin Carson's work on organization theory^[268] and Clark has supported animal rights, gender inclusiveness and non-judgmental attitude toward some unconventional sexual arrangements.^{[269][270][271][272]}

Apart from the Libertarian Party, there is also a right-libertarian faction of the mainstream Conservative Party that espouses Thatcherism.^[273]

United States

Right-libertarianism is the dominant form and better known version of libertarianism in the United States,^{[4][20]} especially when compared with left-libertarianism.^[21] Robert Nozick and Murray Rothbard have been described as the most noted advocate of this type of libertarianism.^{[2][3][7]} Unlike Rothbard, who argued for the abolition of the state,^[274] Nozick argued for a night-watchman state.^[210] To this day, there remains a division between anarcho-capitalists that advocate its abolition and minarchists who support a night-watchman state.^[3] According to Nozick, only such a minimal state could be justified without violating people's rights. Nozick argued that a night-watchman state provides a framework that allows for any political system that respects fundamental individual rights and therefore morally justifies the existence of a state.^{[211][212]}

Already a radical classical liberal and anti-interventionist strongly influenced by the Old Right, especially its opposition to the managerial state whilst being more unequivocally anti-war and anti-imperialist,^[275] Rothbard had become the doyen of right-libertarianism.^{[276][277]} Before his departure from the New Left, with which he helped build for a few years a relationship with other libertarians, Rothbard considered liberalism and libertarianism to be left-wing, radical and revolutionary whereas conservatism to be right-wing, reactionary and counter-revolutionary. As for socialism, especially state socialism, Rothbard argued that it was not the opposite of libertarianism, but rather that it pursued liberal ends through conservative means, putting it in the political center.^{[278][279]} By the time of his death in 1995,^[280] Rothbard had involved the segment of the libertarian movement loyal to him in an alliance with the growing paleoconservative movement,^{[281][282]} seen by many observers, libertarian and otherwise, as flirting with racism and social reaction.^{[202][203][204]} Suggesting that libertarians needed a new cultural profile that would make them more acceptable to social and cultural conservatives, Rothbard criticized the tendency of proponents of libertarianism to appeal to "'free spirits,' to people who don't want to push other people around, and who don't want to be pushed around themselves" in contrast to "the bulk of Americans," who "might well be tight-assed conformists, who want to stamp out drugs in their vicinity, kick out people with strange dress habits." While emphasizing that it was relevant as a matter of strategy, Rothbard argued that the failure to pitch the libertarian message to Middle America might result in the loss of "the tight-assed majority."^[283]



Jeffrey Tucker

At least partly reflective of some of the social and cultural concerns that lay beneath Rothbard's outreach to paleoconservatives is paleolibertarianism.^[284] In an early statement of this position, Lew Rockwell and Jeffrey Tucker arguing for a specifically Christian libertarianism.^[112] Later, Rockwell would no longer consider himself a "paleolibertarian" and was "happy with the term libertarian."^[285] While distancing himself from the paleolibertarian alliance strategy, Rockwell affirmed paleoconservatives for their "work on the immigration issue" and maintained that "porous borders in Texas and California" could be seen as "reducing liberty, not increasing it, through a form of publicly subsidized right to trespass."^[286]

Hans-Hermann Hoppe argued that "libertarians must be conservatives."^[287] Hoppe acknowledged what he described as "the importance, under clearly stated circumstances, of discriminating against communists, democrats, and habitual advocates of alternative, non-family centered lifestyles, including homosexuals."^{[288][289]} He disagreed with Walter Block^[290] and argued that libertarianism need not be seen as requiring open borders.^[291] Hoppe attributed "open border enthusiasm" to "egalitarianism."^[292] While defending market anarchy in preference to both, Hoppe argued for the superiority of monarchy to democracy by maintaining that monarchs are likely to be better stewards of the territory they claim to own than are democratic politicians, whose time horizons may be shorter.^[293]

Defending the fusion of traditionalist conservatism with libertarianism and rejecting the view that libertarianism means support for a liberal culture, Edward Feser implies that a central issue for those who share his viewpoint is "the preservation of traditional morality—particularly traditional sexual morality, with its idealization of marriage and its insistence that sexual activity be confined within the bounds of that institution, but also a general emphasis on dignity and temperance over self-indulgence and dissolute living."^[294]

California Governor Ronald Reagan appealed to right-libertarians in a 1975 interview with Reason by stating to "believe the very heart and soul of conservatism is libertarianism."^[295] However, President Reagan, Reaganomics and policies of the Reagan administration have been criticized by libertarians, including right-libertarians such as Rothbard,^{[296][297]} who argued that the Reagan presidency has been "a disaster for libertarianism in the United States"^[298] and Reagan himself was "a dramatic failure."^[299] Among other reasons, this was because Reagan turned the United States' big trade deficit into debt and the

United States became a debtor nation for the first time since World War I under Reagan.^{[300][301]} Ron Paul was one of the first elected officials in the nation to support Reagan's presidential campaign^[302] and actively campaigned for Reagan in 1976 and 1980.^[299] Paul quickly became disillusioned with the Reagan administration's policies after Reagan's election in 1980 and later recalled being the only Republican to vote against the Reagan budget proposals in 1981,^{[303][304]} aghast that "in 1977, Jimmy Carter proposed a budget with a \$38 billion deficit, and every Republican in the House voted against it. In 1981, Reagan proposed a budget with a \$45 billion deficit—which turned out to be \$113 billion—and Republicans were cheering his great victory. They were living in a storybook land."^[302] Paul expressed his disgust with the political culture of both major parties in a speech delivered in 1984 upon resigning from the House of Representatives to prepare for a failed run for the Senate and eventually apologized to his libertarian friends for having supported Reagan.^[304] By 1987, Paul was ready to sever all ties to the Republican Party as explained in a blistering resignation letter.^[299] While affiliated with both Libertarian and Republican parties at different times, Paul stated to have always been a libertarian at heart.^{[303][304]}

Walter Block identifies Feser, Hoppe and Paul as "right-libertarians."^[62] Rothbard's outreach to conservatives was partly triggered by his perception of negative reactions within the Libertarian Party to Ron Paul 1988 presidential campaign because of Paul's conservative appearance and his discomfort with abortion. Nonetheless, Paul himself did not make cultural issues central to his public persona during his 2008 and 2012 presidential campaigns for the Republican presidential nomination and focused on a simple message of support for personal freedom and civil liberties, commitment to fiscal discipline and opposition to war,^[305] although he did continue to take what some regarded as a conservative position regarding immigration, arguing for some restrictions on cross-border freedom of movement.^[306]



Walter Block

Paul's fellow libertarian anti-militarist Justin Raimondo, a co-founder of Antiwar.com, described himself as a "conservative paleolibertarian." Unlike Feser and Rockwell, Raimondo's *Reclaiming the American Right* argued for a resurgence of Old Right political attitudes and did not focus on the social and cultural issues that are of central importance to Feser and Rockwell.^[307]

See also

- Anarchism and capitalism
- Anti-egalitarianism
- Conservative liberalism
- Constitutionalism
- Criticism of democracy
- Debates within libertarianism
- Fiscal conservatism
- Freedom of association
- Free banking
- Issues in anarchism
- Labor mobility
- Libertarianism in South Africa
- Libertarianism in the United Kingdom
- Market fundamentalism
- Objectivist movement

- [Outline of libertarianism](#)
- [Patriot movement](#)
- [Republican Liberty Caucus](#)
- [Ron Paul Revolution](#)
- [Sovereign citizen movement](#)

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15. Newman 2010, p. 43: "It is important to distinguish between anarchism and certain strands of right-wing libertarianism which at times go by the same name (for example, Murray Rothbard's anarcho-capitalism). There is a complex debate within this tradition between those like Robert Nozick, who advocate a 'minimal state', and those like Rothbard who want to do away with the state altogether and allow all transactions to be governed by the market alone. From an anarchist perspective, however, both positions—the minimal state (minarchist) and the no-state ('anarchist') positions—neglect the problem of economic domination; in other words, they neglect the hierarchies, oppressions, and forms of exploitation that would inevitably arise in a *laissez-faire* 'free' market. [...] Anarchism, therefore, has no truck with this right-wing libertarianism, not only because it neglects economic inequality and domination, but also because in practice (and theory) it is highly inconsistent and contradictory. The individual freedom invoked by right-wing libertarians is only a narrow economic freedom within the constraints of a capitalist market, which, as anarchists show, is no freedom at all." sfn error: multiple targets (2×): CITEREFNewman2010 ([help](#))
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17. Van de Haar 2015, p. 71.
18. Van de Haar 2015, p. 42.
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20. Beltrán, Miquel (1989). "Libertarismo y deber. Una reflexión sobre la ética de Nozick" (<http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=32947>) [Libertarianism and duty. A reflection on Nozick's ethics]. *Revista de ciencias sociales* (in Spanish). **91**: 123–128. ISSN 0210-0223 (<https://www.worldcat.org/issn/0210-0223>).
21. Vallentyne, Peter (20 July 2010). "Libertarianism" (<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/libertarianism/>). *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Stanford University. Retrieved 26 December 2012.
22. Rothbard, Murray (2009) [2007]. *The Betrayal of the American Right* (https://cdn.mises.org/The%20Betrayal%20of%20the%20American%20Right_2.pdf) (PDF). Mises Institute. p. 83. ISBN 978-1610165013. "One gratifying aspect of our rise to some prominence is that, for the first time in my memory, we, 'our side,' had captured a crucial word from the enemy. 'Libertarians' had long been simply a polite word for left-wing anarchists, that is for anti-private property anarchists, either of the communist or syndicalist variety. But now we had taken it over."
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288. Hans-Hermann Hoppe, "[My Battle With The Thought Police \(http://mises.org/daily/1792\)](http://mises.org/daily/1792)," *Mises Daily* (Mises Institute, 12 April 2005). The quoted material in the text was intended as an elaboration of an earlier discussion in *Democracy*; Hoppe noted that "a few sentences" of *Democracy: The God that Failed* address that point and noted: "In its proper context these statements are hardly more offensive than saying that the Catholic Church should excommunicate those violating its fundamental precepts or that a nudist colony should expel those insisting on wearing bathing suits." In *Democracy*, he suggests that in a stateless society, it would make sense for people forming communities "for the purpose of protecting family and kin" to eschew "tolerance toward those habitually promoting lifestyles incompatible with this goal." He stated that "the advocates of alternative, non-family-centered lifestyles such as, for instance, individual hedonism, parasitism, nature-environment worship, homosexuality, or communism—will have to be physically removed from society, too, if one is to maintain a libertarian order." Hans-Hermann Hoppe, *Democracy: The God That Failed* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction 2001) 218.
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Libertarian paternalism

Libertarian paternalism is the idea that it is both possible and legitimate for private and public institutions to affect behavior while also respecting freedom of choice, as well as the implementation of that idea. The term was coined by behavioral economist [Richard Thaler](#) and legal scholar [Cass Sunstein](#) in a 2003 article in the *American Economic Review*.^[1] The authors further elaborated upon their ideas in a more in-depth article published in the *University of Chicago Law Review* that same year.^[2] They propose that libertarian paternalism is [paternalism](#) in the sense that "it tries to influence choices in a way that will make choosers better off, as judged by themselves" (p. 5); note and consider, the concept paternalism specifically requires a restriction of choice. It is [libertarian](#) in the sense that it aims to ensure that "people should be free to opt out of specified arrangements if they choose to do so" (p. 1161). The possibility to opt out is said to "preserve freedom of choice" (p. 1182). Thaler and Sunstein published *Nudge*, a book-length defense of this political doctrine, in 2008 (new edition 2009).^[3]

Libertarian paternalism is similar to asymmetric paternalism, which refers to policies designed to help people who behave irrationally and so are not advancing their own interests, while interfering only minimally with people who behave rationally.^[4] Such policies are also asymmetric in the sense that they should be acceptable both to those who believe that people behave rationally and to those who believe that people often behave irrationally.

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Examples of policies

Setting the default in order to exploit the [default effect](#) is a typical example of a soft paternalist policy. Countries that have an "opt-out" system for voluntary [organ donation](#) (anyone who did not explicitly refuse to donate their organs in the case of accident is considered a donor) experience dramatically higher levels of organ donation consent, than countries with an opt-in system. [Austria](#), with an opt-out system, has a consent rate of 99.98%, while [Germany](#), with a very similar culture and economic situation, but an opt-in system, has a consent rate of only 12%.^[5]

Cab drivers in [New York City](#) have seen an increase in tips from 10% to 22% after passengers had the ability to pay using credit cards on a device installed in the cab whose screen presented them with three default tip options, ranging from 15% to 30%.^[6]

Until recently, the default contribution rate for most tax-deferred retirement savings plans in the United States was zero, and despite the enormous tax advantages, many people took years to start contributing if they ever did. Behavioral economists attribute this to the "status quo bias", the common human resistance to changing one's behavior, combined with another common problem: the tendency to procrastinate. Research by behavioral economists demonstrated, moreover, that firms which raised the default rate instantly and dramatically raised the contribution rates of their employees.^[7]

Raising default contribution rates is also an example of asymmetric paternalism. Those who are making an informed deliberate choice to put aside zero percent of their income in tax deferred savings still have this option, but those who were not saving simply out of inertia or due to procrastination are helped by higher default contribution rates. It is also asymmetric in the second sense: If you do not believe that defaults matter, because you believe that people will make rational decisions about something as important as retirement saving, then you should not care about the default rate. If you believe that defaults matter, on the other hand, you should want to set defaults at the level that you believe will be best for the largest number of people.

Criticism of the choice of term

There has been much criticism of the ideology behind the term, *libertarian paternalism*. For example, it has been argued that it fails to appreciate the traditional libertarian concern with coercion in particular, and instead focuses on freedom of choice in a wider sense.^[8] Others have argued that, while libertarian paternalism aims to promote wellbeing, there may be more libertarian aims that could be promoted, such as maximizing future liberty.^[9]

See also

- Choice architecture
- List of cognitive biases
- Tax choice – soft paternalism approach to taxation

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External links

- [Interview with Richard Thaler about libertarian paternalism \(http://www.econtalk.org/archives/2006/11/richard_thaler_1.html\)](http://www.econtalk.org/archives/2006/11/richard_thaler_1.html). An EconTalk podcast
 - [Interview with Cass Sunstein about libertarian paternalism \(http://www.grist.org/article/2009-green-nudges-an-interview-with-obama-re\)](http://www.grist.org/article/2009-green-nudges-an-interview-with-obama-re). Grist.com.
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Libertarian Democrat

In American politics, a **libertarian Democrat** is a member of the Democratic Party with political views that are relatively libertarian compared to the views of the national party.^{[1][2]}

While other factions of the Democratic Party, such as the Blue Dog Coalition, the New Democrat Coalition and the Congressional Progressive Caucus, are organized in the Congress, the libertarian faction is not organized in such a way.

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Ideology

Libertarian Democrats support the majority of positions of the Democratic Party, but they do not necessarily share identical viewpoints across the political spectrum; that is, they are more likely to support individual and personal freedoms, although rhetorically within the context of Democratic values.^[3]

Libertarian Democrats oppose NSA warrantless surveillance. In 2013, well over half the House Democrats (111 of 194) voted to defund the NSA's telephone phone surveillance program.^[4]

Former representative and current Governor Jared Polis of Colorado, a libertarian-oriented Democrat, wrote in Reason magazine: "I believe that libertarians should vote for Democratic candidates, particularly as our Democratic nominees are increasingly more supportive of individual liberty and freedom than

Republicans".^[5] He cited opposition to the Stop Online Piracy Act, support for the legalization of marijuana, support for the separation of church and state, support for abortion rights and individual bodily autonomy, opposition to mass surveillance and support for tax-code reform as areas where the majority of Democrats align well with libertarian values.^[5]

While maintaining a relatively libertarian ideology, they may differ with the Libertarian Party on issues such as consumer protection, health care reform, anti-trust laws and the overall amount of government involvement in the economy.^[3]

History

Modern era

After election losses in 2004, the Democratic Party reexamined its position on gun control which became a matter of discussion, brought up by Howard Dean, Bill Richardson, Brian Schweitzer and other Democrats who had won in states where Second Amendment rights are important to many voters. The resulting stance on gun control brought in libertarian minded voters, influencing other beliefs.

In the 2010s, following the revelations by Edward Snowden about NSA surveillance in 2013, the increasing advent of online decentralization and cryptocurrencies like Bitcoin, the perceived failure of the war on drugs and the police violence in places like Ferguson, Democratic lawmakers such as Senators Ron Wyden, Kirsten Gillibrand and Cory Booker and Representative Jared Polis have worked alongside libertarian Republicans like Senator Rand Paul and Representative Justin Amash to curb what is seen as government overreach in each of these areas, earning plaudits from such traditional libertarian sources as Reason magazine.^{[6][7][8][9]} The growing political power of Silicon Valley, a longtime Democratic stronghold that is friendly to economic deregulation and strong civil liberties protections while maintaining traditionally liberal views on social issues, has also seriously affected the increasingly libertarian leanings of young Democrats.^{[10][11][12]}

The libertarian faction has influenced the presidential level as well in the post-Bush era. Alaska Senator and presidential aspirant Mike Gravel left the Democratic Party midway through the 2008 presidential election cycle to seek the Libertarian Party presidential nomination,^[13] and many anti-war and civil libertarian Democrats were energized by the 2008 and 2012 presidential campaigns of libertarian Republican Ron Paul.^{[14][15]} This constituency arguably embraced the 2016 and 2020 presidential campaigns of independent Democrat Bernie Sanders for the same reasons.^{[16][17]} In the state of New Hampshire, libertarians operating from the Free State Project have been elected to various offices running as a mixture of both Republicans and Democrats.^{[18][19]} A 2015 Reuters poll found that 22% of Democratic voters identified themselves as "libertarian," more than the percentage of Republicans but less than the percentage of independents.^[20]

Public figures

Current elected officials

Senate

- Cory Booker, United States Senator from New Jersey, 38th Mayor of Newark (2006 - 2013), Member of the Newark Municipal Council from the Central Ward (1998 - 2002). He is described by a longtime friend as having a "libertarian bent" as mayor of Newark, New Jersey. Booker supported a number of policies backed by libertarians, including charter schools, school voucher programs, and enterprise zones.^[21] Daniel J. Mitchell of the Cato Institute identifies Booker as having libertarian views in his strong opposition to the war on drugs.^[22]
- Ron Wyden, United States Senator from Oregon, Chair of Senate Finance Committee (2014 - 2015, 2021–Present), Ranking Member of Senate Finance Committee (2015 -2021), Chair of Senate Energy Committee (2013 - 2014), and Member of United States House of Representatives from Oregon's 3rd congressional district (1981 - 1986). He is known for his civil libertarian views and cooperation with libertarian Republican Senator Rand Paul in efforts against the use of domestic drones and warrantless surveillance.^{[23][24]}



Ron Wyden



Jared Polis

Governors

- Jared Polis, 43rd Governor of Colorado, Member of United States House of Representatives from Colorado's 2nd congressional district (2009 -2019), and Member of the Colorado State Board of Education (2001 -2007).^[25] In 2014, the libertarian magazine *Reason* described Polis as "left-libertarianish"^[26] and the "most libertarian-leaning Democrat" in Congress due to his role as "a leading voice on civil liberties, from gun rights to online privacy, from defending Bitcoin to advocating legal weed."^[27] Polis has written an op-ed in *Reason* magazine arguing that libertarian-inclined citizens should vote for Democrats.^[28] Polis has emphasized digital freedom issues and opposition to mass surveillance and warrantless wiretapping.^[28] While in Congress, he was an occasional Democratic visitor to now-Libertarian Representative Justin Amash's otherwise Republican-dominated House Liberty Caucus.^[29] As Colorado governor, Polis vetoed in 2019 three bills that would have created occupational licensing requirements for homeowners' association managers, sports agents, and genetic counselors; the vetoes reflected Polis' libertarian leanings.^{[30][31]}

State Representatives

- Amanda Bouldin, Member of New Hampshire House of Representatives, Free State Project participant and former Tea Party activist ^[32]

Former elected officials

United States Senate

- Russ Feingold, United States Special Envoy for the African Great Lakes and the Congo-Kinshasa (2013 -2015), United States Senator from Wisconsin (1993 - 2011), and Member of Wisconsin Senate (1983 - 1993). He is known for his civil libertarian views and for being the sole senator to vote against the USA Patriot Act in 2001.^{[33][34]}
- Mike Gravel, United States Senator from Alaska (1969 - 1981), 3rd Speaker of Alaska House of Representatives (1965 - 1967), and Member of Alaska House of Representatives (1963 - 1967). After his time in the Senate, Gravel unsuccessfully ran for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2008, switching to the Libertarian Party the same year and losing its nomination as well (see Mike Gravel 2008 presidential campaign).^{[35][36]}



Tulsi Gabbard

United States House of Representatives

- Tulsi Gabbard, Member of United States House of Representatives from Hawaii's 2nd congressional district (2013 - 2021), Vice Chair of Democratic National Committee (2013 -2016), Member of the Honolulu City Council (2011 - 2012), and Member of Hawaii House of Representatives (2002 -2004). She earned the praise of libertarian Ron Paul for her strong anti-war stances.^[37] She joined efforts with her libertarian-leaning colleagues in Congress Justin Amash, Thomas Massie and Rand Paul in legislation aimed to defund the National Security Agency, audit the Federal Reserve and promote a more non-interventionist foreign policy.^[38] She also gained the support of former New Mexico Governor and two-time Libertarian Party presidential candidate Gary Johnson during her 2020 presidential bid.^[39]
- Tim Penny, Member of United States House of Representatives from Minnesota's 1st congressional district (1983 - 1995) and Member of Minnesota Senate (1977 - 1983). He is described as a fiscal conservative, Penny worked for the libertarian-leaning Cato Institute after leaving Congress.^[40]

Governors

- Bill Richardson, 30th Governor of New Mexico (2003 - 2011), 9th United States Secretary of Energy (1998 - 2001), 21st United States Ambassador to the United Nations (1997 - 1998), and Member of United States House of Representatives from New Mexico's 3rd congressional district (1983 - 1997).^[41]
- Brian Schweitzer 23rd Governor of Montana (2005 - 2013).^{[42][43]}
- Jerry Brown, 34th and 39th Governor of California (1975 - 1983, 2011 - 2019), 31st Attorney General of California (2007 - 2011), 47th Mayor of Oakland (1999 - 2007), Chair of California Democratic Party (1989 - 1991), and 23rd California Secretary of State (1971 - 1975).^{[44][45]}

State lower chambers

- Elizabeth Edwards, Member of New Hampshire House of Representatives (2014–2018). She has been described by WMUR as "having a libertarian streak".^[46]
- Joseph Stallcop, Member of New Hampshire House of Representatives (2016–2018). He left the Democratic Party for the Libertarian Party in 2017, describing his views as "classically liberal".^[47]

Authors and scholars

- Camille Paglia, educator and feminist author.^{[48][49]}

Others

- KGO Radio host and former presidential candidate Gene Burns.^[50]
- Former Democratic National Committee Press Secretary Terry Michael.^[51]
- Financial analyst, landlord, real estate broker, YouTuber, and 2021 California gubernatorial recall election candidate Kevin Paffrath
- Entrepreneur, philanthropist, former presidential and NYC mayoral candidate Andrew Yang.^[52]

See also

- Blue Dog Coalition
- Factions in the Democratic Party
- Conservative Democrat
- Green libertarianism
- Left-libertarianism
- Libertarian feminism
- Libertarian perspectives on political alliances
- Libertarian Republican
- Rockefeller Republican

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External links

- [Arnold Kling. Dear Libertarian Democrats...](http://www.cato.org/pub_display.php?pub_id=6727) (http://www.cato.org/pub_display.php?pub_id=6727)
 - [Dem.cc: Libertarian Democrat](https://web.archive.org/web/20091029151444/http://www.dem.cc/libertarian_democrat/) (https://web.archive.org/web/20091029151444/http://www.dem.cc/libertarian_democrat/)
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Transhumanist politics

Transhumanist politics constitutes a group of political ideologies that generally express the belief in improving human individuals through science and technology.

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History

The term "transhumanism" with its present meaning was popularised by Julian Huxley's 1957 essay of that name.^[1]

Natasha Vita-More was elected as a Councilperson for the 28th Senatorial District of Los Angeles in 1992. She ran with the Green Party, but on a personal platform of "transhumanism". She quit after a year, saying her party was "too neurotically geared toward environmentalism".^{[2][3]}

James Hughes identifies the "neoliberal" Extropy Institute, founded by philosopher Max More and developed in the 1990s, as the first organized advocates for transhumanism. And he identifies the late-1990s formation of the World Transhumanist Association (WTA), a European organization which later was renamed to Humanity+ (H+), as partly a reaction to the free market perspective of the "Extropians". Per Hughes, "[t]he WTA included both social democrats and neoliberals around a liberal democratic definition of transhumanism, codified in the Transhumanist Declaration."^{[4][5]} Hughes has also detailed the political currents in transhumanism, particularly the shift around 2009 from socialist transhumanism to libertarian and anarcho-capitalist transhumanism.^[5] He claims that the left was pushed out of the World Transhumanist

Association Board of Directors, and that libertarians and Singularitarians have secured a hegemony in the transhumanism community with help from Peter Thiel, but Hughes remains optimistic about a techno-progressive future.^[5]

In 2012, the Longevity Party, a movement described as "100% transhumanist" by cofounder Maria Konovalenko,^[6] began to organize in Russia for building a balloted political party.^[7] Another Russian programme, the 2045 Initiative was founded in 2012 by billionaire Dmitry Itskov with its own proposed "Evolution 2045" political party advocating life extension and android avatars.^{[8][9]}

In October 2013, the political party Alianza Futurista ALFA was founded in Spain with transhumanist goals and ideals inscribed in its statutes.^[10]

In October 2014, Zoltan Istvan announced that he would be running in the 2016 United States presidential election under the banner of the "Transhumanist Party."^[11] By November 2019, the Party claimed 880 members, with Gennady Stolyarov II as chair.^[12]

Other groups using the name "Transhumanist Party" exist in the United Kingdom^{[13][14][15]} and Germany.^[16]

Core values

According to a 2006 study by the European Parliament, transhumanism is the political expression of the ideology that technology and science should be used to enhance human abilities.^[17]

According to Amon Twyman of the Institute for Ethics and Emerging Technologies (IHEET), political philosophies which support transhumanism include social futurism, techno-progressivism, techno-libertarianism, and anarcho-transhumanism. Twyman considers such philosophies to collectively constitute political transhumanism.^[18]

Techno-progressives, also known as Democratic transhumanists,^{[19][20]} support equal access to human enhancement technologies in order to promote social equality and prevent technologies from furthering the divide among socioeconomic classes.^[21] However, libertarian transhumanist Ronald Bailey is critical of the democratic transhumanism described by James Hughes.^{[22][23]} Jeffrey Bishop wrote that the disagreements among transhumanists regarding individual and community rights is "precisely the tension that philosophical liberalism historically tried to negotiate," but that disagreeing entirely with a posthuman future is a disagreement with the right to choose what humanity will become.^[24] Woody Evans has supported placing posthuman rights in a continuum with animal rights and human rights.^[25]

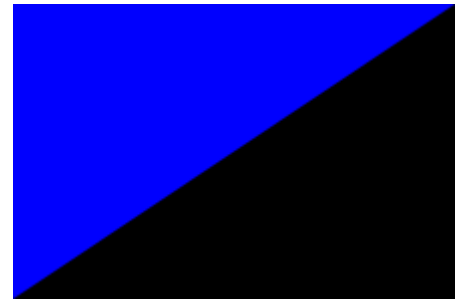
Riccardo Campa wrote that transhumanism can be coupled with many different political, philosophical, and religious views, and that this diversity can be an asset so long as transhumanists do not give priority to existing affiliations over membership with organized transhumanism.^[26]

Criticism

Some transhumanists question the use of politicizing transhumanism. Truman Chen of the *Stanford Political Journal* considers many transhumanist ideals to be anti-political.^[27]

Anarcho-transhumanism

Anarcho-transhumanism is a philosophy synthesizing anarchism with transhumanism that is concerned with both social and physical freedom respectively.^[29] Anarcho-transhumanists define freedom as the expansion of one's own ability to experience the world around them.^[30] Anarcho-transhumanists may advocate various praxis to advance their ideals, including computer hacking, three-dimensional printing, or biohacking.^{[31][29]}



Flag of anarcho-transhumanism, represented by a blue and black diagonal flag, where the blue is drawn from the acceleration shown in the Doppler effect on light.^[28]

The philosophy draws heavily from the individualist anarchism of William Godwin, Max Stirner and Voltairine de Cleyre^[32] as well as the cyberfeminism presented by Donna Haraway in A Cyborg Manifesto.^[33] Anarcho-transhumanist thought looks at issues surrounding bodily autonomy,^[34] disability,^[35] gender,^{[34][29]} neurodiversity,^[36] queer theory,^[37] science,^[38] free software,^[29] and sexuality^[39] whilst presenting critiques through anarchist and transhumanist lens of ableism,^[36] cisheteropatriarchy^[34] and primitivism.^[40] Much of early anarcho-transhumanist thought was a response to anarcho-primitivism. Anarcho-transhumanism may be interpreted either as criticism of, or an extension of humanism, because it challenges what being human means.^[29]

Anarcho-transhumanists also criticise non-anarchist forms of transhumanism such as democratic transhumanism and libertarian transhumanism as incoherent and unsurvivable due to their preservation of the state. They view such instruments of power as inherently unethical and incompatible with the acceleration of social and material freedom for all individuals.^[41] Anarcho-transhumanism is anti-capitalist, arguing capitalist accumulation of wealth would lead to dystopia while partnered with transhumanism. Anarcho-transhumanism advocates for the equal access to advanced technologies that enable morphological freedom and space travel.^{[42][43]}

Democratic transhumanism

Democratic transhumanism, a term coined by James Hughes in 2002, refers to the stance of transhumanists (advocates for the development and use of human enhancement technologies) who espouse liberal, social, and/or radical democratic political views.^{[44][45][46][47]}

Philosophy

According to Hughes, the ideology "stems from the assertion that human beings will generally be happier when they take rational control of the natural and social forces that control their lives."^{[45][48]} The ethical foundation of democratic transhumanism rests upon rule utilitarianism and non-anthropocentric personhood theory.^[49] Democratic transhumanist support equal access to human enhancement technologies in order to promote social equality and to prevent technologies from furthering the divide among the socioeconomic classes.^[50] While raising objections both to right-wing and left-wing bioconservatism, and libertarian transhumanism, Hughes aims to encourage democratic transhumanists and their potential progressive allies to unite as a new social movement and influence biopolitical public policy.^{[45][47]}

An attempt to expand the middle ground between technorealism and techno-utopianism, democratic transhumanism can be seen as a radical form of techno-progressivism.^[51] Appearing several times in Hughes' work, the term "radical" (from Latin *rādīx*, *rādīc-*, root) is used as an adjective meaning *of or pertaining to the root* or *going to the root*. His central thesis is that emerging technologies and radical democracy can help citizens overcome some of the root causes of inequalities of power.^[45]

According to Hughes, the terms techno-progressivism and democratic transhumanism both refer to the same set of Enlightenment values and principles; however, the term technoprogressive has replaced the use of the word democratic transhumanism.^{[52][53]}

Trends

Hughes has identified 15 "left futurist" or "left techno-utopian" trends and projects that could be incorporated into democratic transhumanism:

- Afrofuturism
- Assistive technology-enabled disabled people
- Biopunk science fiction and movement
- Body modification culture
- Cyborg feminism/cyberfeminism
- Feminist science fiction
- Free software movement
- Lesbian science fiction, gay science fiction, bisexual science fiction and transgender science fiction
- Nanosocialism
- Post-Darwinian leftism
- Postcyberpunk science fiction
- Post-work/guaranteed minimum income movement
- Technogaianism
- Up-wing politics
- Viridian design movement

List of democratic transhumanists

These are notable individuals who have identified themselves, or have been identified by Hughes, as advocates of democratic transhumanism:^[54]

- Charles Stross
- George Dvorsky
- Giulio Prisco
- Ken MacLeod
- Mark Alan Walker
- Martine Rothblatt
- Ramez Naam
- Riccardo Campa

Criticism

Science journalist Ronald Bailey wrote a review of *Citizen Cyborg* in his online column for *Reason* magazine in which he offered a critique of democratic transhumanism and a defense of libertarian transhumanism.^{[22][23]}

Critical theorist Dale Carrico defended democratic transhumanism from Bailey's criticism.^[55] However, he would later criticize democratic transhumanism himself on technoprogressive grounds.^[56]

Libertarian transhumanism

Libertarian transhumanism is a political ideology synthesizing libertarianism and transhumanism.^[44]

Self-identified libertarian transhumanists, such as Ronald Bailey of Reason magazine and Glenn Reynolds of Instapundit, are advocates of the asserted "right to human enhancement" who argue that the free market is the best guarantor of this right, claiming that it produces greater prosperity and personal freedom than other economic systems.^{[57][58]}

Principles

Libertarian transhumanists believe that the principle of self-ownership is the most fundamental idea from which both libertarianism and transhumanism stem. They are rational egoists and ethical egoists who embrace the prospect of using emerging technologies to enhance human capacities, which they believe stems from the self-interested application of reason and will in the context of the individual freedom to achieve a posthuman state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity. They extend this rational and ethical egoism to advocate a form of "biolibertarianism".^[57]

As strong civil libertarians, libertarian transhumanists hold that any attempt to limit or suppress the asserted right to human enhancement is a violation of civil rights and civil liberties. However, as strong economic libertarians, they also reject proposed public policies of government-regulated and -insured human enhancement technologies, which are advocated by democratic transhumanists, because they fear that any state intervention will steer or limit their choices.^{[23][59][60]}

Extropianism, the earliest current of transhumanist thought defined in 1988 by philosopher Max More, initially included an anarcho-capitalist interpretation of the concept of "spontaneous order" in its principles, which states that a free market economy achieves a more efficient allocation of societal resources than any planned or mixed economy could achieve. In 2000, while revising the principles of Extropy, More seemed to be abandoning libertarianism in favor of modern liberalism and anticipatory democracy. However, many Extropians remained libertarian transhumanists.^[44]

Criticisms

Critiques of the techno-utopianism of libertarian transhumanists from progressive cultural critics include Richard Barbrook and Andy Cameron's 1995 essay *The Californian Ideology*; Mark Dery's 1996 book *Escape Velocity: Cyberculture at the End of the Century*; and Paulina Borsook's 2000 book *Cyberselfish: A Critical Romp Through the Terribly Libertarian Culture of High-Tech*.

Barbrook argues that libertarian transhumanists are proponents of the Californian Ideology who embrace the goal of reactionary modernism: economic growth without social mobility.^[61] According to Barbrook, libertarian transhumanists are unwittingly appropriating the theoretical legacy of Stalinist communism by substituting, among other concepts, the "vanguard party" with the "digerati", and the "new Soviet man" with the "posthuman".^[62] Dery coined the dismissive phrase "body-loathing" to describe the attitude of libertarian transhumanists and those in the cyberculture who want to escape from their "meat puppet" through mind uploading into cyberspace.^[63] Borsook asserts that libertarian transhumanists indulge in a subculture of selfishness, elitism, and escapism.^[64]

Sociologist James Hughes is the most militant critic of libertarian transhumanism. While articulating "democratic transhumanism" as a sociopolitical program in his 2004 book *Citizen Cyborg*,^[47] Hughes sought to convince libertarian transhumanists to embrace social democracy by arguing that:

1. State action is required to address catastrophic threats from transhumanist technologies;
2. Only believable and effective public policies to prevent adverse consequences from new technologies will reassure skittish publics that they do not have to be banned;
3. Social policies must explicitly address public concerns that transhumanist biotechnologies will exacerbate social inequality;
4. Monopolistic practices and overly restrictive intellectual property law can seriously delay the development of transhumanist technologies, and restrict their access;
5. Only a strong liberal democratic state can ensure that posthumans are not persecuted; and
6. Libertarian transhumanists (who are anti-naturalists) are inconsistent in arguing for the free market on the grounds that it is a natural phenomenon.

Klaus-Gerd Giesen, a German political scientist specializing in the philosophy of technology, wrote a critique of the libertarianism he imputes to all transhumanists. While pointing out that the works of Austrian School economist Friedrich Hayek figure in practically all of the recommended reading lists of Extropians, he argues that transhumanists, convinced of the sole virtues of the free market, advocate an unabashed inegalitarianism and merciless meritocracy which can be reduced in reality to a biological fetish. He is especially critical of their promotion of a science-fictional liberal eugenics, virulently opposed to any political regulation of human genetics, where the consumerist model presides over their ideology. Giesen concludes that the despair of finding social and political solutions to today's sociopolitical problems incites transhumanists to reduce everything to the hereditary gene, as a fantasy of omnipotence to be found within the individual, even if it means transforming the subject (human) to a new draft (posthuman).^[65]

See also

- Bioethics
- Cognitive liberty
- Left-libertarianism
- Outline of libertarianism
- Secular humanism
- Self-ownership
- Technogaianism
- Technological utopianism
- Techno-progressivism
- Transhumanism#Genetic divide

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External links

- [An introduction to tomorrow's politics \(http://transpolitica.org/2015/04/27/an-introduction-to-tomorrows-politics/\)](http://transpolitica.org/2015/04/27/an-introduction-to-tomorrows-politics/)
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 - ["Transhumanism: the next step of civilization" \(http://laissez-faire.ch/en/articles/transhumanism-the-next-step-of-civilization/\)](http://laissez-faire.ch/en/articles/transhumanism-the-next-step-of-civilization/) by Jan Krepelka
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Timeline of libertarian thinkers

This article is a list of major figures in the theory of **libertarianism**, a philosophy asserting that individuals have a right to be free. Originally coined by French anarchist and libertarian communist Joseph Déjacque as an alternative synonymous to anarchism, American classical liberals appropriated the term in the 1950s for their philosophy which asserts that individuals have a right to acquire, keep and exchange their holdings and that the primary purpose of government is to protect these rights.^[1] As a result of this history, libertarians on this list may be either of the American-style free-market variety or of the European-style socialist variety.

Libertarian thinkers

- Laozi (571 BCE – 471 BCE): Chinese philosopher and writer, who is considered the first anarchist and libertarian, given his contempt for those in power and so for the state.
- John Ball (1338–1381): English priest whose preachings against bondship and serfdom helped start the Peasants' Revolt.
- Étienne de La Boétie (1530–1563): French judge, writer and a founder of modern political philosophy in France.
- John Locke (1632-1704): English Philosopher and one of the most influential enlightenment thinkers who proclaimed Man has the Freedom to possess himself.
- William Godwin (1756-1836): English journalist, political philosopher and novelist. He is considered one of the first exponents of utilitarianism and the first modern proponent of anarchism.
- Josiah Warren (1798–1874): inventor, social theorist and believer in individual sovereignty, who influenced John Stuart Mill and argued that states "commit more crimes upon persons and property than all criminals put together".^[2]
- Frédéric Bastiat (1801–1850): French classical liberal theorist, political economist and author of *The Law*.
- Adin Ballou (1803–1890): American Christian anarchist.^[2]
- William Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879): American abolitionist, libertarian and journalist, who influenced Frederick Douglass, ex-slave and anti-slavery crusader.^[2]
- Lysander Spooner (1808–1887): American abolitionist, lawyer, entrepreneur, individualist anarchist theorist and author of *The Unconstitutionality of Slavery* and *No Treason*.
- Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865): French socialist thinker and first person to call themselves an anarchist.
- Stephen Pearl Andrews (1812–1886): American abolitionist who tried to sell Texas to Britain to prevent it becoming a slave state.^[2]
- Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862): advocate of minimal or no government and civil disobedience against the authoritarian state; author of *Civil Disobedience*.
- Gustave de Molinari (1819–1912): French liberal economist and author of *The Production of Security* in which he argued that security can be produced better through the market than through government monopoly policing.
- Herbert Spencer (1820–1903): British parliamentarian and founder of social Darwinism who advocated the "right of people to ignore the state".^[2]
- Auberon Herbert (1838–1906): British parliamentarian, founder of voluntaryism and anti-democrat, who advocated that the voting majority has no more right to decide a man's life

than "either the bayonet-surrounded emperor or the infallible church".^[2]

- John Sherwin Crosby (1842–1914): American educator, attorney and author of *The Orthocratic State* (1915) in which he presented a comprehensive justification for the formation of the state and its rightful powers.
- Benjamin Tucker (1854–1939): American editor and publisher of the individualist anarchist periodical *Liberty*, who called anarchists "simply unterrified Jeffersonian Democrats".
- Voltaire de Cleyre (1866–1912): American anarchist.
- Albert Jay Nock (1870–1945): American author and editor opposing state socialism and the New Deal in the 20th century and one of the first people to identify as libertarian in the 20th century American sense.
- H. L. Mencken (1880–1956): writer strongly opposed to authoritarian government, who published a periodical containing libertarian authors like Emma Goldman and Albert Jay Nock.
- Ludwig von Mises (1881–1973): Austrian philosopher, economist and author of *Human Action*. After his death, his name was used for the Mises Institute.
- Voline (1882–1945): Russian anarchist and author of *The Unknown Revolution*.
- Rose Wilder Lane (1886–1968): American journalist, travel writer, novelist, and libertarian political theorist.
- Isabel Patterson (1886–1961): A Canadian-American journalist, novelist, political philosopher, and a leading literary and cultural critic of her day. Historian Jim Powell has called Patterson one of the three founding mothers of American libertarianism, along with Rose Wilder Lane and Ayn Rand.
- Ralph Borsodi (1886–1977): American agrarian theorist, Georgist, founder of The School of Living and author of "The Distribution Age" (1927), "This Ugly Civilization" (1929) and "Flight from the City" (1933).
- Leonard Read (1898–1983): American economist and founder of the Foundation for Economic Education, the United States' first libertarian think-tank.
- Friedrich Hayek (1899–1992): Austrian economist, political thinker and author of *The Road to Serfdom*.
- Ayn Rand (1905–1982): American philosopher and novelist, whose books *The Fountainhead* and *Atlas Shrugged* influenced many towards libertarianism.
- Milton Friedman (1912–2006): Nobel Prize-winning American economist and professor at the University of Chicago, who advocated free-market capitalism in books like *Capitalism and Freedom* and *Free to Choose*.
- Vernon Richards (1915–2001): British anarchist and editor of *Freedom* newspaper.
- Albert Meltzer (1920–1996): British anarchist and editor of *Black Flag* magazine.
- Murray Rothbard (1926–1995): American philosopher, economist, historian and the leading theoretician of anarcho-capitalism, who authored *For a New Liberty: The Libertarian Manifesto* and *The Ethics of Liberty*.
- Ron Paul (1935–present): American physician, former politician and author of *The Revolution: A Manifesto* and *Liberty Defined*, who has been characterized as the intellectual godfather of the Tea Party movement.
- Robert Nozick (1938–2002): American philosopher and author of *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*.
- David D. Friedman (1945–present): American economist, physicist, legal scholar, and anarcho-capitalist theorist, son of economists Rose and Milton Friedman. Author of *The Machinery of Freedom* and many other books.
- Samuel Edward Konkin III (1947–2004): American philosopher and author of *New Libertarian Manifesto* in which he promotes a philosophy he named agorism, a revolutionary form of market anarchism that aims to dissolve the state through counter-economic activity.

- John Stossel (1947–present): American journalist advocating for free markets and minimal government regulation.
- Hans-Hermann Hoppe (1949–present): German-born American Austrian School economist and paleolibertarian anarcho-capitalist philosopher.
- Wendy McElroy (1951–present): Canadian individualist anarchist, individualist feminist and co-founder of The Voluntaryist magazine.
- David Boaz (1953–present): American author about libertarianism and executive in the Cato Institute think tank.
- Tom Woods (1972–present): American author, Rothbardian anarcho-capitalist and libertarian commentator, senior fellow at the Mises Institute, proponent of the Austrian School of economics, author of 12 books including Meltdown about the 2008 economic collapse.

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150 years of Libertarian

The Anarchist FAQ Editorial Collective

2008

This year, 2008, marks the 150th anniversary of the use of the word “libertarian” by anarchists.

As is well known, anarchists use the terms “*libertarian*”, “*libertarian socialist*” and “*libertarian communist*” as equivalent to “*anarchist*” and, similarly, “*libertarian socialism*” or “*libertarian communism*” as an alternative for “*anarchism*.” This is perfectly understandable, as the anarchist goal is freedom, liberty, and the ending of all hierarchical and authoritarian institutions and social relations.

Unfortunately, in the United States the term “libertarian” has become, since the 1970s, associated with the right-wing, i.e., supporters of “free-market” capitalism. That defenders of the hierarchy associated with private property seek to associate the term “libertarian” for their authoritarian system is both unfortunate and somewhat unbelievable to any genuine libertarian. Equally unfortunately, thanks to the power of money and the relative small size of the anarchist movement in America, this appropriation of the term has become, to a large extent, the default meaning there. Somewhat ironically, this results in some right-wing “libertarians” complaining that we genuine libertarians have “stolen” their name in order to associate our socialist ideas with it!

The facts are somewhat different. As Murray Bookchin noted, “*libertarian*” was “*a term created by nineteenth-century European anarchists, not by contemporary American right-wing proprietarians.*” [**The Ecology of Freedom**, p. 57] While we discuss this issue in An Anarchist FAQ in a few places (most obviously, section A.1.3) it is useful on the 150th anniversary to discuss the history of anarchist use of the word “libertarian” to describe our ideas.

The first anarchist journal to use the term “libertarian” was **La Libertaire, Journal du Mouvement Social**. Somewhat ironically, given recent developments in America, it was published in New York between 1858 and 1861 by French communist-anarchist Joseph Déjacque. The next recorded use of the term was in Europe, when “*libertarian communism*” was used at a French regional anarchist Congress at Le Havre (16–22 November, 1880). January the following year saw a French manifesto issued on “*Libertarian or Anarchist Communism.*” Finally, 1895 saw leading anarchists Sébastien Faure and Louise Michel publish **La Libertaire** in France. [Max Nettlau, **A Short History of Anarchism**, pp. 75–6, p. 145 and p. 162]

It should be noted that Nettlau’s history was first written in 1932 and revised in 1934. George Woodcock, in his history of anarchism, reported the same facts as regards Déjacque and Faure [**Anarchism: A History of libertarian ideas and movements**, p. 233] Significantly, Wood-

cock's account was written in 1962 and makes no mention of right-wing use of the term "libertarian." More recently, Robert Graham states that Déjacque's act made "*him the first person to use the word 'libertarian' as synonymous with 'anarchist'*" while Faure and Michel were "*popularising the use of the word 'libertarian' as a synonym for 'anarchist.'*" [Robert Graham (Ed.), **Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas**, p. 60 and p. 231]

Which means, incidentally, that Louise Michel is linked with anarchists both using the term "libertarian" to describe our ideas **and** with the black flag becoming our symbol. Faure subsequently wrote an article entitled "Libertarian Communism" in 1903.

In terms of America, we find Benjamin Tucker (a leading individualist anarchist) discussing "*libertarian solutions*" to land use in February, 1897. As we discuss in section G.3, the Individualist Anarchists attacked capitalist (i.e., right-"libertarian") property rights in land as the "*land monopoly*" and looked forward to a time when "*the libertarian principle to the tenure of land*" was actually applied. [**Liberty**, no. 350, p. 5] The 1920s saw communist-anarchist Bartolomeo Vanzetti argue that:

"After all we are socialists as the social-democrats, the socialists, the communists, and the I.W.W. are all Socialists. The difference — the fundamental one — between us and all the other is that they are authoritarian while we are libertarian; they believe in a State or Government of their own; we believe in no State or Government." [Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, **The Letters of Sacco and Vanzetti**, p. 274]

Interestingly, Rudolf Rocker's 1949 book, published in Los Angeles, states that individualist anarchist Stephan P. Andrews was "*one of the most versatile and significant exponents of libertarian socialism.*" [**Pioneers of American Freedom**, p. 85] It should also be noted that 1909 saw the translation into English of Kropotkin's history of the French Revolution in which he argued that "*the principles of anarchism ... had their origin ... in the deeds of the Great French Revolution*" and "*the libertarians would no doubt so the same today.*" [**The Great French Revolution**, vol. 1, p. 204 and p. 206]

The most famous use of "*libertarian communism*" must be by the world's largest anarchist movement, the anarcho-sindicalist CNT in Spain. After proclaiming its aim to be "libertarian communism" in 1919, the CNT held its national congress of May 1936 in Zaragoza, with 649 delegates representing 982 unions with a membership of over 550,000. One of the resolutions passed was "The Confederal Conception of Libertarian Communism" [Jose Peirats, **The CNT in the Spanish Revolution**, vol. 1, pp. 103–10] This was resolution on libertarian communism was largely the work of Isaac Puente, author of the widely reprinted and translated pamphlet of the same name published four years previously. That year, 1932, also saw the founding of the **Federación Ibérica de Juventudes Libertarias** (*Iberian Federation of Anarchist Youth*) in Madrid by anarchists.

The term "libertarian" has been used by more people than just anarchists, but always to describe socialist ideas close to anarchism. For example, in Britain during the 1960s and 1970s Maurice Brinton and the group he was a member of (**Solidarity**) described their politics as "libertarian" and their decentralised, self-managed form of socialism is hard to distinguish from anarchism. So while "libertarian" did become broader than anarchism, it was still used by people on the left who aimed for socialism.

Unsurprisingly, given this well known and well documented use of the word "libertarian" by anarchists (and those close to them on the left) to describe their ideas, the use of the term by

supporters of capitalism is deplorable. And it should be resisted. Writing in the 1980s, Murray Bookchin noted that in the United States the “*term ‘libertarian’ itself, to be sure, raises a problem, notably, the specious identification of an anti-authoritarian ideology with a straggling movement for ‘pure capitalism’ and ‘free trade.’ This movement never created the word: it appropriated it from the anarchist movement of the [nineteenth] century. And it should be recovered by those anti-authoritarians ... who try to speak for dominated people as a whole, not for personal egotists who identify freedom with entrepreneurship and profit.*” Thus anarchists in America should “*restore in practice a tradition that has been denatured by*” the free-market right. [**The Modern Crisis**, pp. 154–5]

As we note in section F.2, anarchists tend to use an alternative name for the right-wing “libertarian”, namely “**Propertarian.**” Interestingly, Ursula Le Guin used the term in her 1974 classic of anarchist Science-Fiction, **The Dispossessed**. One of the anarchist characters notes that inhabitants of Anarres (the communist-anarchist moon) “*want nothing to do with the propertarians*” of Urras. Urras is, however, a standard capitalist world (with A-Io representing the United States and Thu representing the Soviet Union) and not explicitly right-“libertarian” in nature. The anarchist protagonist, Shevek, does discover some people who describe themselves as “libertarian” but these declare themselves close to communist-anarchism (asked whether they are anarchists they reply: “*Partly. Syndicalists, libertarians ... anti-centralists*”). Shevek, needless to say, is unimpressed with claims he should visit Thu to see “socialism”, replying that he was well aware how “*real socialism functions.*” [**The Dispossessed**, p. 70, p. 245 and p. 118]

It should be noted that “*archist*” and “*propertarian*” is used pretty much interchangeably in **The Dispossessed** to describe Urras, showing clear understand of, and links to, Proudhon’s argument in the first self-labelled anarchist book that property was both “*theft*” and “*despotism.*” As we noted in section F.1, Proudhon argued that “*violates equality by the rights of exclusion and increase, and freedom by despotism*” and has “*perfect identity with robbery.*” [**What is Property**, p. 251] Little wonder French syndicalist Emile Pouget, echoing Proudhon, argued that:

*“Property and authority are merely differing manifestations and expressions of one and the same ‘principle’ which boils down to the enforcement and enshrinement of the servitude of man. Consequently, the only difference between them is one of vantage point: viewed from one angle, slavery appears as a **property crime**, whereas, viewed from a different angle, it constitutes an **authority crime.**”* [**No Gods, No Masters**, vol. 2, p. 66]

So, in summary, considered in terms of our political, social and economics ideas it is unsurprising that anarchists have been using the term “libertarian” for 150 years. Regardless of the attempts by others ignorant of both the history of that term and the reality of capitalism to appropriate it for their hierarchical and authoritarian ideology, we will continue to do so.

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150 years of Libertarian
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Libertarianism

This article is about the political philosophy and movement that uphold liberty as a core principle. For the type of libertarianism stressing both individual freedom and social equality, see [Left-libertarianism](#).

Libertarianism (from Latin: *libertas*, meaning "freedom") is a political philosophy and movement that upholds liberty as a core principle. Libertarians seek to maximize political freedom and autonomy, emphasizing individualism, freedom of choice and voluntary association. Libertarians share a skepticism of authority and state power, but they diverge on the scope of their opposition to existing economic and political systems.

Arranged alphabetically by author or source:

[A](#) · [B](#) · [C](#) · [D](#) · [E](#) · [F](#) · [G](#) · [H](#) · [I](#) · [J](#) · [K](#) · [L](#) · [M](#) · [N](#) · [O](#) · [P](#) · [Q](#) · [R](#) · [S](#) · [T](#) · [U](#) · [V](#) · [W](#) · [X](#) · [Y](#) · [Z](#) · [See also](#) · [External links](#)



Vulgar libertarian apologists for capitalism use the term "free market" in an equivocal sense: they seem to have trouble remembering, from one moment to the next, whether they're defending actually existing capitalism or free market principles. ... When prodded, they'll grudgingly admit that the present system is not a free market, and that it includes a lot of state intervention on behalf of the rich. But as soon as they think they can get away with it, they go right back to defending the wealth of existing corporations. ~ [Kevin Carson](#)

A

- **In markets where freedom of choice is hampered by inadequate information, or where rational choice requires extraordinary expertise, there is no acceptable alternative to government regulation. Contrary to libertarian preachments, it would be imprudent to expect an air traveler to do research required to avoid unsafe airlines, or for the automobile buyer to find out which cars are affected with rear-wheel lockup, or for the pregnant woman to conduct chemical tests to avoid drugs which may kill or deform her unborn child.** Here social regulation is imperative, either by providing indispensable information to consumers or by prohibiting hazardous products outright. Here the privilege of free choice in a free market is the freedom to play Russian roulette with health and safety, and to impose the cost of death or injury on families or society.
 - [Walter Adams and James Brock](#), in *The Bigness Complex* (1986), p. 235
- **Libertarians are self-governors in both personal and economic matters. They believe government's only purpose is to protect people from coercion and violence. They value individual responsibility, and tolerate economic and social diversity.**
 - [Advocates for Self Government](#) (1995)
- **He always pictured himself a libertarian, which to my way of thinking means "I want the liberty to grow rich and you can have the liberty to starve".** It's easy to believe that no one should depend on society for help when you yourself happen not to need such help.
 - [Isaac Asimov](#), in *I. Asimov : A Memoir* (1994), p. 308

B

- **Libertarians ... advocate a high degree of both economic and personal liberty.** Libertarians believe that people have the right to freely engage in both commercial and private activities. Libertarians consistently uphold the right of individuals to control their own lives in *all* respects.
 - David Bergland, 1984 Libertarian Party presidential candidate, in *Libertarianism In One Lesson* (Ninth Edition, 2005)
- In the libertarian view, all human relationships should be voluntary; the only actions that should be forbidden by law are those that involve the initiation of force against those who have not themselves used force—actions like murder, rape, robbery, kidnapping, and fraud. Libertarians believe this code should be applied to actions by governments as well as by individuals.
 - David D. Boaz, *Libertarianism: A Primer*, Free Press, (1998) p. 2
- Because libertarians do have a basic set of principles, you know that a libertarian will always come out on the side of any issue which maximizes personal liberty and responsibility — and which reduces government control over the individual.
 - David Bergland, in *Libertarianism In One Lesson* (Ninth Edition, 2005)
- I am hard put to find something to say to people who still think libertarianism has something to do with liberty. A libertarian is just a Republican who takes drugs.
 - Bob Black, in "The Libertarian as Conservative" (1984) (<http://www.inspiracy.com/black/abolition/libertarian.html>), published in *The Abolition of Work and Other Essays* (1986)
- There are libertarians who try to retrieve libertarianism from the Libertarian Party just as there are Christians who try to reclaim Christianity from Christendom and communists (I've tried to myself) who try to save communism from the Communist parties and states. They (and I) meant well but we lost.
 - Bob Black, in "The Libertarian as Conservative" (1984) (<http://www.inspiracy.com/black/abolition/libertarian.html>), published in *The Abolition of Work and Other Essays* (1986)
- You might object that what I've said may apply to the minarchist majority of libertarians, but not to the self-styled anarchists among them. Not so. **To my mind a right-wing anarchist is just a minarchist who'd abolish the state to his own satisfaction by calling it**



Victims of the most serious injustice ... are owed compensation by those who benefited from the injustices. ... One cannot use the analysis and theory presented here to condemn any particular scheme of transfer payments, unless it is clear that no considerations of rectification of injustice could apply to justify it. ~ Robert Nozick



Libertarian thought emphasizes the dignity of each individual, which entails both rights and responsibility. ~ David D. Boaz

something else. But this incestuous family squabble is no affair of mine. Both camps call for partial or complete privatization of state functions but neither questions the functions themselves. **They don't denounce what the state does, they just object to who's doing it.** This is why the people most victimized by the state display the least interest in libertarianism. **Those on the receiving end of coercion don't quibble over their coercers' credentials. If you can't pay or don't want to, you don't much care if your deprivation is called larceny or taxation or restitution or rent. If you like to control your own time, you distinguish employment from enslavement only in degree and duration.**

- Bob Black, in "The Libertarian as Conservative" (1984), published in *The Abolition of Work and Other Essays* (1986)

- The libertarian phobia as to the state reflects and reproduces a profound misunderstanding of the operative forces which make for social control in the modern world. If — and this is a big "if," especially where bourgeois libertarians are concerned — what you want is to maximize individual autonomy, then it is quite clear that the state is the least of the phenomena which stand in your way.

- Bob Black, in "The Libertarian as Conservative" (1984), published in *The Abolition of Work and Other Essays* (1986)

- Unlike side issues like unemployment, unions, and minimum-wage laws, the subject of work itself is almost entirely absent from libertarian literature. Most of what little there is consists of Randite rantings against parasites, barely distinguishable from the invective inflicted on dissidents by the Soviet press, and Sunday-school platitudinizing that there is no free lunch — this from fat cats who have usually ingested a lot of them.

- Bob Black, in "The Libertarian as Conservative" (1984), published in *The Abolition of Work and Other Essays* (1986)

- Libertarians complain that the state is parasitic, an excrescence on society. They think it's like a tumor you could cut out, leaving the patient just as he was, only healthier. They've been mystified by their own metaphors. Like the market, the state is an activity, not an entity. The only way to abolish the state is to change the way of life it forms a part of. That way of life, if you call that living, revolves around work and takes in bureaucracy, moralism, schooling, money, and more. Libertarians are conservatives because they avowedly want to maintain most of this mess and so unwittingly perpetuate the rest of the racket. But they're bad conservatives because they've forgotten the reality of institutional and ideological interconnection which was the original insight of the historical conservatives.

- Bob Black, in "The Libertarian as Conservative" (1984), published in *The Abolition of Work and Other Essays* (1986)



A 'popular libertarian' might ... feel all that needs to be done to bring the world to justice is to institute the minimal state now, starting as it were from present holdings. On this view, then, libertarianism starts tomorrow, and we take the present possession of property for granted. There is, of course, something very problematic about this attitude. Part of the libertarian position involves treating property rights as natural rights, as so as being as important as anything can be. On the libertarian view, the fact that an injustice is old, and, perhaps, difficult to prove, does not make it any less of an injustice. ... We should try to work out what would have happened had the injustice not taken place. If the present state of affairs does not correspond to this hypothetical description, then it should be made to correspond. ~ Jonathan Wolff

- The issue should not be government. It should not be unlimited and unalloyed idolatry of personal property, which is the path that the libertarian movement has gone down.

- David Brin *Libertarianism: Finding a New Path* (<http://www.scoop.it/t/libertarianism-finding-a-new-path>)

- **One difference between libertarianism and socialism is that a socialist society can't tolerate groups of people practicing freedom, but a libertarian society can comfortably allow people to choose voluntary socialism.** If a group of people — even a very large group — wanted to purchase land and own it in common, they would be free to do so. The libertarian legal order would require only that no one be coerced into joining or giving up his property.

- David D. Boaz, in "The Coming Libertarian Age" in *Cato Policy Report* (January/February 1997) (http://www.cato.org/pubs/policy_report/cpr-19n1-1.html)

- **Libertarians see the individual as the basic unit of social analysis. Only individuals make choices and are responsible for their actions.** Libertarian thought emphasizes the dignity of each individual, which entails both rights and responsibility. The progressive extension of dignity to more people — to women, to people of different religions and different races — is one of the great libertarian triumphs of the Western world.

- David D. Boaz, in "Key Concepts of Libertarianism" (1 January 1999) (http://www.cato.org/pub_display.php?pub_id=5758)

- **Libertarianism is not libertinism or hedonism. It is not a claim that "people can do anything they want to, and nobody else can say anything."** Rather, **libertarianism proposes a society of liberty under law, in which individuals are free to pursue their own lives so long as they respect the equal rights of others.** The rule of law means that individuals are governed by generally applicable and spontaneously developed legal rules, not by arbitrary commands; and that those rules should protect the freedom of individuals to pursue happiness in their own ways, not aim at any particular result or outcome.

- David D. Boaz, in "Key Concepts of Libertarianism" (1 January 1999)

- Libertarians have always battled the age-old scourge of war. They understood that war brought death and destruction on a grand scale, disrupted family and economic life, and put more power in the hands of the ruling class — which might explain why the rulers did not always share the popular sentiment for peace. **Free men and women, of course, have often had to defend their own societies against foreign threats; but throughout history, war has usually been the common enemy of peaceful, productive people on all sides of the conflict.**

- David D. Boaz, in "Key Concepts of Libertarianism" (1 January 1999)



Given the extensive involvement of state violence in the process by which the corporate elite not only achieved its wealth in the past but continues to maintain and augment it in the present, it is clear that the massive inequalities of wealth that characterise present-day "capitalist" society are radically inconsistent with any approach to justice in holdings that is even remotely Nozickian. ~ Roderick Long



A libertarian will always come out on the side of any issue which maximizes personal liberty and responsibility — and which reduces government control over the individual. ~ David Bergland

- **We should never define Libertarian positions in terms coined by liberals or conservatives — nor as some variant of their positions.** We are not fiscally conservative and socially liberal. We are Libertarians, who believe in individual liberty and personal responsibility on all issues at all times.

- Harry Browne, in The Libertarian stand on abortion" (21 December 1998) (<http://www.harrybrowne.org/articles/Abortion.htm>)



The people most victimized by the state display the least interest in libertarianism. Those on the receiving end of coercion don't quibble over their coercers' credentials. ~ Bob Black

C

- One of the more pretentious political self-descriptions is "Libertarian." People think it puts them above the fray. It sounds fashionable and, to the uninitiated, faintly dangerous. Actually, it's just one more bullshit political philosophy.

- George Carlin, in Napalm and Silly Putty (2002), p. 261

- The difference is libertarians strive for government to have a smaller economic footprint so that individuals can have a larger one.

- Jon Caldara "Caldara: Don't believe the media hype, Jared Polis is no libertarian" (<https://pagetwo.completcolorado.com/2019/05/29/caldara-dont-believe-the-media-hype-jared-polis-is-no-libertarian/>) The Complete Colorado (May 29, 2019)

- Vulgar libertarian apologists for capitalism use the term "free market" in an equivocal sense: they seem to have trouble remembering, from one moment to the next, whether they're defending actually existing capitalism or free market principles. ... When prodded, they'll grudgingly admit that the present system is not a free market, and that it includes a lot of state intervention on behalf of the rich. But as soon as they think they can get away with it, they go right back to defending the wealth of existing corporations.

- Kevin Carson, Studies in Mutualist Political Economy (2007), Chapter 4

- **Libertarian in the United States has a meaning which is almost the opposite of what it has in the rest of the world traditionally.** Here, libertarian means ultra right-wing capitalist. In the European tradition, libertarian meant socialist. So, anarchism was sometimes called libertarian socialism, a large wing of anarchism, so we have to be a little careful about terminology. I was drawn pretty early, maybe in the early teens, towards anarchist thinking and activities, and even spent a lot of time in anarchist bookstores and picking up pamphlets and talking to mostly Europeans who had fled or had been driven out of a pretty ugly continent in the 1930s.



One difference between libertarianism and socialism is that a socialist society can't tolerate groups of people practicing freedom, but a libertarian society can comfortably allow people to choose voluntary socialism. ~ David D. Boaz

- Noam Chomsky, in "Reluctant Icon" (interview, c. 1990) (<http://www.chomsky.info/interviews/1999----.htm>)
- There's a *long* tradition of Anarchism — *libertarian* thought outside the United States, which is *diametrically* opposed to the positions of the Libertarian Party — but it's unknown here. That's the *dominant* position of what's always been considered **Socialist Anarchism**. Now, the Libertarian Party, is a *capitalist* party. It's in favor of what I would regard a *particular form* of authoritarian control. Namely, the kind that comes through private ownership and control, which is an *extremely* rigid system of domination — people have to... people can survive, by renting themselves to it, and basically in no other way... **I do disagree with them very sharply, and I think that they are not ... understanding the fundamental doctrine, that you should be free from domination and control, including the control of the manager and the owner.**
 - Noam Chomsky, in an appearance on *Donahue/Pozner* (14 February 1992)
- **There isn't much point arguing about the word "libertarian." It would make about as much sense to argue with an unreconstructed Stalinist about the word "democracy"** — recall that they called what they'd constructed "peoples' democracies." The weird offshoot of ultra-right individualist anarchism that is called "libertarian" here happens to amount to advocacy of perhaps the worst kind of imaginable tyranny, namely unaccountable private tyranny. If they want to call that "libertarian," fine; after all, Stalin called his system "democratic." But why bother arguing about it?
 - Noam Chomsky, on ZNet (24 September 2009) (http://www.zcommunications.org/there-isnt-much-point-arguing-about-the-word-libertarian-it-would-make-about-as-much-sense-to-argue-by-noam-chomsky?toggle_layout=yes)
- I hear Republicans and Libertarians and so forth talking about property rights, but they stop talking about property rights as soon as the subject of American Indians comes up, because they know fully well, perhaps not in a fully articulated, conscious form, but they know fully well that the basis for the very system of endeavor and enterprise and profitability to which they are committed and devoted accrues on the basis of theft of the resources of someone else. They are in possession of stolen property. They know it. They all know it. It's a dishonest endeavor from day one.
 - Ward Churchill, in *Z Magazine*, vol. 8, p. 32



For libertarians, freedom entails the right of people to live their lives any way they choose, so long as their conduct is peaceful. ~ Jacob G. Hornberger



The real division is not between conservatives and revolutionaries but between authoritarians and libertarians. ~ George Orwell



That's libertarians for you — anarchists who want police protection from their slaves. No! If you want to make the minimum-state case, you have to argue it from the ground up. ~ Kim Stanley Robinson

D

- This country is a one-party country. Half of it is called Republican and half is called Democrat. It doesn't make any difference. **All the really good ideas belong to the Libertarians.**
 - Hugh Downs, as a guest on *Politically Incorrect* (31 March 1997)

F

- Both Rand and Rothbard, overeager to seal the case for expelling the state from the economy that economic arguments alone apparently could not clinch, had to cast themselves as participants in a Manichean struggle against unscrupulous wrongdoers with impure motives. This already betokened a deep complacency about the validity of their own views, such that anyone who disagreed with them must be a deliberate enemy of truth; and it marked the beginning of the anti-intellectualism that continues to disfigure libertarian thought. The virtually unanimous opposition of scholars and intellectuals to a view as self-evidently true as libertarianism seems to be to Rand and Rothbard must, they thought, be a function of the intellectuals' perversity (rather than of weaknesses of libertarian argument and evidence).
 - Jeffrey Friedman, "What's wrong with Libertarianism," *Critical Review*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (1997), p. 452.
- The attraction of free markets ... is that they have self-correcting features that place far smaller demands on anyone's knowledge than democracy does. Each person concerns herself with her own life and the system, supposedly, runs itself. Interpreted in this way, the literature on public ignorance could form the basis of the consequentialist argument the postwar free-market economists sought, but never found ... against all government economic intervention: for even if it cannot be shown, on economic grounds, that every intervention hurts more than it helps, it might be shown, on political grounds, that by opening the door to helpful interventions, we begin sliding toward the unhelpful ones on a slope slippery with public ignorance.
 - Jeffrey Friedman, "What's wrong with Libertarianism," *Critical Review*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (1997), p. 455.

G



What the Russian autocrats and their supporters fear most is that the success of libertarian Socialism in Spain might prove to their blind followers that the much vaunted "necessity of dictatorship" is nothing but one vast fraud which in Russia has led to the despotism of Stalin...
~ Rudolf Rocker



A libertarian is the opposite of an authoritarian. Strictly speaking, a libertarian is one who rejects the idea of using violence or the threat of violence — legal or illegal — to impose his will or viewpoint upon any peaceful person. ~ Dean Russell

- Most left-wing ideologues are dangerous because they don't recognize that they have an ideology. They simply think they're doing the obvious and right thing. Libertarians of the stripe I've been talking about have a different problem. They know they have an ideology. They know it and they love it. And they love it so much they are unwilling to loosen their clench on it when reality — and more importantly, morality — demand it. Just as they consider "state violence" to be always and everywhere evil, they fetishize change, assuming it to be always and everywhere good.

- Jonah Goldberg, in "The Libertarian Lobe" in National Review Online (22 June 2001) (<http://article.nationalreview.com/267107/the-libertarian-lobe/jonah-goldberg>)

- **Young Libertarians have so much more energy and verve than pretty much anybody else these days, young conservatives included.** Libertarianism is an ideology best suited for young folks. It compellingly tells kids everything they want to be told. Self-interest is not merely indulged; it is sanctified. Experience — represented either in the traditions accumulated over the centuries or simply in the lessons learned by one's elders — has no greater authority than the self-gratifying whims of a single person. In the world of these young libertarians, the utopian future is one where they get to share with the world the full benefit of their inexperience.

- Jonah Goldberg, in "The Libertarian Lobe" in National Review Online (22 June 2001)



As owners of their own lives, individuals are completely free to do absolutely anything they wish with them — provided, of course, that it doesn't violate the identical right of others — whether the people around them approve of what they do or not.
~ L. Neil Smith



A libertarian is a person who believes that no one has the right, under any circumstances, to initiate force against another human being, or to advocate or delegate its initiation. Those who act consistently with this principle are libertarians, whether they realize it or not. Those who fail to act consistently with it are not libertarians, regardless of what they may claim. ~ L. Neil Smith

H

- **Libertarianism is, as the name implies, the belief in liberty. Libertarians believe that each person owns his own life and property, and has the right to make his own choices as to how he lives his life — as long as he simply respects the same right of others to do the same.**
 - Sharon Harris, President, Advocates for Self-Government, "What is Libertarianism?" (<http://www.libertarianism.com/what-it-is.htm>)
- **For libertarians, freedom entails the right of people to live their lives any way they choose, so long as their conduct is peaceful.** For conservatives, freedom entails the right of government to do just about anything it wants, even if its conduct is violent.
 - Jacob G. Hornberger, in "The Meaning of Freedom" (2001) (<http://www.fff.org/comment/ed1101q.asp>)
- Too many libertarians hate the left more than they love liberty... I confess to some schadenfreude myself as the left squirms in the aftermath of a defeat they didn't see coming. But... Now, more than ever, libertarians need good-hearted, open-minded people on the left

as allies in an attempt to preserve the things we agree on. We should never let our frustrations with the left become more important than preserving the liberal order... No libertarianism worth its name should ever accept those kinds of fundamental restrictions on the rights of humans, and their freedom to peacefully provide for themselves and their families, in exchange for the pot of gruel of the promise of some tax cuts and deregulation. Nor should any libertarianism worth its name think for a second that there is some sort of equal moral weighting between those promised economic policies and the return of state-sponsored torture... There's no moral equivalence here. There are just a whole lot of Very Bad Things that are really happening right now. You can create all the balance sheets you want, but if you don't understand that some things are far more important than others, you are not blind like the impartial scale of justice, but blind instead to the future of liberalism that hangs in that balance.



I'm a libertarian because I don't trust the people as much as anarchists do. I want to see government limited as much as possible; I would like to see it reduced back to where it was in Jefferson's time, or even smaller. But I would not like to see it abolished... ~ Robert Anton Wilson

- Steve Horwitz, "Liberalism in the Balance" (<http://bleedingheartlibertarians.com/2017/01/liberalism-in-the-balance/>) (January 2017), *Bleeding Heart Libertarians*

I

- **The basic premise of libertarianism is that each individual should be free to do as he or she pleases so long as he or she does not harm others.** In the libertarian view, societies and governments infringe on individual liberties whenever they tax wealth, create penalties for victimless crimes, or otherwise attempt to control or regulate individual conduct which harms or benefits no one except the individual who engages in it.
 - Definition written by the U.S. Internal Revenue Service, during the process of granting the Advocates for Self Government status as a non-profit educational organization, as quoted in *Healing Our World : The Other Piece of the Puzzle* (1992) by Mary J. Ruwart
- The Libertarians, of whom I'm rather fond, are running Harry Browne. Libertarians are, just as they claim, principled and consistent — they believe in individual liberty. Commendable as they are, and despite their reliability as allies in civil liberties struggles, you may notice that Libertarians sometimes prove that a foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, and that there is a difference between logic and wisdom.
 - Molly Ivins, Fort Worth Star-Telegram (7 September 1996)

J

- What was the old saying? That if you weren't a Democrat in college, you didn't have a heart. And if you weren't a Republican in later life, you didn't have a brain. Well, **I happen to think libertarian kind of encompasses hearts and brains both.** And that's what we all are about.
 - Gary Johnson, in an interview with CNBC's John Harwood [1] (<http://www.cnbc.com/2016/08/22/libertarian-candidate-gary-johnson-says-most-of-gop-right-now-is-me.html>) (August 22, 2016)

K

- **The libertarians are rejected because they are metaphysically mad.** Lunacy repels, and political lunacy especially. I do not mean that they are dangerous: Nay, they are repellent merely. They do not endanger our country and our civilization, because they are few, and seem likely to become fewer.
 - Russell Kirk, "A Dispassionate Assessment of Libertarians (<http://www.theimaginativeconservative.org/2015/02/a-dispassionate-assessment-of-libertarians.html>)" (1988)
- In the sense used by Marx and Engels, the concept of ideology was intended to mean forms of social consciousness which prevent people from realising that their thinking about the world is determined by some conditions which do not depend on them and which are not themselves ingredients of consciousness. In ideological thinking, people imagine that the logic of thinking itself rules their consciousness and they are organically incapable of being aware of the social situations and of the interests which mould their mental work.
 - Leszek Kolakowski, "Althusser's Marx", *Socialist Register* 1971, pp. 111-127



I hear Republicans and Libertarians and so forth talking about property rights, but they stop talking about property rights as soon as the subject of American Indians comes up, because they know fully well, perhaps not in a fully articulated, conscious form, but they know fully well that the basis for the very system of endeavor and enterprise and profitability to which they are committed and devoted accrues on the basis of theft of the resources of someone else. They are in possession of stolen property. They know it. They all know it. It's a dishonest endeavor from day one. ~ Ward Churchill

L

- *We the members of the Libertarian Party challenge the cult of the omnipotent state and defend the rights of the individual.' We hold that all individuals have the right to exercise sole dominion over their own lives, and have the right to live in whatever manner they choose, so long as they do not forcibly interfere with the equal right of others to live in whatever manner they choose.*
 - The Libertarian Party Statement of Principles (1972); (May 2008 edition) (<http://www.lp.org/platform>)
- Libertarians believe the answer to America's political problems is the same commitment to freedom that earned America its greatness: a free-market economy and the abundance and prosperity it brings; a dedication to civil liberties and personal freedom that marks this country above all others; and a foreign policy of non-intervention, peace, and free trade as prescribed by America's founders.
 - *The Libertarian Party: A Short History* (2000) by Libertarian Party
- Rothbard is surely right in thinking that what we now call free-market libertarianism was originally a left-wing position. The great liberal economist Frédéric Bastiat sat on the left side of the French national assembly, with the anarcho-socialist Proudhon. Many of the causes we now think of as paradigmatically left-wing—feminism, antiracism, antimilitarism, the defense of laborers and consumers against big business—were traditionally embraced and

promoted specifically by free-market radicals. ... I like calling the free market a left-wing idea—in fact, I like calling libertarianism the proletarian revolution.

- Roderick T. Long, "Rothbard's 'Left and Right': Forty Years Later," (<https://bastiat.mises.org/library/rothbards-left-and-right-forty-years-later>) Rothbard Memorial Lecture, Austrian Scholars Conference (2006).
- Kevin Carson has coined the terms “vulgar libertarianism” and “vulgar liberalism” for the tendencies, respectively, to treat the benefits of the free market as though they legitimated various dubious features of actually existing “capitalist” society (vulgar libertarianism), and to treat the drawbacks of actually existing “capitalist” society as though they constituted an objection to the free market (vulgar liberalism).
 - Roderick T. Long, "Left-libertarianism, market anarchism, class conflict and historical theories of distributive justice," *Griffith Law Review*, Vol. 21 Issue 2 (2012), p. 416
- Given the extensive involvement of state violence in the process by which the corporate elite not only achieved its wealth in the past but continues to maintain and augment it in the present, it is clear that the massive inequalities of wealth that characterise present-day “capitalist” society are radically inconsistent with any approach to justice in holdings that is even remotely Nozickian.
 - Roderick T. Long, "Left-libertarianism, market anarchism, class conflict and historical theories of distributive justice," *Griffith Law Review*, Vol. 21 Issue 2 (2012), p. 425

M

- I think that in some ways the libertarian movement—possibly due to the combined influence of Ayn Rand and many economists—has gotten to a kind of ideological dead end that I don't think does justice to business or capitalism or human nature.
 - John Mackey, as quoted by Tom G. Palmer “Interview with an Entrepreneur: Featuring John Mackey”, in *The Morality of Capitalism: What Your Professors Won't Tell You* (2011), Ed. Tom G. Palmer, Jameson Books, p. 16.
- Many years ago, on a television network far, far away, I expressed support for libertarianism because back then it meant that I didn't want Big Government in my bedroom or my medicine chest, and especially not in the second drawer of the night-stand on the left side of my bed. And I still believe that. But somewhere along the way libertarianism morphed into this creepy obsession with Free Market capitalism based on an Ayn Rand novel called “Atlas Shrugged”, a book that's never been read all the way through by anyone with a girlfriend.
 - Bill Maher, ‘Bill Maher Trashes Libertarians’ (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=55zDEBNqfk4>)
- **For the libertarian, it is always illegitimate to initiate force against nonaggressors.** Libertarianism is the political philosophy based on the concept of self-ownership; that is, every human being, simply by being a human being, has moral justification over his or her own body. This jurisdiction, which is called individual rights, cannot properly be violated, for this would be tantamount to claiming that human beings are not self-owners.
 - Wendy McElroy, in "Demystifying the State" (21 May 2008) (http://www.wendymcelroy.com/e107_plugins/content/content.php?content.95)
- Libertarianism is a direct attack upon the mystique of the state. It recognizes that the state is only an abstraction and reduces it to the actions of individuals. It applies the same standard

of morality to the state as it would to a next-door neighbor. If it is not proper for a neighbor to tax or pass laws regulating your private life, then it cannot be proper for the state to do so. Only by elevating itself above the standards of personal morality can the state make these claims on your life.

- Wendy McElroy, in "Demystifying the State" (21 May 2008)

N

- First and foremost, libertarians believe in the principle of self-ownership. You own your own body and mind; no external power has the right to force you into the service of "society" or "mankind" or any other individual or group for any purpose, however noble. Slavery is wrong, period.
 - David F. Nolan, in "The Essence of Liberty" (<http://web.archive.org/20030814014219/www.theadvocates.org/library/essence-of-liberty.html>)
- A government which cannot conscript, confiscate, or counterfeit, and which imposes no criminal penalties for the mere possession and peaceful use of anything, is one that almost all libertarians would be comfortable with.
 - David F. Nolan, in "The Essence of Liberty" (<http://web.archive.org/20030814014219/www.theadvocates.org/library/essence-of-liberty.html>)
- Lacking much historical information and assuming (1) that victims of injustice generally do worse than they otherwise would and (2) that those from the least well-off group in the society have the highest probabilities of being the (descendants of) victims of the most serious injustice who are owed compensation by those who benefited from the injustices, ... then a rough rule of thumb for rectifying injustices might seem to be the following: organize society so as to maximize the position of whatever group ends up least well-off in the society.
 - Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (1974) pp. 231-232
- These issues are very complex and are best left to a full treatment of the principle of rectification. In the absence of such a treatment applied to a particular society, one cannot use the analysis and theory presented here to condemn any particular scheme of transfer payments, unless it is clear that no considerations of rectification of injustice could apply to justify it. Although to introduce socialism as the punishment for our sins would be to go too far, past injustices might seem to be so great as to make necessary in the short run a more extensive state in order to rectify them.
 - Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (1974) p. 232
- Whoever makes something having bought or contracted for all other held resources used in the process (transferring some of his holdings for these cooperating factors), is entitled to it. The situation is not one of something's getting made, and there being an open question of who is to get it. Things come into the world already attached to people having entitlements over them.
 - Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State and Utopia* (1974), p. 160.

O

- Nozick's Theory, in spite of its apparent dedication to self-ownership, cannot escape the conclusion that women's entitlement rights to those they produce must take priority of

persons' rights to themselves at birth. ... There is nothing about a woman's production of an infant that does not easily fulfill the conditions of the principle of acquisition as Nozick specifies them.

- Susan Moller Okin, *Justice, Gender, and the Family*, (1989), pp. 82-83.
- **The real division is not between conservatives and revolutionaries but between authoritarians and libertarians.**
 - George Orwell, in a letter to Malcolm Muggeridge (4 December 1948), published in *Malcolm Muggeridge : A Life* (1980) by Ian Hunter

R

- The trouble with the world today is philosophical: only the right philosophy can save us. But this party plagiarizes some of my ideas, mixes them with the exact opposite—with religionists, anarchists and every intellectual misfit and scum they can find—and call themselves libertarians and run for office.
 - Ayn Rand as quoted in (2005). Mayhew, Robert, ed. *Ayn Rand Answers, the Best of Her Q&A*. New York: New American Library. p. 73. (1976)
- Once an individual who would advance liberty has settled on self-perfection as correct method, the first fact to bear in mind is that ours is not a numbers problem. Were it necessary to bring a majority into a comprehension of the libertarian philosophy, the cause of liberty would be utterly hopeless. Every significant movement in history has been led by one or just a few individuals with a small minority of energetic supporters.
 - Leonard E. Read, as quoted in "Toward an American Shibboleth!" by Tim Wingate, at *Strike The Root* (26 January 2007) (<http://www.strike-the-root.com/71/wingate/wingate1.html>)
- Government doesn't "intrude" on the "free market." It creates the market. ... Those who argue for "less government" are really arguing for a different government—often one that favors them or their patrons.
 - Robert Reich, *Saving Capitalism: For the Many, Not the Few* (2015)
- **Even if you want no state, or a minimal state, then you have to argue point by point.** Especially since the minimalists want to keep the economic and police system that keeps them privileged. **That's libertarians for you — anarchists who want police protection from their slaves. No! If you want to make the minimum-state case, you have to argue it from the ground up.**
 - Kim Stanley Robinson, in *Green Mars* (1993), p. 371
- **What the Russian autocrats and their supporters fear most is that the success of libertarian Socialism in Spain might prove to their blind followers that the much vaunted "necessity of dictatorship" is nothing but one vast fraud which in Russia has led to the despotism of Stalin and is to serve today in Spain to help the counter-revolution to a victory over the revolution of the workers and the peasants.**
 - Rudolf Rocker, in *The Tragedy of Spain* (1937)
- **All libertarians, of whatever faction or persuasion, lay great stress on education, on convincing an ever-larger number of people to become libertarians, and hopefully, highly dedicated ones.** The problem, however, is that the great bulk of libertarians hold a

very simplistic view of the role and scope of such education. They do not, in short, even attempt to answer the question: After education, what? What then? What happens after X number of people are convinced? And how many need to be convinced to press on to the next stage? Everyone? A majority? Many people? ... Beyond the problem of education lies the problem of power. After a substantial number of people have been converted, there will be the additional task of finding ways and means to remove State power from our society. Since the state will not gracefully convert itself out of power, other means than education, means of pressure, will have to be used. What particular means or what combination of means — whether by voting, alternative institutions untouched by the State or massive failure to cooperate with the State — depends on the conditions of the time and what will be found to work or not to work. In contrast to matters of theory and principle, the particular tactics to be used — so long as they are consistent with the principles and ultimate goal of a purely free society — are a matter of pragmatism, judgment, and the inexact "art" of the tactician.

- Murray Rothbard, in *For a New Liberty (1973), Ch. 15 : A Strategy for Liberty* (<http://mises.org/rothbard/newlibertywhole.asp>)

S

- Libertarian logic for non-interference, when consistently explored, can have extraordinarily stern implications in invalidating the right to assistance from the society when one is hit by self-harming behaviour. If that annulment is not accepted, then the case for libertarian "immunity" from interference is also correspondingly undermined. We should not readily agree to be held captive in a half-way house erected by an inadequate assessment of the demands of liberty.
 - Amartya Sen, "Unrestrained smoking is a libertarian half-way house", *Financial Times* (February 11, 2007)
- Most libertarians agree that all rights are, in effect, property rights, beginning with this fundamental right to self-ownership and control of one's own life. As owners of their own lives, individuals are completely free to do absolutely anything they wish with them — provided, of course, that it doesn't violate the identical right of others — whether the people around them approve of what they do or not.
 - L. Neil Smith, and Rylla Cathryn Smith in *What Libertarians Believe*, Introduction: The Zero Aggression Principle (<http://www.ncc-1776.org/tle2009/tle500-20090104-02.html>)
- **A libertarian is a person who believes that no one has the right, under any circumstances, to initiate force against another human being, or to advocate or delegate its initiation.** Those who act consistently with this principle are libertarians, whether they realize it or not. Those who fail to act consistently with it are not libertarians, regardless of what they may claim.
 - L. Neil Smith, and Rylla Cathryn Smith, the "Zero Aggression Principle" in *What Libertarians Believe*, Introduction: The Zero Aggression Principle
- Violence, fraud, the prerogative of force, the claims of superior cunning—those are the sources to which titles may be traced. The original deeds were written with the sword, rather than with the pen; not lawyers, but soldiers, were the conveyancers; blows were the current coin given in payment; and for seals, blood was used in preference to wax. Could valid claims be thus constituted? Hardly. And if not, what becomes of the pretensions of all subsequent holders of estates so obtained? Does sale or bequest generate a right where it did not previously exist?

- Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics*, First Edition (1851), Chapter 9

T

- Libertarianism is basically Aristotelian (reason, objectivity, individual self-sufficiency) while conservatism is just fundamentally Platonic (privileged elitism, mysticism, collective order).
 - Jerome Tuccille, *Radical Libertarianism: A New Political Alternative*, Perennial Library/Harper & Row (1971) p. 6.

W

- As Nozick acknowledges, a modern state should not feel morally constrained by property holdings which might have had a Lockean pedigree but in fact do not. In this regard it is interesting that one of the main uses of Lockean theory these days is in defending the property rights of indigenous people—where a literal claim is being made about who had first possession of a set of resources and about the need to rectify the injustices that accompanied their subsequent expropriation.
 - Jeremy Waldron, "Property and Ownership" (<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/property/>), *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*
- **Libertarianism offers an alternative to coercive government that should appeal to peaceful, productive people everywhere.**

No, a libertarian world isn't a perfect one. There will still be inequality, poverty, crime, corruption, man's inhumanity to man. But, unlike the theocratic visionaries, the pie-in-the-sky socialist utopians, or the starry-eyed Mr. Fixits of the New Deal and Great Society, libertarians don't promise you a rose garden. Karl Popper once said that attempts to create heaven on earth invariably produce hell. Libertarianism holds out, not the goal of a perfect society, but of a better and freer one. It promises a world in which more of the decisions will be made in the right way by the right person: you.

 - Bill Weld, *Libertarianism: A Primer* (1997) Ch. 1 : The Coming Libertarian Age"; A Note on Labels: Why "Libertarian"? (<http://www.libertarianism.org/ex-3.html>)
- I'm not an anarchist any longer, because I've concluded that anarchism is an impractical ideal. Nowadays, I regard myself as a libertarian. I suppose an anarchist would say, paraphrasing what Marx said about agnostics being "frightened atheists," that libertarians are simply frightened anarchists. Having just stated the case for the opposition, I will go along and agree with them: yes, I am frightened. **I'm a libertarian because I don't trust the people as much as anarchists do. I want to see government limited as much as possible; I would like to see it reduced back to where it was in Jefferson's time, or even smaller. But I would not like to see it abolished.** I think the average American, if left totally free, would act exactly like Idi Amin. I don't trust the people any more than I trust the government.
 - Robert Anton Wilson, in "Robert Anton Wilson: Searching For Cosmic Intelligence" - interview with Jeffrey Elliot (1980) (<http://www.rawilsonfans.com/articles/Starship.htm>)
- A 'popular libertarian' might ... feel all that needs to be done to bring the world to justice is to institute the minimal state now, starting as it were from present holdings. On this view, then, libertarianism starts tomorrow, and we take the present possession of property for granted.

There is, of course, something very problematic about this attitude. Part of the libertarian position involves treating property rights as natural rights, as so as being as important as

anything can be. On the libertarian view, the fact that an injustice is old, and, perhaps, difficult to prove, does not make it any less of an injustice. Nozick, to his credit, appreciates this, and implies that in all cases we should try to work out what would have happened had the injustice not taken place. If the present state of affairs does not correspond to this hypothetical description, then it should be made to correspond.

- Jonathan Wolff, *Robert Nozick: Property, Justice and the Minimal State* (1991), p. 106 (<http://books.google.com/books?id=A8D3CQAAQBAJ&pg=PT106>)

See also

- Anarchism
 - Anarcho-capitalism
 - Capitalism
 - Classical liberalism
 - Democratic socialism
 - Economic liberalism
 - Free trade
 - Freedom
 - *Laissez-faire*
 - Left-libertarianism
 - Left-wing market anarchism
 - Liberty
 - Market
 - Property
 - Rights
 - State
 - Trade
-

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