[Template:Redirect](/wiki/Template:Redirect" \o "Template:Redirect) [Template:Other uses](/wiki/Template:Other_uses) [Template:Libertarianism sidebar](/wiki/Template:Libertarianism_sidebar) **Libertarianism** ([Template:Lang-la](/wiki/Template:Lang-la), "free") is a [political philosophy](/wiki/Political_philosophy) that upholds [liberty](/wiki/Liberty) as its principal objective. Libertarians seek to maximize [autonomy](/wiki/Autonomy) and [freedom of choice](/wiki/Freedom_of_choice), emphasizing [political freedom](/wiki/Political_freedom), [voluntary association](/wiki/Voluntary_association), and the primacy of [individual](/wiki/Individualism) [judgment](/wiki/Judgement).[[1]](#cite_note-1)[[2]](#cite_note-2) Libertarians generally share a skepticism of authority; however, they diverge on the scope of their opposition to existing political and economic systems. Various [schools](/wiki/School_of_thought) of libertarian thought offer a range of views regarding the legitimate functions of [state](/wiki/State_(polity)) and private [power](/wiki/Power_(social_and_political)), often calling to restrict or even to wholly dissolve coercive [social institutions](/wiki/Institution). Rather than embodying a singular, rigid systematic theory or ideology, libertarianism has been applied as an [umbrella term](/wiki/Umbrella_term) to a wide range of sometimes discordant political ideas through [modern history](/wiki/Modern_history).

Some libertarians advocate [laissez-faire](/wiki/Laissez-faire) [capitalism](/wiki/Capitalism) [private property](/wiki/Private_property) rights,[[3]](#cite_note-3) such as in land, infrastructure, and natural resources. Others, notably [libertarian socialists](/wiki/Libertarian_socialism),[[4]](#cite_note-4) seek to abolish capitalism and private ownership of the [means of production](/wiki/Means_of_production) in favor of their [common](/wiki/Common_ownership) or [cooperative ownership](/wiki/Worker_cooperative) and [management](/wiki/Workers'_self-management).[[5]](#cite_note-5)[[6]](#cite_note-6) An additional line of division is between [minarchists](/wiki/Minarchist) and [anarchists](/wiki/Anarchists). While [minarchists](/wiki/Minarchist) think that a minimal centralized government is necessary, [anarchists](/wiki/Anarchism) propose to completely eliminate the state.[[7]](#cite_note-7)[[8]](#cite_note-8) The term *libertarianism* originally referred to a philosophical belief in [free will](/wiki/Free_will) but later became associated with [anti-state](/wiki/Anti-statism) [socialism](/wiki/Socialism) and [Enlightenment](/wiki/Age_of_Enlightenment)-influenced[[9]](#cite_note-9)[[10]](#cite_note-10) [political movements](/wiki/Political_movements) critical of institutional authority believed to serve forms of social domination and injustice. The term has generally retained its political usage as a synonym for either [social](/wiki/Social_anarchism) or [individualist anarchism](/wiki/Individualist_anarchism) through much of the world. However, [in the United States](/wiki/Libertarianism_in_the_United_States) it has since come to describe pro-capitalist [economic liberalism](/wiki/Economic_liberalism) more so than [anti-capitalist](/wiki/Anti-capitalism) [egalitarianism](/wiki/Egalitarianism). In the [*Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*](/wiki/Stanford_Encyclopedia_of_Philosophy), libertarianism is defined as the moral view that [agents](/wiki/Agency_(philosophy)) initially [fully own themselves](/wiki/Self-ownership) and have certain moral powers to acquire [property rights](/wiki/Property) in external things.[[11]](#cite_note-11) As individualist opponents of [social liberalism](/wiki/Social_liberalism) embraced the label "libertarian" and distanced themselves from the word *liberal*, American writers have adopted the term *libertarian* to describe advocacy of capitalist [free market](/wiki/Free_market) economics and a [night-watchman state](/wiki/Night-watchman_state).

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## Etymology[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=1)]

[200px|thumb|The 17 August 1860 edition of *Le Libertaire: Journal du Mouvement Social*, a](/wiki/File:Le_libertaire_25.png) [libertarian communist](/wiki/Libertarian_communist) publication in New York City.

The term *libertarian* was first used by late-[Enlightenment](/wiki/Age_of_Enlightenment) [freethinkers](/wiki/Freethought) to refer to the [metaphysical](/wiki/Metaphysical) belief in [free will](/wiki/Free_will), as opposed to [determinism](/wiki/Determinism).[[12]](#cite_note-12) The first recorded use was in 1789, when [William Belsham](/wiki/William_Belsham) wrote about [libertarianism](/wiki/Libertarianism_(metaphysics)) in opposition to "necessitarian", i.e. determinist, views.[[13]](#cite_note-13)[[14]](#cite_note-14) *Libertarian* came to mean an advocate or defender of liberty, especially in the political and social spheres, as early as 1796, when the London Packet printed on 12 February: "Lately marched out of the Prison at Bristol, 450 of the French Libertarians."[[15]](#cite_note-15) The word 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.[[16]](#cite_note-16)[[17]](#cite_note-17)[[18]](#cite_note-18) The use of the word *libertarian* to describe a new set of political positions has been traced to the French cognate, *libertaire*, coined in a scathing letter French libertarian communist [Joseph Déjacque](/wiki/Joseph_Déjacque) wrote to mutualist [Pierre-Joseph Proudhon](/wiki/Pierre-Joseph_Proudhon) in 1857, castigating him for his [sexist](/wiki/Sexist) political views.[[19]](#cite_note-19)[[20]](#cite_note-20) Déjacque also used the term for his anarchist publication *Le Libertaire: Journal du Mouvement Social*, which was printed from 9 June 1858 to 4 February 1861 in New York City.[[21]](#cite_note-21)[[22]](#cite_note-22) In the mid-1890s, [Sébastien Faure](/wiki/Sébastien_Faure) began publishing a new *Le Libertaire* while France's [Third Republic](/wiki/French_Third_Republic) enacted the [lois scélérates](/wiki/Lois_scélérates) ("villainous laws"), which banned anarchist publications in France. *Libertarianism* has frequently been used as a synonym for *anarchism* since this time.<ref name=nettlau>[Template:Cite book](/wiki/Template:Cite_book)</ref>[[23]](#cite_note-23)[[24]](#cite_note-24) Although the word *libertarian* continues to be widely used to refer to socialists internationally, its meaning in the United States has deviated from its political origins.[[25]](#cite_note-25)[[26]](#cite_note-26) [Libertarianism in the United States](/wiki/Libertarianism_in_the_United_States) has been described as conservative on economic issues and liberal on personal freedom[[27]](#cite_note-27) (for common meanings of *conservative* and *liberal* in the United States); it is also often associated with a foreign policy of [non-interventionism](/wiki/Non-interventionism).[[28]](#cite_note-28)[[29]](#cite_note-29) Since the resurgence of [neoliberalism](/wiki/Neoliberalism) in the 1970s, free-market capitalist libertarianism has spread beyond North America via think tanks and political parties.[[30]](#cite_note-30)

## Philosophy[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=2)]

There is contention about whether right, left, and socialist libertarianism "represent distinct ideologies as opposed to variations on a theme."[[31]](#cite_note-31) All libertarians begin with a conception of [personal autonomy](/wiki/Autonomy) from which they argue in favor of civil liberties and a reduction or elimination of the state.

[Right-libertarianism](/wiki/Right-libertarianism)[[32]](#cite_note-32) developed in the United States in the mid-20th century and is the most popular conception of libertarianism in that region.[[33]](#cite_note-33) It is commonly referred to as a continuation or radicalization of [classical liberalism](/wiki/Classical_liberalism).[[34]](#cite_note-34)[[35]](#cite_note-35) Right-libertarians value [self-ownership](/wiki/Self-ownership) and the [non-aggression principle](/wiki/Non-aggression_principle) [Template:Citation needed](/wiki/Template:Citation_needed), which leads to support of private property and free-market capitalism, while rejecting most or all state functions. [Anarcho-capitalists](/wiki/Anarcho-capitalist)[[36]](#cite_note-36)[[37]](#cite_note-37) believe the state inherently violates the non-aggression principle, while [minarchists](/wiki/Minarchist) defend [night-watchman states](/wiki/Night-watchman_state) on the grounds that certain government functions are required to protect individual rights. They defend wage labor and concentrations of wealth so long as they are voluntary.

[Left-libertarianism](/wiki/Left-libertarianism) encompasses those libertarian beliefs that claim the Earth's natural resources belong to everyone in some egalitarian manner, either unowned or owned collectively. Contemporary left-libertarians such as [Hillel Steiner](/wiki/Hillel_Steiner), [Peter Vallentyne](/wiki/Peter_Vallentyne), [Philippe Van Parijs](/wiki/Philippe_Van_Parijs), [Michael Otsuka](/wiki/Michael_Otsuka), and [David Ellerman](/wiki/David_Ellerman) believe the appropriation of land must leave "[enough and as good](/wiki/Lockean_proviso)" for others or be taxed by society to compensate for the exclusionary effects of private property. [Libertarian socialists](/wiki/Libertarian_socialist) ([social](/wiki/Social_anarchism) and [individualist anarchists](/wiki/Individualist_anarchist), [libertarian Marxists](/wiki/Libertarian_Marxist), [council communists](/wiki/Council_communist), [Luxemburgists](/wiki/Luxemburgist), and [DeLeonists](/wiki/DeLeonist)) promote [usufruct](/wiki/Usufruct) and [socialist](/wiki/Socialist) economic theories, including [communism](/wiki/Communism), [collectivism](/wiki/Collectivist_anarchism), [syndicalism](/wiki/Syndicalism), and [mutualism](/wiki/Mutualism_(economic_theory)). They criticize the state for being the defender of private property and believe capitalism entails [wage slavery](/wiki/Wage_slavery).

### Personal autonomy[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=3)]

[Template:Anchor](/wiki/Template:Anchor) Anarchism envisages freedom as a form of autonomy,[[38]](#cite_note-38) which [Paul Goodman](/wiki/Paul_Goodman_(writer)) 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."[[39]](#cite_note-39) All anarchists oppose political and legal authority, but collectivist strains also oppose the economic authority of private property.[[40]](#cite_note-40) These social anarchists emphasize mutual aid, whereas individualist anarchists extoll individual sovereignty.[[41]](#cite_note-41) Many right-libertarians consider the [Non-aggression Principle](/wiki/Non-aggression_Principle) (NAP) to be a core part of their beliefs, and it is sometimes considered the foundation of most present-day right-libertarian philosophies.<ref name=USLPmf>[Template:Cite web](/wiki/Template:Cite_web)</ref> It is a [moral](/wiki/Morality) stance which asserts that violation of right-libertarian principles is [aggression](/wiki/Aggression) and inherently illegitimate. This conception of aggression is dependent on and closely linked to a particular conception of property rights, since aggression in this context is defined by what a person's property [rights](/wiki/Rights) are. Aggression, for the purposes of NAP, is defined as initiating or threatening property rights violation against another. Specifically, any unsolicited action that physically affects another individual's property, no matter if the result of those actions is damaging, beneficial, or neutral to the owner, are considered violent or aggressive when they are against the owner's [will](/wiki/Will_(philosophy)). Supporters of the NAP often appeal to it in order to defend [rent-seeking](/wiki/Rent-seeking), [landlording](/wiki/Landlord), [capital income](/wiki/Capital_(economics)), [monopolies](/wiki/Monopoly), and [price gouging](/wiki/Price_gouging), and to attack concepts like [taxation](/wiki/Tax), [labor rights](/wiki/Labor_rights), [commons](/wiki/Commons), [right of way](/wiki/Right_of_way), and [freedom to roam](/wiki/Freedom_to_roam). In contrast to [nonviolence](/wiki/Nonviolence), the non-aggression principle does not preclude the use of violence to enforce property rights.

### Civil liberties[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=4)]

[upright|left|thumb|American anarchist](/wiki/File:Emma_Goldman_seated.jpg) [Emma Goldman](/wiki/Emma_Goldman), prominent [anarcha-feminist](/wiki/Anarcha-feminist), [free love](/wiki/Free_love) and [freethought](/wiki/Freethought) activist

Libertarian socialists have been advocates and activists of civil liberties, including [free love](/wiki/Free_love) and [free thought](/wiki/Free_thought).[[42]](#cite_note-42)[[43]](#cite_note-43) Advocates of free love viewed sexual freedom as a clear, direct expression of individual sovereignty, and sometimes traced their roots back to the early anarchist [Josiah Warren](/wiki/Josiah_Warren) and experimental communities. They particularly stressed [women's rights](/wiki/Women's_rights), as most sexual laws discriminated against women: for example, marriage laws and anti-birth control measures.[[44]](#cite_note-44) Free love appeared alongside [anarcha-feminism](/wiki/Anarcha-feminism) and advocacy of [LGBT rights](/wiki/LGBT_rights). Anarcha-feminism developed as a synthesis of [radical feminism](/wiki/Radical_feminism) and anarchism, and views [patriarchy](/wiki/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](/wiki/Lucy_Parsons), [Emma Goldman](/wiki/Emma_Goldman), [Voltairine de Cleyre](/wiki/Voltairine_de_Cleyre) and [Virginia Bolten](/wiki/Virginia_Bolten). Anarcha-feminists, like other radical feminists, criticise and advocate the abolition of traditional conceptions of family, education and [gender roles](/wiki/Gender_roles). [*Free Society*](/wiki/Free_Society) (1895–1897 as *The Firebrand*, 1897–1904 as *Free Society*) was a major anarchist newspaper in the United States that staunchly advocated free love and women's rights, while criticizing "[comstockery](/wiki/Comstockery)", the censorship of sexual information.[[45]](#cite_note-45) In recent times, anarchism has also voiced opinions and taken action around certain sex related subjects such as pornography,[[46]](#cite_note-46) [BDSM](/wiki/BDSM),[[47]](#cite_note-47) and the [sex industry](/wiki/Sex_industry).[[47]](#cite_note-47) 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.[[48]](#cite_note-48)[[49]](#cite_note-49) In the United States, "free thought was a basically [anti-Christian](/wiki/Anti-Christian), [anti-clerical](/wiki/Anti-clerical) movement, whose purpose was to make the individual politically and spiritually free to decide for himself on religious matters. A number of contributors to [*Liberty*](/wiki/Liberty_(1881–1908)) were prominent figures in both free thought and anarchism. The individualist anarchist George MacDonald was a co-editor of *Freethought* and, for a time, *The Truth Seeker*. E.C. Walker was co-editor of the... free-thought/free-love journal [*Lucifer, the Light-Bearer*](/wiki/Lucifer,_the_Light-Bearer)".[[50]](#cite_note-50) In 1901, Catalan anarchist and free-thinker [Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia](/wiki/Francesc_Ferrer_i_Guàrdia) established "modern" or [progressive schools](/wiki/Progressive_education) in Barcelona in defiance of an educational system controlled by the Catholic Church.[[51]](#cite_note-51) Fiercely anti-clerical, Ferrer believed in "freedom in education," i.e., education free from the authority of the church and state.[[52]](#cite_note-52) The schools' stated goal was to "[educate the working class](/wiki/Popular_education) in a rational, secular and non-coercive setting". Later in the 20th century Austrian [freudo-marxist](/wiki/Freudo-Marxism) [Wilhelm Reich](/wiki/Wilhelm_Reich) became a consistent propagandist for sexual freedom going as far as opening free sex-counselling clinics in Vienna for working-class patients[[53]](#cite_note-53) as well as coining the phrase "[sexual revolution](/wiki/Sexual_revolution)" in one of his books from the 1940s.[[54]](#cite_note-54) During the early 1970s the English anarchist and pacifist [Alex Comfort](/wiki/Alex_Comfort) achieved international celebrity for writing the sex manuals [*The Joy of Sex*](/wiki/The_Joy_of_Sex) and *More Joy of Sex*.

### State[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=5)]

Most left-libertarians are anarchists and believe the state inherently violates personal autonomy: "As Robert Paul Wolff has argued, 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."[[40]](#cite_note-40) Social anarchists believe the state defends private property, which they view as intrinsically harmful, while [market-oriented left-libertarians](/wiki/Left-wing_market_anarchism) argue that so-called free markets actually consist of economic privileges granted by the state. These latter libertarians advocate instead for freed markets, which are *freed* from these privileges.[[55]](#cite_note-55) 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. Libertarians take a skeptical view of government authority.[[56]](#cite_note-56)[Template:Unreliable source?](/wiki/Template:Unreliable_source?) Minarchists maintain that the state is necessary for the protection of individuals from aggression, theft, [breach of contract](/wiki/Breach_of_contract), and fraud. They believe the only legitimate governmental institutions are the military, police, and [courts](/wiki/Courts), though some expand this list to include [fire departments](/wiki/Fire_department), [prisons](/wiki/Prison), and the [executive](/wiki/Executive_(government)) and [legislative](/wiki/Legislative) branches.[[57]](#cite_note-57) They justify the state on the grounds that it is the [logical consequence](/wiki/Logical_consequence) of adhering to the non-aggression principle and argue that anarchism is immoral because it implies that the non-aggression principle is optional, that the enforcement of laws under anarchism is open to competition.[Template:Citation needed](/wiki/Template:Citation_needed) Another common justification is that [private defense](/wiki/Private_defense) agencies and [court](/wiki/Dispute_resolution_organizations) firms would tend to represent the interests of those who pay them enough.[[58]](#cite_note-58) 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.[[59]](#cite_note-59)[[60]](#cite_note-60) Many also argue that [monopolies](/wiki/Monopoly) tend to be corrupt and inefficient, that private defense and court agencies would have to have a good reputation in order to stay in business. [Linda & Morris Tannehill](/wiki/Linda_&_Morris_Tannehill) argue that no coercive monopoly of force can arise on a truly free market and that a government's citizenry can't desert them in favor of a competent protection and defense agency.[[61]](#cite_note-61)

### Property rights[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=6)]

Right-libertarians maintain that unowned natural resources "may be appropriated by the first person who discovers them, [mixes his labor with them](/wiki/Labor_theory_of_property), or merely claims them—without the consent of others, and with little or no payment to them." They believe that natural resources are originally unowned, and therefore, private parties may appropriate them at will without the consent of, or owing to, others.[[62]](#cite_note-62) Right-libertarians argue that self-ownership permits the unequal [appropriation](/wiki/Appropriation_(economics)) of [natural resources](/wiki/Natural_resources),[[63]](#cite_note-63) and are not opposed to concentrations of economic power, provided they arise through non-coercive means.[[64]](#cite_note-64) Left-libertarians believe that neither claiming nor mixing one's labor with natural resources is enough to generate full private property rights,[[65]](#cite_note-65)[[66]](#cite_note-66) and maintain that natural resources ought to be held in some [egalitarian](/wiki/Egalitarian) manner, either unowned or [owned collectively](/wiki/Owned_collectively).[[67]](#cite_note-67) Left-libertarianism often includes libertarian socialists who reject private property in favor of usufruct, the mutual enjoyment of natural resources, but other left-libertarians support private property under the condition that recompense is offered to the local community (e.g. a [land value tax](/wiki/Land_value_tax)).[[66]](#cite_note-66)

### Economics[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=7)]

Libertarians are divided on economic issues: right-libertarians are [economic liberals](/wiki/Economic_liberal) of either the [Austrian School](/wiki/Austrian_School) or [Chicago school](/wiki/Chicago_school_(economics)) and support laissez-faire capitalism,[[68]](#cite_note-68) while most left-libertarians (social and individualist anarchists, libertarian Marxists, and left-wing market anarchists) argue in favor of socialist theories such as communism, syndicalism, and mutualism (see [Anarchist economics](/wiki/Anarchist_economics)). Daniel Guérin writes 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."[[69]](#cite_note-69) Other anarchists, including [Nicola Sacco, Bartolomeo Vanzetti](/wiki/Sacco_and_Vanzetti), and [Haymarket affair](/wiki/Haymarket_affair) suspect [Adolph Fischer](/wiki/Adolph_Fischer), make the same point: "every anarchist is a socialist, but every socialist is not necessarily an anarchist."[[69]](#cite_note-69)[[70]](#cite_note-70) While social anarchists generally support [communism](/wiki/Anarcho-communism) and [syndicalism](/wiki/Anarcho-syndicalism), individualist anarchists emphasize [mutualism](/wiki/Mutualism_(economic_theory)).[[71]](#cite_note-71)

### Wage labour[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=8)]

[Wage labour](/wiki/Wage_labour) has long been compared by socialists and anarcho-syndicalists to slavery.[[72]](#cite_note-72)[[73]](#cite_note-73)[[74]](#cite_note-74)[[75]](#cite_note-75) As a result, the term *wage slavery* is often utilised as a pejorative for wage labor.[[76]](#cite_note-76) Advocates of slavery looked upon the "comparative evils of Slave Society and of Free Society, of slavery to human Masters and slavery to Capital,"[[77]](#cite_note-77) and proceeded to argue persuasively that wage slavery was actually *worse* than [chattel slavery](/wiki/Chattel_slavery).[[78]](#cite_note-78) Slavery apologists like [George Fitzhugh](/wiki/George_Fitzhugh) contended that workers only accepted wage labour with the passage of time, as they became "familiarized and inattentive to the infected social atmosphere they continually inhale[d]."[[77]](#cite_note-77) According to [Noam Chomsky](/wiki/Noam_Chomsky), analysis of the psychological implications of wage slavery goes back to the Enlightenment era. In his 1791 book *On the Limits of State Action*, classical liberal thinker [Wilhelm von Humboldt](/wiki/Wilhelm_von_Humboldt) explained how "whatever does not spring from a man's free choice, or is only the result of instruction and guidance, does not enter into his very nature; he does not perform it with truly human energies, but merely with mechanical exactness" and so when the labourer works under external control, "we may admire what he does, but we despise what he is."[[79]](#cite_note-79) For Marxists, labour-as-commodity, which is how they regard wage labour,[[80]](#cite_note-80) provides an absolutely fundamental point of attack against capitalism.[[81]](#cite_note-81) "It can be persuasively argued," noted philosopher John Nelson, "that the conception of the worker's labour as a commodity confirms Marx's stigmatization of the wage system of private capitalism as 'wage-slavery;' that is, as an instrument of the capitalist's for reducing the worker's condition to that of a slave, if not below it."[[82]](#cite_note-82) That this objection is fundamental follows immediately from Marx's conclusion that wage labour is the very foundation of capitalism: "Without a *class dependent on wages*, the moment individuals confront each other as free persons, there can be no production of surplus value; without the production of surplus-value there can be no capitalist production, and hence no capital and no capitalist!"[[83]](#cite_note-83)

## Prominent currents[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=9)]

### Left-libertarianism[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=10)]

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#### The Steiner–Vallentyne school[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=11)]

Contemporary left-libertarian scholars such as Hillel Steiner,[[84]](#cite_note-84) Peter Vallentyne,[[85]](#cite_note-85) Philippe Van Parijs,[[86]](#cite_note-86) Michael Otsuka,[[87]](#cite_note-87) and David Ellerman[[88]](#cite_note-88)[[89]](#cite_note-89) root an economic egalitarianism in the classical liberal concepts of self-ownership and land appropriation, combined with geoist or [physiocratic](/wiki/Physiocrat) views regarding the ownership of land and natural resources (e.g. those of John Locke and Henry George).<ref group=note>Scholars representing this school of left-libertarianism often understand their position in contrast to other 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. Left-libertarians of the Carson–Long school (called left-wing market anarchists), referenced below, typically endorse the labor-based property rights Steiner–Vallentyne left-libertarians reject, but hold that implementing such rights would have radical rather than conservative consequences.

* Vallentyne, Peter (20 July 2010). "[Libertarianism](http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/libertarianism/)." [*Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*](/wiki/Stanford_Encyclopedia_of_Philosophy). Stanford University.
* Vallentyne, Peter (2007). "Libertarianism and the State." *Liberalism: Old and New*. In Paul, Ellen Frankel; Miller, Jr., Fred; and Paul, Jeffrey. Cambridge:Cambridge University Press. p. 199.</ref> They hold that it is illegitimate for anyone to claim private ownership of natural resources to the detriment of others.[[90]](#cite_note-90)<ref group=note>Kymlicka, Will (2005). "libertarianism, left-." *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*. In Honderich, Ted. New York: Oxford University Press.

"[left-libertarians maintain that] 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."</ref><ref group=note>Some left-libertarians of the Steiner–Vallentyne type 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:

* (2000). *Left-Libertarianism and Its Critics: The Contemporary Debate*. In Steiner, Hillel and Vallentyne, Peter. London:Macmillan p. 1.
* (2004). *Handbook of Political Theory*. In Gaus, Gerald F. and Kukathas, Chandran. Thousand Oaks, CA:Sage. p. 128.</ref> Instead, 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. Most 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.<ref name=handbook>Gaus, Gerald F. and Kukathas, Chandran (2004). *Handbook of Political Theory.* Sage Publications Inc. [p. 128](https://books.google.com/books?id=dXjXKlb79cgC&printsec=frontcover&dq=handbook+of+political+theory&ei=2ab4S_SOBpmOzgSkjM3dCg&cd=1#v=snippet&q=libertarian%20left%20&f=false).</ref> A number of left-libertarians of this school argue for the desirability of some state [social welfare](/wiki/Social_welfare) programs.[[91]](#cite_note-91)[[92]](#cite_note-92)

#### Geolibertarianism[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=12)]

[Template:See also](/wiki/Template:See_also) [thumb|175px|right|Henry George](/wiki/File:Henry_George2.jpg)

Geolibertarianism is a [political movement](/wiki/Political_movement) and ideology that synthesizes libertarianism and geoist theory, traditionally known as Georgism.[[93]](#cite_note-93)[[94]](#cite_note-94) Geolibertarians are advocates of geoism, which is the position that all natural resources, most importantly [land](/wiki/Land_(economics)), are common assets which all individuals have an equal right to access; therefore, individuals must pay [rent](/wiki/Economic_rent) to the community if they claim land as their private property. Rent need not be paid for the mere use of land, but only for the right to exclude others from that land, and for the protection of one's title by government. They simultaneously agree with the right-libertarian position that each individual has an exclusive right to the fruits of his or her labor as their private property, as opposed to this product being owned collectively by society or the community, and that "one's labor, wages, and the products of labor" should not be taxed. As with traditional libertarians, they advocate "full civil liberties, with no crimes unless there are victims who have been invaded."[[93]](#cite_note-93) Geolibertarians generally advocate distributing the land rent to the community via a land value tax, as proposed by [Henry George](/wiki/Henry_George) and others before him. For this reason, they are often called "single taxers". [Fred E. Foldvary](/wiki/Fred_E._Foldvary) coined the word "geo-libertarianism" in an article so titled in *Land and Liberty*.[[95]](#cite_note-95) In the case of geoanarchism, a proposed [voluntaryist](/wiki/Voluntaryism) 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.[[96]](#cite_note-96) Geolibertarians are generally influenced by Georgism, but the ideas behind it pre-date Henry George, and can be found in different forms in the writings of John Locke, the French [Physiocrats](/wiki/Physiocrats), [Thomas Jefferson](/wiki/Thomas_Jefferson), Adam Smith, [Thomas Paine](/wiki/Thomas_Paine), [James Mill](/wiki/James_Mill) (John Stuart Mill's father), David Ricardo, [John Stuart Mill](/wiki/John_Stuart_Mill), [Herbert Spencer](/wiki/Herbert_Spencer) and [Thomas Spence](/wiki/Thomas_Spence). Perhaps the best summary of geolibertarianism is Thomas Paine's assertion that "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, 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 would argue that "as good" is unlikely to be achieved in an urban setting because location is paramount, and that therefore Locke's proviso in an urban setting requires the collection and equal distribution of ground rent.

#### Libertarian socialism[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=13)]

[Template:Libertarian socialism](/wiki/Template:Libertarian_socialism)

Libertarian socialism (sometimes called social anarchism,[[97]](#cite_note-97)[[98]](#cite_note-98) left-libertarianism[[99]](#cite_note-99)[[100]](#cite_note-100) and socialist libertarianism[[101]](#cite_note-101)) is a group of [anti-authoritarian](/wiki/Anti-authoritarianism)[[102]](#cite_note-102) political philosophies inside the [socialist](/wiki/Socialist) movement that rejects socialism as centralized state ownership and control of the economy[[103]](#cite_note-103) including criticism of [wage labour relationships within the workplace](/wiki/Wage_slavery),[[104]](#cite_note-104) as well as the state itself.[[105]](#cite_note-105) It emphasizes [workers' self-management](/wiki/Workers'_self-management) of the workplace[[105]](#cite_note-105) and [decentralized structures of political organization](/wiki/Decentralization#Libertarian_socialist_decentralization),[[106]](#cite_note-106) asserting that a society based on freedom and equality can be achieved through abolishing [authoritarian](/wiki/Authoritarian) institutions that control certain [means of production](/wiki/Means_of_production) and subordinate the majority to an owning class or political and economic [elite](/wiki/Elite).[[107]](#cite_note-107) Libertarian socialists generally place their hopes in [decentralized](/wiki/Decentralization#Libertarian_socialist_decentralization) means of [direct democracy](/wiki/Direct_democracy) and [federal](/wiki/Federalism#Federalism_as_the_anarchist_and_libertarian_socialist_mode_of_political_organization) or [confederal](/wiki/Confederation) associations[[108]](#cite_note-108) such as [libertarian municipalism](/wiki/Libertarian_municipalism), citizens' assemblies, [trade unions](/wiki/Trade_union), and [workers' councils](/wiki/Workers'_council).[[109]](#cite_note-109)[[110]](#cite_note-110) All of this is generally done within a general call for [libertarian](/wiki/Liberty)[[111]](#cite_note-111) and [voluntary human relationships](/wiki/Free_association_(communism_and_anarchism))[[112]](#cite_note-112) through the identification, criticism, and practical dismantling of illegitimate authority in all aspects of human life.[[113]](#cite_note-113)[[114]](#cite_note-114)[[115]](#cite_note-115)[[116]](#cite_note-116)[[117]](#cite_note-117)[[118]](#cite_note-118)[[119]](#cite_note-119)[[120]](#cite_note-120) Past and present political philosophies and movements commonly described as libertarian socialist include anarchism (especially [anarchist communism](/wiki/Anarchist_communism), anarchist collectivism, anarcho-syndicalism,[[121]](#cite_note-121) and mutualism[[122]](#cite_note-122)) as well as [autonomism](/wiki/Autonomism), [communalism](/wiki/Communalism_(political_philosophy)), [participism](/wiki/Participism), [revolutionary syndicalism](/wiki/Revolutionary_syndicalism), and libertarian Marxist philosophies such as [council communism](/wiki/Council_communism) and [Luxemburgism](/wiki/Luxemburgism),[[123]](#cite_note-123)[[124]](#cite_note-124) as well as some versions of [utopian socialism](/wiki/Utopian_socialism)[[125]](#cite_note-125) and [individualist anarchism](/wiki/Individualist_anarchism).[[126]](#cite_note-126)[[127]](#cite_note-127)[[128]](#cite_note-128)[[129]](#cite_note-129)

### Right-libertarianism[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=14)]

[Template:Main](/wiki/Template:Main) [thumb|150px|left|Friedrich Hayek](/wiki/File:Friedrich_Hayek_portrait.jpg)

#### Neo-classical liberalism[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=15)]

Traditional classical liberalism is a political philosophy and [ideology](/wiki/List_of_political_ideologies) belonging to [liberalism](/wiki/Liberalism) in which primary emphasis is placed on securing the freedom of the individual by limiting the power of the government. The philosophy emerged as a response to the [Industrial Revolution](/wiki/Industrial_Revolution) and urbanization in the 19th century in [Europe](/wiki/Europe) and the United States.[[130]](#cite_note-130) It advocates [civil liberties](/wiki/Civil_liberties) with a limited government under the [rule of law](/wiki/Rule_of_law), and belief in [laissez-faire](/wiki/Laissez-faire) economic policy.[[131]](#cite_note-131)[[132]](#cite_note-132)[[133]](#cite_note-133) Classical liberalism is built on ideas that had already arisen by the end of the 18th century, such as selected ideas of [Adam Smith](/wiki/Adam_Smith), [John Locke](/wiki/John_Locke), [Jean-Baptiste Say](/wiki/Jean-Baptiste_Say), [Thomas Malthus](/wiki/Thomas_Malthus), and [David Ricardo](/wiki/David_Ricardo), stressing the belief in free market and [natural law](/wiki/Natural_law),[[134]](#cite_note-134) [utilitarianism](/wiki/Utilitarianism),[[135]](#cite_note-135) and [progress](/wiki/Progress_(history)).[[136]](#cite_note-136) Classical liberals were more suspicious than [conservatives](/wiki/Conservatism) of all but the most minimal government[[137]](#cite_note-137) and, adopting [Thomas Hobbes's](/wiki/Thomas_Hobbes) theory of government, they believed government had been created by individuals to protect themselves from one another.[[138]](#cite_note-138) [Neoliberalism](/wiki/Neoliberalism) (neo-liberalism) emerged in the era following [World War II](/wiki/World_War_II) during which [social liberalism](/wiki/Social_liberalism) and [Keynesianism](/wiki/Keynesianism) were the dominant ideologies in the [Western world](/wiki/Western_world). It was led by economists such as [Friedrich Hayek](/wiki/Friedrich_Hayek) and [Milton Friedman](/wiki/Milton_Friedman),[[139]](#cite_note-139) who advocated the reduction of the state and a return to classical liberalism. It did however accept some aspects of social liberalism, such as some degree of [welfare](/wiki/Welfare) provision by the state, but on a greatly reduced scale. Hayek and Friedman used the term *classical liberalism* to refer to their ideas; however, 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.[[140]](#cite_note-140) As a result, the term *neoliberalism* has often been used as an alternative, however this term has developed negative connotations and is now usually only used as a pejorative.

#### Anarcho-capitalism[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=16)]

[150px|thumb|right|Murray Rothbard](/wiki/File:MurrayBW.jpg)

Anarcho-capitalism (also referred to as free-market anarchism,[[141]](#cite_note-141) market anarchism,[[142]](#cite_note-142) and private-property anarchism[[143]](#cite_note-143)) is a political philosophy which advocates the elimination of the state in favor of individual sovereignty in a free market.[[144]](#cite_note-144)[[145]](#cite_note-145) In an anarcho-capitalist society, law enforcement, [courts](/wiki/Court), and all other security services would be provided by privately funded competitors rather than through taxation, and [money](/wiki/Money) would be [privately and competitively provided](/wiki/Free_banking) in an open market.[[146]](#cite_note-146) Therefore, personal and economic activities under anarcho-capitalism would be regulated by privately run law rather than through politics.[[147]](#cite_note-147) The most well-known version of anarcho-capitalism was formulated in the mid-20th century by Austrian School economist and libertarian [Murray Rothbard](/wiki/Murray_Rothbard). Murray coined the term and is widely regarded as its founder. He combined the free-market approach from the Austrian School of economics (classical liberalism) with the human rights views and a rejection of the state he learned from 19th-century American individualist anarchists such as [Lysander Spooner](/wiki/Lysander_Spooner) and [Benjamin Tucker](/wiki/Benjamin_Tucker) (though he rejected the anarchists' anti-capitalism, along with the labor theory of value and the normative implications they derived from it).<ref group=note>Miller (1987). p. 290. "A student and disciple of the Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises, Rothbard combined the laissez-faire economics of his teacher 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 Lysander Spooner and Benjamin Tucker."</ref>[[148]](#cite_note-148) In Rothbardian anarcho-capitalism, 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."[[149]](#cite_note-149) This legal code would recognize sovereignty of the individual and the principle of non-aggression.

In 2013, philosopher [Michael Huemer](/wiki/Michael_Huemer) defended anarcho-capitalism in his book [*The Problem of Political Authority*](/wiki/The_Problem_of_Political_Authority) from an [ethical intuitionist](/wiki/Ethical_intuitionism) perspective, deviating from the traditional [natural rights](/wiki/Natural_rights) or [deontological](/wiki/Deontology) approach of previous philosophers like Robert Nozick.

#### Objectivism[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=17)]

[thumb|150px|left|](/wiki/File:Objectivist1.jpg)[Atlas](/wiki/Atlas_(mythology)) lifting the world, Objectivist imagery made famous by the novel *Atlas Shrugged*

[Objectivism](/wiki/Objectivism_(Ayn_Rand)) is a philosophy created by Russian-American novelist [Ayn Rand](/wiki/Ayn_Rand), who condemned libertarianism as being a greater threat to freedom and [capitalism](/wiki/Capitalism) than both [modern liberalism](/wiki/Modern_liberalism_in_the_United_States) and conservatism, due to what she saw as its lack of philosophic and moral foundation.[[150]](#cite_note-150) She regarded Objectivism as an integrated philosophical system, whereas libertarianism is a political philosophy which confines its attention to matters of public policy. Objectivism's central tenets are that reality exists independent of [consciousness](/wiki/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](/wiki/Concept) formation and [inductive logic](/wiki/Inductive_logic); that the proper moral purpose of one's life is the pursuit of one's own [happiness](/wiki/Happiness) (or [rational self-interest](/wiki/Ethical_egoism)); that the only [social system](/wiki/Social_system) consistent with this morality is full respect for individual rights embodied in laissez-faire capitalism; and that the role of [art](/wiki/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.[[151]](#cite_note-151) Rand believed that political advocacy could not succeed without addressing what she saw as its methodological prerequisites. Rand rejected any affiliation with the libertarian movement and many other Objectivists have done so as well.[[152]](#cite_note-152) Some Objectivists have argued that Objectivism is not limited to Rand's own positions on philosophical issues and are willing to work with and identify with the libertarian movement. This stance is most clearly identified with [David Kelley](/wiki/David_Kelley) (who separated from the Ayn Rand Institute because of disagreements over the relationship between Objectivists and libertarians), [Chris Sciabarra](/wiki/Chris_Sciabarra), [Barbara Branden](/wiki/Barbara_Branden) (Nathaniel Branden's former wife), and others. Kelley's [Atlas Society](/wiki/The_Atlas_Society) has focused on building a closer relationship between "open Objectivists" and the libertarian movement.[[153]](#cite_note-153)

## History[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=18)]

### Age of Enlightenment[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=19)]

[Template:See also](/wiki/Template:See_also) [thumb|175px|left|](/wiki/File:JohnLocke.png)[John Locke](/wiki/John_Locke), the "Father of classical liberalism"

Elements of libertarianism can be traced as far back as the ancient Chinese philosopher [Lao-Tzu](/wiki/Lao-Tzu) and the higher-law concepts of the [Greeks](/wiki/Ancient_Greece) and the [Israelites](/wiki/Israelites).[[154]](#cite_note-154)[[155]](#cite_note-155) In 17th-century England, libertarian ideas began to take modern form in the writings of the [Levellers](/wiki/Levellers) and John Locke. In the middle of that century, opponents of royal power began to be called [Whigs](/wiki/Whigs_(British_political_party)), or sometimes simply "opposition" or "country" (as opposed to Court) writers.[[156]](#cite_note-156) During the 18th century, classical liberal ideas flourished in Europe and North America.[[157]](#cite_note-157)[[158]](#cite_note-158) Libertarians of various schools were influenced by classical liberal ideas.[[159]](#cite_note-159) For libertarian philosopher [Roderick T. Long](/wiki/Roderick_T._Long), both libertarian socialists and libertarian capitalists "share a common—or at least an overlapping intellectual ancestry—... both claim the seventeenth century English Levellers and the eighteenth century [French encyclopedists](/wiki/French_Encyclopédistes) among their ideological forbears; and (also)... usually share an admiration for Thomas Jefferson[[160]](#cite_note-160)[[161]](#cite_note-161)[[162]](#cite_note-162) and Thomas Paine".[[163]](#cite_note-163) [thumb|175px|right|](/wiki/File:Thomas_Paine_rev1.jpg)[Thomas Paine](/wiki/Thomas_Paine)

John Locke greatly influenced both libertarianism and the modern world in his writings published before and after the [English Revolution of 1688](/wiki/Glorious_Revolution), especially [*A Letter Concerning Toleration*](/wiki/A_Letter_Concerning_Toleration) (1667), [*Two Treatises of Government*](/wiki/Two_Treatises_of_Government) (1689) and [*An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*](/wiki/An_Essay_Concerning_Human_Understanding) (1690). In the latter he established the basis of liberal political theory: 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.[[164]](#cite_note-164) The [United States Declaration of Independence](/wiki/United_States_Declaration_of_Independence) was inspired by Locke in its statement: "to 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..."<ref name=Rothbard1>Murray Rothbard, [The Libertarian Heritage: The American Revolution and Classical Liberalism](http://archive.lewrockwell.com/rothbard/rothbard121.html), excerpted from Rothbard's [*For a New Liberty: The Libertarian Manifesto*](/wiki/For_a_New_Liberty:_The_Libertarian_Manifesto), 1973; published at [LewRockwell.com](/wiki/LewRockwell.com), 2006.</ref> Nevertheless scholar [Ellen Meiksins Wood](/wiki/Ellen_Meiksins_Wood) says that "there are doctrines of individualism that are opposed to Lockean individualism... and non-Lockean individualism may encompass socialism".[[165]](#cite_note-165) According to Murray Rothbard, the libertarian creed emerged from the classical 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", the [mercantilism](/wiki/Mercantilism) of a bureaucratic warfaring state allied with privileged merchants. The object of classical 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](/wiki/Cato's_Letters)" during the early 1700s, reprinted eagerly by [American colonists](/wiki/Colonial_history_of_the_United_States) who already were free of European aristocracy and feudal land monopolies.<ref name=Rothbard1/>

In January of 1776, only two years after coming to America from England, Thomas Paine published his pamphlet "[Common Sense](/wiki/Common_Sense)" calling for independence for the colonies.<ref name=Sprading>Charles T.Sprading, *Liberty and the Great Libertarians*, 1913; republished 1995 by [Ludwig von Mises Institute](/wiki/Ludwig_von_Mises_Institute), [p. 74](https://books.google.com/books?id=STQJ_DjQuw8C&pg=PA74&dq=Thomas+Paine+libertarian&hl=en&sa=X&ei=4hpAUeqoA4_j4AO1wYF4&ved=0CDwQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=Thomas%20Paine%20libertarian&f=false), ISBN 1610161076, ISBN 9781610161077</ref> Paine promoted classical liberal ideas in clear, concise language that allowed the general public to understand the debates among the political elites.[[166]](#cite_note-166) *Common Sense* was immensely popular in disseminating these ideas,[[167]](#cite_note-167) selling hundreds of thousands of copies.[[168]](#cite_note-168) Paine later would write the [*Rights of Man*](/wiki/Rights_of_Man) and [*The Age of Reason*](/wiki/The_Age_of_Reason) and participate in the [French Revolution](/wiki/French_Revolution).<ref name=Sprading/> Paine's theory of property showed a "libertarian concern" with the redistribution of resources.[[169]](#cite_note-169) In 1793, [William Godwin](/wiki/William_Godwin) wrote a libertarian philosophical treatise, [*Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and its Influence on Morals and Happiness*](/wiki/Political_Justice), which criticized ideas of human rights and of society by contract based on vague promises. He took classical 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 he proposed that people influence one and other to moral goodness through informal reasoned persuasion, including in the associations they joined, and that this would facilitate human happiness.[[170]](#cite_note-170)[[171]](#cite_note-171)

### Rise of anarchism[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=20)]

[Template:Main](/wiki/Template:Main) [thumb|300px|left|Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, the first self-identified anarchist](/wiki/File:Proudhon-children.jpg)

Modern anarchism sprang from the secular or religious thought of the Enlightenment, particularly Jean-Jacques Rousseau's arguments for the moral centrality of freedom.<ref name=Encarta>"Anarchism", [*Encarta*](/wiki/Encarta) *Online Encyclopedia* 2006 (UK version).</ref>

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.[[172]](#cite_note-172)[[173]](#cite_note-173) Godwin was, according to [Peter Kropotkin](/wiki/Peter_Kropotkin), "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",[[174]](#cite_note-174) while Godwin attached his anarchist ideas to an early [Edmund Burke](/wiki/Edmund_Burke).[[175]](#cite_note-175) Godwin is generally regarded as the founder of the school of thought known as 'philosophical anarchism'. He argued in *Political Justice* (1793)[[173]](#cite_note-173)[[176]](#cite_note-176) 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, he advocated for its replacement through a process of peaceful evolution.[[173]](#cite_note-173)[[177]](#cite_note-177) 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. 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.

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.[[178]](#cite_note-178) The [*enragés*](/wiki/Enragés) opposed revolutionary government as a contradiction in terms. Denouncing the [Jacobin](/wiki/Jacobin_Club) dictatorship, [Jean Varlet](/wiki/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."<ref name=graham/> In his "Manifesto of the Equals," [Sylvain Maréchal](/wiki/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."<ref name=graham>[Template:Cite book](/wiki/Template:Cite_book)</ref>

### Libertarian socialism[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=21)]

[Template:Main](/wiki/Template:Main) [150px|thumb|](/wiki/File:Fauresebastien_police.jpg)[Sébastien Faure](/wiki/Sébastien_Faure), prominent French theorist of libertarian communism and [freethought](/wiki/Freethought)/[atheist](/wiki/Atheist) militant

Libertarian socialism, libertarian communism and libertarian Marxism are all phrases which activists with a variety of perspectives have applied to their views.[[179]](#cite_note-179) Anarchist communist philosopher Joseph Déjacque was the first person to describe himself as a libertarian.[[180]](#cite_note-180) 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."[[181]](#cite_note-181)[[182]](#cite_note-182) According to anarchist historian [Max Nettlau](/wiki/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.[[183]](#cite_note-183) The French anarchist journalist Sébastien Faure started the weekly paper *Le Libertaire* (*The Libertarian*) in 1895.[[184]](#cite_note-184) Individualist anarchism refers to several traditions of thought within the anarchist movement that emphasize the [individual](/wiki/Individual) and their will over any kinds of external determinants such as groups, society, traditions, and ideological systems.[[185]](#cite_note-185)[[186]](#cite_note-186) An influential form of individualist anarchism called egoism[[187]](#cite_note-187) or [egoist anarchism](/wiki/Egoist_anarchism) was expounded by one of the earliest and best-known proponents of individualist anarchism, the German [Max Stirner](/wiki/Max_Stirner).[[188]](#cite_note-188) Stirner's [*The Ego and Its Own*](/wiki/The_Ego_and_Its_Own), published in 1844, is a founding text of the philosophy.[[188]](#cite_note-188) According to Stirner, the only limitation on the rights of the individual is their power to obtain what they desire,[[189]](#cite_note-189) without regard for God, state, or morality.[[190]](#cite_note-190) Stirner advocated self-assertion and foresaw [unions of egoists](/wiki/Union_of_egoists), non-systematic associations continually renewed by all parties' support through an act of will,<ref name=nonserviam>[Template:Cite journal](/wiki/Template:Cite_journal)</ref> which Stirner proposed as a form of organisation in place of the [state](/wiki/State_(polity)).<ref name=karl>[Template:Cite book](/wiki/Template:Cite_book)</ref> Egoist anarchists argue that egoism will foster genuine and spontaneous union between individuals.<ref name=carlson>[Template:Cite book](/wiki/Template:Cite_book)</ref> Egoism has inspired many interpretations of Stirner's philosophy. It was re-discovered and promoted by German philosophical anarchist and [LGBT](/wiki/LGBT) activist [John Henry Mackay](/wiki/John_Henry_Mackay). Josiah Warren is widely regarded as the first American anarchist,<ref name=Slate>Palmer, Brian (29 December 2010) [What do anarchists want from us?](http://www.slate.com/id/2279457/), [*Slate.com*](/wiki/Slate.com)</ref> and the four-page weekly paper he edited during 1833, *The Peaceful Revolutionist*, was the first anarchist periodical published.[[191]](#cite_note-191) For American anarchist historian Eunice Minette Schuster, "It 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](/wiki/Stephen_Pearl_Andrews)... [William B. Greene](/wiki/William_B._Greene) presented this Proudhonian Mutualism in its purest and most systematic form.".[[192]](#cite_note-192) Later Benjamin Tucker fused Stirner's egoism with the economics of Warren and [Proudhon](/wiki/Proudhon) in his eclectic influential publication *Liberty*. From these early influences individualist anarchism in different countries attracted a small but diverse following of bohemian artists and intellectuals,[[193]](#cite_note-193) free love and [birth control](/wiki/Birth_control) advocates (see [Anarchism and issues related to love and sex](/wiki/Anarchism_and_issues_related_to_love_and_sex)),[[44]](#cite_note-44)[[194]](#cite_note-194) individualist [naturists](/wiki/Naturist) [nudists](/wiki/Nudist) (see [anarcho-naturism](/wiki/Anarcho-naturism)),[[195]](#cite_note-195)[[196]](#cite_note-196)[[197]](#cite_note-197) free thought and [anti-clerical](/wiki/Anti-clericalism) activists[[50]](#cite_note-50)[[198]](#cite_note-198) as well as young anarchist outlaws in what became known as [illegalism](/wiki/Illegalism) and [individual reclamation](/wiki/Individual_reclamation)[[199]](#cite_note-199)[[200]](#cite_note-200) (see [European individualist anarchism](/wiki/European_individualist_anarchism) and [individualist anarchism in France](/wiki/Individualist_anarchism_in_France)). These authors and activists included [Emile Armand](/wiki/Emile_Armand), [Han Ryner](/wiki/Han_Ryner), [Henri Zisly](/wiki/Henri_Zisly), [Renzo Novatore](/wiki/Renzo_Novatore), [Miguel Gimenez Igualada](/wiki/Miguel_Gimenez_Igualada), [Adolf Brand](/wiki/Adolf_Brand) and [Lev Chernyi](/wiki/Lev_Chernyi) among others.

In 1873, the follower and translator of Proudhon, the Catalan [Francesc Pi i Margall](/wiki/Francesc_Pi_i_Margall), became [President of Spain](/wiki/President_of_Spain) with a program which wanted "to establish a decentralized, or "cantonalist," political system on Proudhonian lines"[[201]](#cite_note-201) who, according to [Rudolf Rocker](/wiki/Rudolf_Rocker), had "political ideas...much in common with those of [Richard Price](/wiki/Richard_Price), [Joseph Priestly](/wiki/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.".[[202]](#cite_note-202) On the other hand [Fermín Salvochea](/wiki/Fermín_Salvochea) was a mayor of the city of [Cádiz](/wiki/Cádiz) and a president of the [province of Cádiz](/wiki/Cádiz_(province)). He was one of the main propagators of [anarchist](/wiki/Anarchism) thought in that area in the late 19th century and is considered to be "perhaps the most beloved figure in the [Spanish Anarchist](/wiki/Anarchism_in_Spain) movement of the 19th century".<ref name=bookchin>Bookchin, Murray (1998). *The Spanish Anarchists*. pp. 111-114</ref>[[203]](#cite_note-203) Ideologically, he was influenced by [Bradlaugh](/wiki/Charles_Bradlaugh), [Owen](/wiki/Robert_Owen) and [Paine](/wiki/Thomas_Paine), whose works he had studied during his stay in [England](/wiki/England), and [Kropotkin](/wiki/Kropotkin), whom he read later.<ref name=bookchin/> The [revolutionary wave of 1917–23](/wiki/Revolutions_of_1917–23) saw the active participation of anarchists in Russia and Europe. Russian anarchists participated alongside the [Bolsheviks](/wiki/Bolshevik) in both the [February](/wiki/February_Revolution) and [October 1917 revolutions](/wiki/October_Revolution). However, Bolsheviks in central Russia quickly began to imprison or drive underground the libertarian anarchists. Many fled to the Ukraine.[[204]](#cite_note-204) There, in the [Ukrainian Free Territory](/wiki/Free_Territory_(Ukraine)), they fought in the [Russian Civil War](/wiki/Russian_Civil_War) against the [White movement](/wiki/White_movement), monarchists and other opponents of revolution, and then against Bolsheviks as part of the [Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine](/wiki/Revolutionary_Insurrectionary_Army_of_Ukraine) led by [Nestor Makhno](/wiki/Nestor_Makhno), who established an anarchist society in the region for a number of months. Expelled American anarchists Emma Goldman and [Alexander Berkman](/wiki/Alexander_Berkman) protested Bolshevik policy before they left Russia.[[205]](#cite_note-205) The victory of the Bolsheviks damaged anarchist movements internationally as workers and activists joined [Communist parties](/wiki/Communist_party). In France and the United States, for example, members of the major syndicalist movements of the [CGT](/wiki/Confédération_générale_du_travail) and [IWW](/wiki/Industrial_Workers_of_the_World) joined the [Communist International](/wiki/Comintern).[[206]](#cite_note-206) In Paris, the [Dielo Truda](/wiki/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)*](/wiki/Organizational_Platform_of_the_General_Union_of_Anarchists_(Draft)), calling for new anarchist organizing structures.<ref name=Platformtext>[Template:Cite book](/wiki/Template:Cite_book)</ref>[[207]](#cite_note-207) The "[Bavarian Soviet Republic](/wiki/Bavarian_Soviet_Republic)" of 1918–1919 had libertarian socialist characteristics.[[208]](#cite_note-208)[[209]](#cite_note-209) In Italy from 1918 to 1921 the anarcho-syndicalist trade union [Unione Sindacale Italiana](/wiki/Unione_Sindacale_Italiana) grew to 800,000 members[[210]](#cite_note-210) In the 1920s and 1930s, with the rise of [fascism](/wiki/Fascism) in Europe, anarchists began to fight fascists in Italy[[211]](#cite_note-211) in France during the [February 1934 riots](/wiki/6_February_1934_crisis),[[212]](#cite_note-212) and in Spain where the [CNT](/wiki/Confederación_Nacional_del_Trabajo) (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](/wiki/Spanish_Civil_War) (1936–1939).[[213]](#cite_note-213) Gruppo Comunista Anarchico di Firenze held that the 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](/wiki/Anarchism_in_Spain)) (with *libertarian communism* becoming the prevalent term).[[214]](#cite_note-214) [Murray Bookchin](/wiki/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 of 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.[[215]](#cite_note-215) The [Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth](/wiki/Iberian_Federation_of_Libertarian_Youth)[[216]](#cite_note-216) (*FIJL*, Spanish: *Federación Ibérica de Juventudes Libertarias*), sometimes abbreviated as *Libertarian Youth* (*Juventudes Libertarias*), was a libertarian socialist[[217]](#cite_note-217) organisation created in 1932 in [Madrid](/wiki/Madrid).[[218]](#cite_note-218) In February 1937 the FIJL organised a plenum of regional organisations (second congress of FIJL). 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](/wiki/Iberian_Anarchist_Federation) (FAI).[[219]](#cite_note-219) 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](/wiki/Melchor_Rodríguez_García).[[220]](#cite_note-220) [thumbnail|left|200px|](/wiki/File:Murray_Bookchin.jpg)[Murray Bookchin](/wiki/Murray_Bookchin), American libertarian socialist theorist and proponent of [Libertarian municipalism](/wiki/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](/wiki/Platformism).[[221]](#cite_note-221) In 1968 in [Carrara](/wiki/Carrara), Italy, the [International of Anarchist Federations](/wiki/International_of_Anarchist_Federations) was founded during an international anarchist conference to advance libertarian solidarity. It wanted to form "a strong and organised workers movement, agreeing with the libertarian ideas".[[222]](#cite_note-222)[[223]](#cite_note-223) In the United States the [Libertarian League](/wiki/Libertarian_League) was founded in New York City in 1954 as a left-libertarian political organisation building on the [Libertarian Book Club](/wiki/Libertarian_Book_Club).[[224]](#cite_note-224)[[225]](#cite_note-225) Members included [Sam Dolgoff](/wiki/Sam_Dolgoff),[[226]](#cite_note-226) Russell Blackwell, [Dave Van Ronk](/wiki/Dave_Van_Ronk), [Enrico Arrigoni](/wiki/Enrico_Arrigoni)[[227]](#cite_note-227) and Murray Bookchin.

In Australia the [Sydney Push](/wiki/Sydney_Push) was a predominantly left-wing intellectual subculture in [Sydney](/wiki/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](/wiki/A._J._Baker), [John Flaus](/wiki/John_Flaus), [Harry Hooton](/wiki/Harry_Hooton), [Margaret Fink](/wiki/Margaret_Fink), Sasha Soldatow,[[228]](#cite_note-228) [Lex Banning](/wiki/Lex_Banning), [Eva Cox](/wiki/Eva_Cox), [Richard Appleton](/wiki/Richard_Appleton), [Paddy McGuinness](/wiki/Padraic_McGuinness), [David Makinson](/wiki/David_Makinson), [Germaine Greer](/wiki/Germaine_Greer), [Clive James](/wiki/Clive_James), [Robert Hughes](/wiki/Robert_Hughes_(critic)), [Frank Moorhouse](/wiki/Frank_Moorhouse) and [Lillian Roxon](/wiki/Lillian_Roxon). Amongst the key intellectual figures in Push debates were philosophers David J. Ivison, [George Molnar](/wiki/George_Molnar_(philosopher)), 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.[[229]](#cite_note-229) An understanding of libertarian values and social theory can be obtained from their publications, a few of which are available online.[[230]](#cite_note-230)[[231]](#cite_note-231) In 1969, French [platformist](/wiki/Platformist) anarcho-communist [Daniel Guérin](/wiki/Daniel_Guérin) published an essay in 1969 called "Libertarian Marxism?" in which he dealt with the debate between [Karl Marx](/wiki/Karl_Marx) and [Mikhail Bakunin](/wiki/Mikhail_Bakunin) at the [First International](/wiki/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 paralysed by a heavy 'scientific' apparatus, doesn't equivocate or bluff, and guards itself from adventurism as much as from fear of the unknown."[[232]](#cite_note-232) Libertarian Marxist currents often draw from Marx and Engels' later works, specifically the [*Grundrisse*](/wiki/Grundrisse) and [*The Civil War in France*](/wiki/The_Civil_War_in_France).[[233]](#cite_note-233) 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.[[234]](#cite_note-234) Libertarian Marxism includes such currents as council communism, [left communism](/wiki/Left_communism), [*Socialisme ou Barbarie*](/wiki/Socialisme_ou_Barbarie) [Lettrism](/wiki/Lettrism)/[Situationism](/wiki/Situationist_International) and [operaismo](/wiki/Operaismo)/autonomism, and [New Left](/wiki/New_Left).[[235]](#cite_note-235)[Template:Unreliable source?](/wiki/Template:Unreliable_source?) In the US from 1970 to 1981 there existed the publication *Root & Branch*[[236]](#cite_note-236) which had as a subtitle "A Libertarian Marxist Journal".[[237]](#cite_note-237) In 1974 the [*Libertarian Communism*](/wiki/Libertarian_Communism_(journal)) journal was started in the United Kingdom by a group inside the [Socialist Party of Great Britain](/wiki/Socialist_Party_of_Great_Britain).[[238]](#cite_note-238) In 1986 the anarcho-syndicalist Sam Dolgoff started and led the publication [*Libertarian Labor Review*](/wiki/Libertarian_Labor_Review) in the United States[[239]](#cite_note-239) which decided to rename itself as [*Anarcho-Syndicalist Review*](/wiki/Anarcho-Syndicalist_Review) in order to avoid confusion with right-libertarian views.[[240]](#cite_note-240)

### Individualism in the United States[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=22)]

[thumb|150px|](/wiki/File:Josiah_Warren.jpg)[Josiah Warren](/wiki/Josiah_Warren)

The indigenous anarchist tradition in the United States was largely individualist.[[241]](#cite_note-241) In 1825, Josiah Warren became aware of the social system of [utopian socialist](/wiki/Utopian_socialist) [Robert Owen](/wiki/Robert_Owen) and began to talk with others in Cincinnati about founding a [communist](/wiki/Communist) colony.[[242]](#cite_note-242) 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](/wiki/New_Harmony,_Indiana)."<ref name=Mises>[Template:Cite journal](/wiki/Template:Cite_journal)</ref> Warren termed the phrase "[cost the limit of price](/wiki/Cost_the_limit_of_price)"[[243]](#cite_note-243) 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."<ref name=Slate2/> He put his theories to the test by establishing an experimental labor-for-labor store called the [Cincinnati Time Store](/wiki/Cincinnati_Time_Store) where trade was facilitated by [labor notes](/wiki/Labor_note). 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](/wiki/Utopia,_Ohio) and [Modern Times](/wiki/Past_and_present_anarchist_communities#Modern_Times_(1851_to_late_1860s)). "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)."[[244]](#cite_note-244) Josiah Warren is widely regarded as the first American anarchist,<ref name=Slate2>Palmer, Brian (2010-12-29) [What do anarchists want from us?](http://www.slate.com/id/2279457/), [*Slate.com*](/wiki/Slate.com)</ref> and the four-page weekly paper he edited during 1833, *The Peaceful Revolutionist*, was the first anarchist periodical published,[[191]](#cite_note-191) an enterprise for which he built his own printing press, cast his own type, and made his own printing plates.[[191]](#cite_note-191) Catalan historian Xavier Diez reports that the intentional communal experiments pioneered by Warren were influential in [European individualist anarchists](/wiki/European_individualist_anarchist) of the late 19th and early 20th centuries such as [Émile Armand](/wiki/Émile_Armand) and the [intentional communities](/wiki/Intentional_communities) started by them.[[245]](#cite_note-245) 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.[[246]](#cite_note-246) Andrews was formerly associated with the [Fourierist](/wiki/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](/wiki/Hakim_Bey) reports:

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For American anarchist historian Eunice Minette Schuster, "It 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."[[192]](#cite_note-192) William Batchelder Greene was a 19th-century mutualist individualist anarchist, [Unitarian](/wiki/Unitarianism) 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.[[192]](#cite_note-192) "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."[[192]](#cite_note-192) He then published *Socialistic, Mutualistic, and Financial Fragments* (1875).[[192]](#cite_note-192) He saw mutualism as the synthesis of "liberty and order."[[192]](#cite_note-192) 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."[[192]](#cite_note-192) Poet, naturalist, and [transcendentalist](/wiki/Transcendentalist) [Henry David Thoreau](/wiki/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*](/wiki/Walden), a reflection upon [simple living](/wiki/Simple_living) in natural surroundings, and his essay [*Civil Disobedience*](/wiki/Civil_Disobedience_(Thoreau)) (*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.[[247]](#cite_note-247) *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](/wiki/Green_anarchism), [anarcho-primitivism](/wiki/Anarcho-primitivism), and [anarcho-pacifism](/wiki/Anarcho-pacifism),[[248]](#cite_note-248) as well as figures including [Mohandas Gandhi](/wiki/Mohandas_Gandhi), [Martin Luther King, Jr.](/wiki/Martin_Luther_King,_Jr.), [Martin Buber](/wiki/Martin_Buber) and [Leo Tolstoy](/wiki/Leo_Tolstoy).[[248]](#cite_note-248) "Many have seen in Thoreau one of the precursors of ecologism and anarcho-primitivism represented today in [John Zerzan](/wiki/John_Zerzan). 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."[[247]](#cite_note-247) John Zerzan included Thoreau's "Excursions" in his edited compilation of anti-civilization writings, [*Against Civilization: Readings and Reflections*](/wiki/Against_Civilization:_Readings_and_Reflections).[[249]](#cite_note-249) Individualist anarchists such as Thoreau,[[250]](#cite_note-250)[[251]](#cite_note-251) 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.

Economists since Adam Smith have known that—unlike other taxes—a land value tax would not cause economic inefficiency.[[252]](#cite_note-252) It would be a [progressive tax](/wiki/Progressive_tax)[[253]](#cite_note-253)—primarily paid by the wealthy—and increase wages, reduce [economic inequality](/wiki/Economic_inequality), remove incentives to misuse real estate, and reduce the vulnerability that economies face from credit and property bubbles.[[254]](#cite_note-254)[[255]](#cite_note-255) Early proponents of this view include Thomas Paine, Herbert Spencer, and [Hugo Grotius](/wiki/Hugo_Grotius),[[90]](#cite_note-90) but the concept was widely popularized by the economist and social reformer Henry George.[[256]](#cite_note-256) George believed that people ought to own the fruits of their labor and the value of the improvements they make. Thus, 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](/wiki/Free_market), and his book [*Protection or Free Trade*](/wiki/Protection_or_Free_Trade) was read into the U.S. Congressional Record.[[257]](#cite_note-257) Even among the 19th-century American individualists there was no monolithic doctrine, and they disagreed amongst each other on various issues including [intellectual property](/wiki/Intellectual_property) rights and [possession](/wiki/Possession_(law)) versus [property](/wiki/Property) in land.[[263]](#cite_note-263)<ref name=watner>[Watner, Carl](/wiki/Carl_Watner) (1977). "[Template:PDFlink](/wiki/Template:PDFlink)". In [*Journal of Libertarian Studies*](/wiki/Journal_of_Libertarian_Studies). **1:** 4. p. 308.</ref>[[264]](#cite_note-264) 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](/wiki/The_labor_problem)");[[265]](#cite_note-265) Lysander Spooner, besides his individualist anarchist activism, was also an anti-slavery activist and member of the First International.[[266]](#cite_note-266) 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. The publication, 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](/wiki/Auberon_Herbert), [Dyer Lum](/wiki/Dyer_Lum), [Joshua K. Ingalls](/wiki/Joshua_K._Ingalls), John Henry Mackay, [Victor Yarros](/wiki/Victor_Yarros), [Wordsworth Donisthorpe](/wiki/Wordsworth_Donisthorpe), [James L. Walker](/wiki/James_L._Walker), [J. William Lloyd](/wiki/J._William_Lloyd), [Florence Finch Kelly](/wiki/Florence_Finch_Kelly), Voltairine de Cleyre, [Steven T. Byington](/wiki/Steven_T._Byington), [John Beverley Robinson](/wiki/John_Beverley_Robinson_(anarchist)), [Jo Labadie](/wiki/Jo_Labadie), [Lillian Harman](/wiki/Lillian_Harman), and [Henry Appleton](/wiki/Henry_Appleton).[[267]](#cite_note-267) Later, Tucker and others abandoned their traditional support of [natural rights](/wiki/Natural_right) and converted to an egoism modeled upon the [philosophy of Max Stirner](/wiki/Philosophy_of_Max_Stirner).<ref name=watner/> A number of natural rights proponents stopped contributing in protest and, "[t]hereafter, *Liberty* championed egoism, although its general content did not change significantly."[[268]](#cite_note-268) Several publications "were undoubtedly influenced by *Liberty*[Template:'s](/wiki/Template:') presentation of egoism. They included: *I* published by C.L. Swartz, edited by W.E. Gordak and [J.W. Lloyd](/wiki/J.W._Lloyd) (all associates of *Liberty*); *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*](/wiki/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'".[[268]](#cite_note-268)

### Modern American libertarianism[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=23)]

By around the start of the 20th century, the heyday of individualist anarchism had passed.[[269]](#cite_note-269) [H. L. Mencken](/wiki/H._L._Mencken) and [Albert Jay Nock](/wiki/Albert_Jay_Nock) were the first prominent figures in the United States to describe themselves as libertarians;<ref name=Burns>[Template:Cite book](/wiki/Template:Cite_book)</ref> they believed [Franklin D. Roosevelt](/wiki/Franklin_D._Roosevelt) had co-opted the word *liberal* for his [New Deal](/wiki/New_Deal) policies, which they opposed, and used *libertarian* to signify their allegiance to [individualism](/wiki/Individualism).[Template:Citation needed](/wiki/Template:Citation_needed) In 1914, Nock joined the staff of [*The Nation*](/wiki/The_Nation_(U.S._periodical)) 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*](/wiki/The_Freeman#Earlier_publications_called_The_Freeman) from 1920 to 1924, a publication initially conceived as a vehicle for the [single tax](/wiki/Single_tax) movement, financed by the wealthy wife of the magazine's other editor, [Francis Neilson](/wiki/Francis_Neilson).[[270]](#cite_note-270) Critic H.L. Mencken wrote that "His 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."[[271]](#cite_note-271) Executive Vice-President of the [Cato Institute](/wiki/Cato_Institute), [David Boaz](/wiki/David_Boaz), writes "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."[[272]](#cite_note-272) [Isabel Paterson's](/wiki/Isabel_Paterson) [*The God of the Machine*](/wiki/The_God_of_the_Machine), [Rose Wilder Lane's](/wiki/Rose_Wilder_Lane) *The Discovery of Freedom*, and Ayn Rand's [*The Fountainhead*](/wiki/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."[[273]](#cite_note-273) Rand's own philosophy, Objectivism, is notedly similar to libertarianism, and she accused libertarians of plagiarizing her ideas.[[273]](#cite_note-273) Rand stated that:

[Template:Quote](/wiki/Template:Quote)

In 1946, [Leonard E. Read](/wiki/Leonard_E._Read) founded the [Foundation for Economic Education](/wiki/Foundation_for_Economic_Education) (FEE), an American nonprofit educational organization which promotes the principles of laissez-faire economics, private property, and limited government.[[274]](#cite_note-274) According to Gary North, former FEE director of seminars and a current [Ludwig von Mises Institute](/wiki/Ludwig_von_Mises_Institute) scholar, FEE is the "granddaddy of all libertarian organizations."[[275]](#cite_note-275) The initial officers of FEE were Leonard E. Read as President, Austrian School economist [Henry Hazlitt](/wiki/Henry_Hazlitt) as Vice-President, and Chairman David Goodrich of [B. F. Goodrich](/wiki/B._F._Goodrich). Other trustees on the FEE board have included wealthy industrialist Jasper Crane of [DuPont](/wiki/DuPont), H. W. Luhnow of William Volker & Co., and [Robert Welch](/wiki/Robert_W._Welch,_Jr.), founder of the [John Birch Society](/wiki/John_Birch_Society).[Template:Sfn](/wiki/Template:Sfn)[[276]](#cite_note-276)[[277]](#cite_note-277) [Austrian school](/wiki/Austrian_school) economist Murray Rothbard was initially an enthusiastic partisan of the [Old Right](/wiki/Old_Right_(United_States)), particularly because of its general opposition to war and imperialism,[[278]](#cite_note-278) 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.[[279]](#cite_note-279) He praised Rand's [*Atlas Shrugged*](/wiki/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."[[280]](#cite_note-280)[Template:Rp](/wiki/Template:Rp) He soon broke with Rand over various differences, including his defense of anarchism. Rothbard was influenced by the work of the 19th-century American individualist anarchists[[281]](#cite_note-281) and sought to meld their advocacy of free markets and private defense with the principles of Austrian economics.<ref name=autogenerated3>Rothbard, Murray N. (1965, 2000). "[The Spooner-Tucker Doctrine: An Economist's View](https://www.mises.org/journals/jls/20_1/20_1_2.pdf)". *Journal of Libertarian Studies*. **20**:1. p. 7. "There 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 [worldview]".</ref> This new philosophy he called anarcho-capitalism.

[Karl Hess](/wiki/Karl_Hess), a speechwriter for [Barry Goldwater](/wiki/Barry_Goldwater) and primary author of the Republican Party's 1960 and 1964 [platforms](/wiki/Party_platform), became disillusioned with traditional politics following the [1964 presidential campaign](/wiki/United_States_presidential_election,_1964) in which Goldwater lost to [Lyndon Johnson](/wiki/Lyndon_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](/wiki/Solipsism) that Rand was so fond of."[[282]](#cite_note-282) Hess and Rothbard founded the journal [*Left and Right: A Journal of Libertarian Thought*](/wiki/Left_and_Right:_A_Journal_of_Libertarian_Thought), which was published from 1965 to 1968, with George Resch and [Leonard P. Liggio](/wiki/Leonard_P._Liggio). In 1969, they edited [*The Libertarian Forum*](/wiki/The_Libertarian_Forum) 1969, 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](/wiki/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..."[[283]](#cite_note-283) The [Vietnam War](/wiki/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](/wiki/Draft_dodger) and [peace movements](/wiki/Peace_movement), as well as organizations such as [Students for a Democratic Society](/wiki/Students_for_a_Democratic_Society_(1960_organization)) (SDS). In 1969 and 1970, Hess joined with others, including Murray Rothbard, [Robert LeFevre](/wiki/Robert_LeFevre), [Dana Rohrabacher](/wiki/Dana_Rohrabacher), [Samuel Edward Konkin III](/wiki/Samuel_Edward_Konkin_III), and former SDS leader [Carl Oglesby](/wiki/Carl_Oglesby) to speak at two "left-right" conferences which brought together activists from both the Old Right and the New Left in what was emerging as a nascent libertarian movement.[[284]](#cite_note-284) As part of his effort to unite right and left-libertarianism, Hess would join the SDS as well as 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?'"[[285]](#cite_note-285) Rothbard ultimately broke with the left, allying himself instead with the burgeoning [paleoconservative](/wiki/Paleoconservative) movement.[[286]](#cite_note-286) He criticized the tendency of these [left-libertarians](/wiki/Left-libertarian) 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."[[287]](#cite_note-287) This left-libertarian tradition has been carried to the present day by Samuel Edward Konkin III's [agorists](/wiki/Agorist), contemporary mutualists such as [Kevin Carson](/wiki/Kevin_Carson) and Roderick T. Long, and other [left-wing market anarchists](/wiki/Left-wing_market_anarchist).[[288]](#cite_note-288) In 1971, a small group of Americans led by [David Nolan](/wiki/David_Nolan_(libertarian)) formed the [US Libertarian Party](/wiki/Libertarian_Party_(United_States)),[[289]](#cite_note-289) which has run a presidential candidate every election year since 1972. Other libertarian organizations, such as the [Center for Libertarian Studies](/wiki/Center_for_Libertarian_Studies) and the Cato Institute, were also formed in the 1970s.[[290]](#cite_note-290) Philosopher [John Hospers](/wiki/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 became its first presidential candidate in 1972.[Template:Citation needed](/wiki/Template:Citation_needed) In the 1980s, Hess joined the Libertarian Party and served as editor of its newspaper from 1986 to 1990.

Modern libertarianism gained significant recognition in academia with the publication of Harvard University professor [Robert Nozick's](/wiki/Robert_Nozick) [*Anarchy, State, and Utopia*](/wiki/Anarchy,_State,_and_Utopia) in 1974, for which he received a National Book Award in 1975.[[291]](#cite_note-291) In response to [John Rawls's](/wiki/John_Rawls) [*A Theory of Justice*](/wiki/A_Theory_of_Justice), Nozick's book supported a [nightwatchman state](/wiki/Nightwatchman_state) on the grounds that it was an inevitable phenomenon which could arise without violating [individual rights](/wiki/Individual_rights).[[292]](#cite_note-292) In the early 1970s, Rothbard wrote that "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..."[[293]](#cite_note-293) Since the resurgence of neoliberalism in the 1970s, this modern American libertarianism has spread beyond North America via think tanks and political parties.[[30]](#cite_note-30)[[294]](#cite_note-294)

## Contemporary libertarianism[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=24)]

### Contemporary libertarian socialism[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=25)]

[Template:See also](/wiki/Template:See_also) [thumbnail|left|Members of the Spanish](/wiki/File:CNT-1mayo2010.jpg) [anarcho-syndicalist](/wiki/Anarcho-syndicalist) trade union [CNT](/wiki/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.[[295]](#cite_note-295) Anarchism was influential in the [Counterculture of the 1960s](/wiki/Counterculture_of_the_1960s)[[296]](#cite_note-296)[[297]](#cite_note-297)[[298]](#cite_note-298) and anarchists actively participated in the [late sixties students and workers revolts](/wiki/Protests_of_1968).[[299]](#cite_note-299) In 1968 in Carrara, Italy the International of Anarchist Federations was founded during an international anarchist conference held there in 1968 by the three existing European federations of [France](/wiki/Anarchist_Federation_(France)), the [Italian](/wiki/Federazione_Anarchica_Italiana) and the Iberian Anarchist Federation as well as the [Bulgarian](/wiki/Bulgaria) federation in French exile.[[223]](#cite_note-223)[[300]](#cite_note-300) The uprisings of [May 1968](/wiki/May_1968_in_France) 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.[[301]](#cite_note-301) [Left communist groups existing today](/wiki/List_of_left_communist_internationals) include the [International Communist Party](/wiki/International_Communist_Party), International Communist Current and the [Internationalist Communist Tendency](/wiki/Internationalist_Communist_Tendency). The housing and employment crisis in most of Western Europe led to the formation of [communes](/wiki/Commune_(intentional_community)) and [squatter](/wiki/Squatting) movements like that of [Barcelona](/wiki/Barcelona), Spain. In Denmark, squatters occupied a disused military base and declared the [Freetown Christiania](/wiki/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](/wiki/Anti-globalisation_movement).<ref name=rupert>[Template:Cite book](/wiki/Template:Cite_book)</ref> Anarchists became known for their involvement in protests against the meetings of the [World Trade Organization](/wiki/World_Trade_Organization) (WTO), [Group of Eight](/wiki/G8), and the [World Economic Forum](/wiki/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*](/wiki/Black_bloc); other organisational tactics pioneered in this time include [security culture](/wiki/Security_culture), [affinity groups](/wiki/Affinity_groups) and the use of decentralised technologies such as the internet.<ref name=rupert/> A significant event of this period was the confrontations at [WTO conference in Seattle in 1999](/wiki/World_Trade_Organization_Ministerial_Conference_of_1999_protest_activity).<ref name=rupert/> For English anarchist scholar [Simon Critchley](/wiki/Simon_Critchley) "contemporary anarchism can be seen as a powerful critique of the pseudo-libertarianism of contemporary [neo-liberalism](/wiki/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 disenfranchisment that is so palpable locally and globally."[[302]](#cite_note-302) Libertarian socialists in the early 21st century have been involved in the [alter-globalization](/wiki/Alter-globalization) movement, squatter movement; [social centers](/wiki/Social_centers); [infoshops](/wiki/Infoshop); anti-poverty groups such as [Ontario Coalition Against Poverty](/wiki/Ontario_Coalition_Against_Poverty) and [Food Not Bombs](/wiki/Food_Not_Bombs); [tenants'](/wiki/Leasehold_estate) unions; [housing cooperatives](/wiki/Housing_cooperative); [intentional communities](/wiki/Intentional_community) generally and [egalitarian communities](/wiki/Egalitarian_communities); anti-sexist organizing; grassroots media initiatives; digital media and computer activism; experiments in [participatory economics](/wiki/Participatory_economics); [anti-racist](/wiki/Anti-racist) and [anti-fascist](/wiki/Anti-fascist) groups like [Anti-Racist Action](/wiki/Anti-Racist_Action) and [Anti-Fascist Action](/wiki/Anti-Fascist_Action); activist groups protecting the rights of immigrants and promoting the free movement of people, such as the [No Border network](/wiki/No_Border_network); [worker co-operatives](/wiki/Worker_co-operative), [countercultural](/wiki/Countercultural) and artist groups; and the peace movement etc.

### U.S. libertarianism[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=26)]

[thumb|Former US Congressman and presidential candidate](/wiki/File:Ron_Paul_0723.jpg) [Ron Paul](/wiki/Ron_Paul), a self-described libertarian, is one of the most popular contemporary libertarians

In the United States, polls (circa 2006) find that the views and voting habits of between 10 and 20 percent (and increasing) of voting age Americans may be classified as "fiscally conservative and socially liberal, or libertarian."[[27]](#cite_note-27)[[303]](#cite_note-303) This is based on pollsters and researchers defining libertarian views as fiscally conservative and socially liberal (based on the common US meanings of the terms) and against government intervention in economic affairs, and for expansion of personal freedoms.[[27]](#cite_note-27) Through 20 polls on this topic spanning 13 years, Gallup found that voters who are libertarian on the political spectrum ranged from 17–23% of the US electorate.[[304]](#cite_note-304) However, a 2014 Pew Poll found that 23% of Americans who identify as libertarians have no idea what the word means.[[305]](#cite_note-305) 2009 saw the rise of the [Tea Party movement](/wiki/Tea_Party_movement), an American political movement known for advocating a reduction in the U.S. national debt and federal budget deficit by reducing U.S. government spending and taxes, which had a significant libertarian component:<ref name=libertarian>[Template:Cite journal](/wiki/Template:Cite_journal)</ref> 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.[[306]](#cite_note-306) The movement, named after the [Boston Tea Party](/wiki/Boston_Tea_Party), also contains conservative<ref name=Conservatism>[Template:Cite news](/wiki/Template:Cite_news)  
[Template:Cite news](/wiki/Template:Cite_news)  
[Template:Cite news](/wiki/Template:Cite_news)</ref> and populist elements,<ref name=populist>[Template:Cite news](/wiki/Template:Cite_news)  
[Template:Cite news](/wiki/Template:Cite_news)  
[Template:Cite news](/wiki/Template:Cite_news)</ref> 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.[[307]](#cite_note-307)[[308]](#cite_note-308) Mostly, Tea Party organizations are said to have shifted away from national demonstrations to local issues.[[307]](#cite_note-307) Following the selection of [Paul Ryan](/wiki/Paul_Ryan) as [Mitt Romney's](/wiki/Mitt_Romney) [2012](/wiki/Mitt_Romney_presidential_campaign,_2012) vice-presidential running mate, the [*New York Times*](/wiki/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."[[309]](#cite_note-309) [thumb|left|175px|Governor](/wiki/File:GaryJohnsonLPConvention2012.jpg) [Gary Johnson](/wiki/Gary_Johnson), 2012 and 2016 Libertarian Party presidential candidate In 2012, anti-war [presidential candidates](/wiki/United_States_President) ([Libertarian Republican](/wiki/Libertarian_Republican) [Ron Paul](/wiki/Ron_Paul) and Libertarian Party candidate [Gary Johnson](/wiki/Gary_Johnson)) raised millions of dollars and garnered millions of votes despite opposition to their obtaining ballot access by Democrats and Republicans.[[310]](#cite_note-310) The [2012 Libertarian National Convention](/wiki/2012_Libertarian_National_Convention), which saw Gary Johnson and [James P. Gray](/wiki/James_P._Gray) nominated as the 2012 presidential ticket for the Libertarian Party, resulted 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.[[311]](#cite_note-311)[[312]](#cite_note-312) 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](/wiki/Election_threshold) and [federal funding](/wiki/Presidential_election_campaign_fund_checkoff), thus subsequently ending the [two-party system](/wiki/Two-party_system).[[313]](#cite_note-313)[[314]](#cite_note-314)[[315]](#cite_note-315)

## Contemporary libertarian organizations[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=27)]

[Template:Category see also](/wiki/Template:Category_see_also)

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, the Foundation for Economic Education (FEE), Center for Libertarian Studies, the Cato Institute, and the International Society for Individual Liberty (ISIL). The activist [Free State Project](/wiki/Free_State_Project), formed in 2001, works to bring 20,000 libertarians to New Hampshire to influence state policy.[[316]](#cite_note-316) Active student organizations include [Students for Liberty](/wiki/Students_for_Liberty) and [Young Americans for Liberty](/wiki/Young_Americans_for_Liberty).

A number of countries have libertarian parties that run candidates for political office. In the United States, the [Libertarian Party](/wiki/Libertarian_Party_(United_States)) was formed in 1972 and is the third largest[[317]](#cite_note-317)[[318]](#cite_note-318) American political party, with over 370,000 registered voters in the 35 states that allow registration as a Libertarian[[319]](#cite_note-319) and has hundreds of party candidates elected or appointed to public office.<ref name=history>[Template:Cite web](/wiki/Template:Cite_web)</ref>

Current international anarchist federations which sometimes identify themselves as libertarian include the International of Anarchist Federations, the [International Workers' Association](/wiki/International_Workers'_Association), and [International Libertarian Solidarity](/wiki/International_Libertarian_Solidarity). The largest organised anarchist movement today is in Spain, in the form of the [Confederación General del Trabajo](/wiki/Confederación_General_del_Trabajo) (CGT) and the CNT. CGT membership was estimated to be around 100,000 for 2003.[[320]](#cite_note-320) Other active syndicalist movements include, in Sweden, the [Central Organisation of the Workers of Sweden](/wiki/Central_Organisation_of_the_Workers_of_Sweden) and the [Swedish Anarcho-syndicalist Youth Federation](/wiki/Swedish_Anarcho-syndicalist_Youth_Federation); the CNT-AIT in France;[[321]](#cite_note-321)[Template:Failed verification](/wiki/Template:Failed_verification) the Union Sindicale Italiana in Italy; in the US, [Workers Solidarity Alliance](/wiki/Workers_Solidarity_Alliance); and in the UK, [Solidarity Federation](/wiki/Solidarity_Federation). The revolutionary industrial unionist Industrial Workers of the World, claiming 2,000 paying members, and the [International Workers Association](/wiki/International_Workers_Association), an anarcho-syndicalist successor to the First International, also remain active. In the United States there exists the [Common Struggle – Libertarian Communist Federation](/wiki/Common_Struggle) or Lucha Común – Federación Comunista Libertaria (formerly the North Eastern Federation of Anarchist Communists (NEFAC) or the Fédération des Communistes Libertaires du Nord-Est)[[322]](#cite_note-322)[Template:Failed verification](/wiki/Template:Failed_verification) and is a platformist anarchist communist organization based in the northeast region of the United States.[[323]](#cite_note-323)[Template:Failed verification](/wiki/Template:Failed_verification)

## Criticism[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=28)]

[Template:Main](/wiki/Template:Main) Criticism of libertarianism includes ethical, economic, environmental, and pragmatic concerns. It has also been argued that laissez-faire capitalism does not necessarily produce the best or most efficient outcome, nor does its policy of deregulation prevent the abuse of natural resources. Furthermore, libertarianism has been criticized due to the lack of any actual such societies today.

Libertarianism, particularly the right wing and free market variant of the ideology, has also been criticized by author [Michael Lind](/wiki/Michael_Lind) as being incompatible with [democracy](/wiki/Democracy) and apologetic towards [autocracy](/wiki/Autocracy).[[324]](#cite_note-324)