

PRIVATE PROPERTY

Sources:

- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Private_property
- www.wwnorton.com/stiglitzwalsh/economics/glossary.htm

Here is the explanation on private property cut down from the sources above:

Property designates those things commonly recognized as the entities in respect of which a person or group has exclusive rights. Important types of property include real property (land), personal property (other physical possessions), and intellectual property (rights over artistic creations, inventions, etc.). A right of ownership is associated with property that establishes the good as being "one's own thing" in relation to other individuals or groups, assuring the owner the right to dispense with the property in a manner he or she sees fit, whether to use or not use, exclude others from using, or to transfer ownership. Some philosophers assert that property rights arise from social convention. Others find origins for them in morality or natural law.

Use of the term

Various scholarly communities (e.g., law, economics, anthropology, sociology) may treat the concept more systematically, but definitions vary within and between fields. Scholars in the social sciences frequently conceive of property as a bundle of rights. They stress that property is not a relationship between people and things, but a relationship between people *with regard to* things.

General characteristics

Modern property rights conceive of ownership and possession as belonging to legal individuals, even if the legal individual is not a real person. Corporations, for example, have legal rights similar to American citizens, including many of their constitutional rights. Therefore, the corporation is a juristic person or artificial legal entity, which some refer to as "corporate personhood".

Property rights are protected in the current laws of states usually found in the form of a Constitution or a Bill of Rights. The fifth and the fourteenth amendment to the United States constitution, for example, provides explicitly for the protection of private property: The Fifth Amendment states: Nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation. The Fourteenth Amendment states: No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.

Traditional principles of property rights includes: (1) control of the use of the property (2) the right to any benefit from the property i.e. mining rights and rent (3) a right to transfer or sell the property (4) a right to exclude others from the property.

According to Adam Smith, the expectation of profit from "improving one's stock of capital" rests on private property rights, and the belief that property rights encourage the property holders to develop the property, generate wealth, and efficiently allocate resources based on the operation of the market is central to capitalism. From this evolved the modern conception of property as a right which is enforced by positive law, in the expectation that this would produce more wealth and better standards of living.

PROPERTY JUSTIFICATION

To know more about the concept of property justification, here is the explanation on how Benjamin R. Tucker defined it cut down from the sources below:

Sources:

<http://flag.blackened.net/daver/anarchism/tucker/tucker13.html>

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Benjamin_Tucker

Liberty and Property

Excerpted from the book;

Individual Liberty

Selections From the Writings of Benjamin R. Tucker

Vanguard Press, New York, 1926

Kraus Reprint Co., Millwood, NY, 1973.

Mr. Hugo Bilgram of Philadelphia, author of "Involuntary Idleness" and "The Cause of Business Depressions," contributed an article to *Liberty* on "The Right of Ownership," in which he defined that right as "that relation between a thing and a person created by the social promise to guarantee possession"; and then propounded to the editor of *Liberty* the following question: "Has Anarchism a different conception of the right of ownership, or is this right altogether repudiated, or is it assumed that out of the ruins of government another social organization, wielding a supreme power, will arise?"

Mr. Tucker replied:

In discussing such a question as this, it is necessary at the start to put aside, as Mr. Bilgram doubtless does put aside, the intuitive idea of right, the conception of right as a standard which we are expected to observe from motives supposed to be superior to the consideration of our interests. When I speak of the "right of ownership," I do not use the word "right" in that sense at all. In the thought that I take to be fundamental in Mr. Bilgram's argument - namely, that there is no right, from the standpoint of a society, other than social expediency - I fully concur. But I am equally certain that the standard of social expediency - that is to say, the facts as to what really is socially expedient, and the generalizations from those facts which we may call the laws of social expediency - exists apart from the decree of any social power whatever. In accordance with this view, the Anarchistic definition of the right of ownership, while closely related to Mr. Bilgram's, is such a modification of his that it does not carry the implication which his carries and which he points out. From an Anarchistic standpoint, the right of ownership is that control of a thing by a person which will receive either social sanction, or else unanimous individual sanction, when the laws of social expediency shall have been finally discovered. (Of course I might go farther and explain that Anarchism considers the greatest amount of liberty compatible with equality of liberty the fundamental law of social expediency, and that nearly all Anarchists consider labor to be the only basis of the right of ownership in harmony with that law; but this is not essential to the definition, or to the refutation of Mr. Bilgram's point against Anarchism.)

It will be seen that the Anarchistic definition just given does not imply necessarily the existence of an organized or instituted social power to enforce the right of ownership. It contemplates a time when social sanction shall be superseded by a unanimous individual sanction, thus rendering enforcement needless. But in such an event, by Mr. Bilgram's definition,

the right of ownership would cease to exist. In other words, he seems to think that, if all men were to agree upon a property standard and should voluntarily observe it, property would then have no existence simply because of the absence of any institution to protect it. Now, in the view of the Anarchists, property would then exist in its perfection.

So I would answer Mr. Bilgram's question, as put in his concluding paragraph, as follows: Anarchism does not repudiate the right of ownership, but it has a conception thereof sufficiently different from Mr. Bilgram's to include the possibility of an end of that social organization which will arise, not out of the ruins of government, but out of the transformation of government into voluntary association for defence.

Tucker's contribution to American individualist anarchism was as much through his publishing as his own writing. Tucker was the first to translate into English Proudhon's *What is Property?* and Max Stirner's *The Ego and Its Own* — which Tucker claimed was his proudest accomplishment. In editing and publishing the anarchist periodical *Liberty*, he published the original work of Stephen Pearl Andrews, Joshua K. Ingalls, Lysander Spooner, Auberon Herbert, Victor Yarros, and Lillian Harman, daughter of the free love anarchist Moses Harman, as well as his own writing. He also published such items as George Bernard Shaw's first original article to appear in the United States and the first American translated excerpts of Friedrich Nietzsche. In *Liberty*, Tucker both filtered and integrated the theories of such European thinkers as Herbert Spencer and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon; the economic and legal theories of the American individualists Lysander Spooner, William B. Greene and Josiah Warren; and the writings of the free thought and free love movements in opposition to religiously-based legislation and prohibitions on non-invasive behavior. Through these influences Tucker produced a rigorous system of philosophical or individualist anarchism that he called *Anarchistic-Socialism*, arguing that "*[the] most perfect Socialism is possible only on the condition of the most perfect individualism.*"

According to historian of American individualist anarchism, Frank Brooks, it is easy to misunderstand Tucker's claim of "socialism." Before "socialism" was monopolized by Marxists, "the term socialism was a broad concept." Tucker (as well as most of the writers and readers in *Liberty*) understood "socialism" to refer to any of various theories and demands aimed to solve "the labor problem" through radical changes in the capitalist economy; descriptions of the problem, explanations of its causes, and proposed solutions (e.g., abolition of private property, cooperatives, state-ownership, etc.) varied among "socialist" philosophies. Tucker said socialism was the claim that "labor should be put in possession of its own," holding that what "state socialism" and "anarchistic socialism" had in common was the labor theory of value. However, "Instead of asserting, as did socialist anarchists, that common ownership was the key to eroding differences of economic power," and appealing to social solidarity, Tucker's individualist anarchism advocated distribution of property in an undistorted natural market as a mediator of egoistic impulses and a source of social stability.

Tucker first favored a natural rights philosophy where an individual had a right to own the fruits of his labor and not to be aggressed against, then abandoned it in favor of "egoism" influenced by Max Stirner, where he then believed that only the "right of might" exists until overridden by contract.

He objected to all forms of communism, believing that even a stateless communist society must encroach upon the liberty of individuals who were in it.

The Four Monopolies

Tucker argued that the poor condition of American workers resulted from four legal monopolies based in authority: (1) the money monopoly, (2) the land monopoly, (3) tariffs, and (4) patents.

His focus for several decades became the state's economic control of how trade could take place, and what currency counted as legitimate. He saw interest and profit as a form of exploitation made possible by the banking monopoly, which was in turn maintained through coercion and invasion. Any such interest and profit, Tucker called "usury" and he saw it as the basis for the oppression of the workers. In his words, *"interest is theft, Rent Robbery, and Profit Only Another Name for Plunder."* Tucker believed that usury was immoral, however, he upheld the right for all people to engage in immoral contracts. "Liberty, therefore, must defend the right of individuals to make contracts involving usury, rum, marriage, prostitution, any many other things which is believes to be wrong in principle and opposed to human well-being. The right to do wrong involves the essence of all rights."

He asserted that anarchism is meaningless "unless it includes the liberty of the individual to control his product or whatever his product has brought him through exchange in a free market — that is, private property." He acknowledged that "anything is a product upon which human labor has been expended," but would not recognize full property rights to labored-upon land: "It should be noted, however, that in the case of land, or of any other material the supply of which is so limited that all cannot hold it in unlimited quantities, Anarchism undertakes to protect no titles except such as are based upon actual occupancy and use." Tucker opposed title to land that was not in use, arguing that an individual would have to use land continually in order to retain exclusive right to it. If this practice is not followed, he believed it results in a "land monopoly."

Tucker also opposed state protection of the banking monopoly, the requirement that one must obtain a charter to engage in the business of banking. He hoped to raise wages by deregulating the banking industry, reasoning that competition in banking would drive down interest rates and stimulate entrepreneurship. Tucker believed this would decrease the proportion of individuals seeking employment and therefore wages would be driven up by competing employers. "Thus, the same blow that strikes interest down will send wages up." He did not oppose individuals being employed by others, but due to his interpretation of the labor theory of value, he believed that in the present economy individuals do not receive a wage that fully compensates them for their labor. He wrote that if the four "monopolies" were ended, "it will make no difference whether men work for themselves, or are employed, or employ others. In any case they can get nothing but that wages for their labor which free competition determines."

Tucker opposed protectionism, believing that tariffs cause high prices by preventing national producers from having to compete with foreign competitors. He believed that free trade would help keep prices low and therefore would assist laborers in receiving their "natural wage." Tucker did not believe in a right to intellectual property in the form of patents, on the grounds that patents and copyrights protect something which cannot rightfully be held as property. In "The Attitude of Anarchism toward Industrial Combinations," he wrote that the basis for property is "the fact that it is impossible in the nature of things for concrete objects to be used in different places at the same time." Property in concrete things is "socially necessary." "[S]ince successful society rests on individual initiative, [it is necessary] to protect the individual creator in the use of his concrete creations by forbidding others to use them without his consent." Because ideas are not concrete things, they cannot be held and protected as property. Ideas can

be used in different places at the same time, and so their use should not be restricted by patents. This was a source of conflict with the philosophy of fellow individualist Lysander Spooner who saw ideas as the product of "intellectual labor" and therefore private property.

According to Victor Yarros: He [Tucker] opposed savagely any and all reform movements that had paternalistic aims and looked to the state for aid and fulfillment...For the same reason, consistent, unrelenting opposition to compulsion, he combatted "populism," "greenbackism," the single-tax movement, and all forms of socialism and communism. He denounced and exposed Johann Most, the editor of *Freiheit*, the anarchist-communist organ. The end, he declared, could never justify the means, if the means were intrinsically immoral — and force, by whomsoever used, was immoral except as a means of preventing or punishing aggression.

Tucker rejected the legislative programs of labor unions, laws imposing a short day, minimum wage laws, forcing businesses to provide insurance to employes, and compulsory pension systems. He believed instead that strikes should be composed by free workers rather than by bureaucratic union officials and organizations. He argued, "*strikes, whenever and wherever inaugurated, deserve encouragement from all the friends of labour. . . They show that people are beginning to know their rights, and knowing, dare to maintain them.*" and furthermore, "*as an awakening agent, as an agitating force, the beneficent influence of a strike is immeasurable. . . with our present economic system almost every strike is just. For what is justice in production and distribution? That labour, which creates all, shall have all.*" Tucker envisioned an individualist anarchist society as "*each man reaping the fruits of his labour and no man able to live in idleness on an income from capital....become[ing] a great hive of Anarchistic workers, prosperous and free individuals [combining] to carry on their production and distribution on the cost principle.*" rather than a bureaucratic organization of workers organized into rank and file unions. However, he did hold a genuine appreciation for labor unions (which he called "*trades-union socialism*") and saw it as "*an intelligent and self-governing socialism*" saying, "*[they] promise the coming substitution of industrial socialism for usurping legislative mobism.*"

Private defense

Tucker did not have a utopian vision of anarchy where individuals would not coerce others. He advocated that liberty and property be defended by private institutions. Opposing the monopoly of the state in providing security, he advocated a free market of competing defense providers, saying "defense is a service like any other service; ... it is labor both useful and desired, and therefore an economic commodity subject to the law of supply and demand." He said that anarchism "does not exclude prisons, officials, military, or other symbols of force. It merely demands that non-invasive men shall not be made the victims of such force. Anarchism is not the reign of love, but the reign of justice. It does not signify the abolition of force-symbols but the application of force to real invaders." Tucker expressed that the market-based providers of security would offer protection of land that was being used, and would not offer assistance to those attempting to collect rent: "*The land for the people' . . . means the protection by . . . voluntary associations for the maintenance of justice . . . of all people who desire to cultivate land in possession of whatever land they personally cultivate . . . and the positive refusal of the protecting power to lend its aid to the collection of any rent, whatsoever.*"

Embrace of "egoism"

Tucker abandoned natural rights doctrine and began a proponent of what is known as

"Egoism." This led to a split in American Individualism between the growing number of Egoists and the contemporary Spoonerian "Natural Lawyers". Tucker came to hold the position that no rights exist until they are created by contract. They led him to controversial positions such as claiming that infants had no rights and were the property of their parents, because they did not have the ability to contract. He said that a person who physically tries to stop a mother from throwing her "baby into the fire" should be punished for violating her property rights. He said that children would shed their status as property when they became old enough to contract "to buy or sell a house" for example, noting that the precocity varies by age and would be determined by a jury in the case of a complaint.

He also came to believe that aggressing against other was justifiable if doing so led to a greater decrease in "aggregate pain" than refraining from doing so. He said: the ultimate end of human endeavor is the minimum of pain. We aim to decrease invasion only because, as a rule, invasion increases the total of pain (meaning, of course, pain suffered by the ego, whether directly or through sympathy with others). But it is precisely my contention that this rule, despite the immense importance which I place upon it, is not absolute; that, on the contrary, there are exceptional cases where invasion--that is, coercion of the non-invasive--lessens the aggregate pain. Therefore coercion of the non-invasive, when justifiable at all, is to be justified on the ground that it secures, not a minimum of invasion, but a minimum of pain. . . . [T]o me [it is] axiomatic--that the ultimate end is the minimum of pain.

Tucker now said that there were only two rights, "the right of might" and "the right of contract." He also said, after converting to Egoist individualism that ownership in land is legitimately transferred through force unless contracted otherwise. In 1892, he said "In times past...it was my habit to talk glibly of the right of man to land. It was a bad habit, and I long ago sloughed it off. Man's only right to land is his might over it. If his neighbor is mightier than he and takes the land from him, then the land is his neighbor's, until the latter is dispossessed by one mightier still." However, he said he believed that individuals would come to the realization that "equal liberty" and "occupancy and use" doctrines were "generally trustworthy guiding principle of action," and, as a result, they would likely find it in their interests to contract with each other to refrain from infringing upon equal liberty and from protecting land that was not in use. Though he believed that non-invasion, and "occupancy and use as the title to land" were general rules that people would find in their own interests to create through contract, he said that these rules "must be sometimes trodden underfoot."

Late in life, Tucker became much more pessimistic about the prospects for anarchism. In 1926, Vanguard Press published a selection of his writings entitled *Individual Liberty*, in which Tucker added a postscript to "State Socialism and Anarchism", which stated "Forty years ago, when the foregoing essay was written, the denial of competition had not yet effected the enormous concentration of wealth that now so gravely threatens social order. It was not yet too late to stem the current of accumulation by a reversal of the policy of monopoly. The Anarchistic remedy was still applicable." But, Tucker argued, "Today the way is not so clear. The four monopolies, unhindered, have made possible the modern development of the trust, and the trust is now a monster which I fear, even the freest banking, could it be instituted, would be unable to destroy. ... If this be true, then monopoly, which can be controlled permanently only for economic forces, has passed for the moment beyond their reach, and must be grappled with for a time solely by forces political or revolutionary. Until measures of forcible confiscation, through the State or in defiance of it, shall have abolished the concentrations that monopoly has created,

the economic solution proposed by Anarchism and outlined in the forgoing pages – *and there is no other solution* – will remain a thing to be taught to the rising generation, that conditions may be favorable to its application after the great leveling. But education is a slow process, and may not come too quickly. Anarchists who endeavor to hasten it by joining in the propaganda of State Socialism or revolution make a sad mistake indeed. They help to so force the march of events that the people will not have time to find out, by the study of their experience, that their troubles have been due to the rejection of competition."

In private correspondence, he wrote: "Capitalism is at least tolerable, which cannot be said of Socialism or Communism". Susan Love Brown claims that this private letter served in "providing the shift further illuminated in the 1970s by anarcho-capitalists."

By 1930, Tucker had concluded that centralization and advancing technology had doomed both anarchy and civilization. "The matter of my famous 'Postscript' now sinks into insignificance; the insurmountable obstacle to the realization of Anarchy is no longer the power of the trusts, but the indisputable fact that our civilization is in its death throes. We may last a couple of centuries yet; on the other hand, a decade may precipitate our finish. ... The *dark* ages sure enough. The Monster, Mechanism, is devouring mankind."

Tucker died in Monaco in 1939, in the company of his family. His daughter, Oriole, reported, "Father's attitude towards communism never changed one whit, nor about religion.... In his last months he called in the French housekeeper. 'I want her,' he said, 'to be a witness that on my death bed I'm not recanting. I do not believe in God!'"

Classical liberal or libertarian tradition

"Just as man can't exist without his body, so no rights can exist without the right to translate one's rights into reality, to think, to work and keep the results, which means: the right of property." (Ayn Rand, *Atlas Shrugged*). Most thinkers from these traditions subscribe to the labor theory of property. They hold that you own your own life, and it follows that you must own the products of that life, and that those products can be traded in free exchange with others. "Every man has a property in his own person. This nobody has a right to, but himself." (John Locke, *Second Treatise on Civil Government*). "Life, liberty, and property do not exist because men have made laws. On the contrary, it was the fact that life, liberty, and property existed beforehand that caused men to make laws in the first place." (Frédéric Bastiat, *The Law*). "The reason why men enter into society is the preservation of their property." (John Locke, *Second Treatise on Civil Government*)

Theory of property

A natural rights definition of property rights was advanced by John Locke. Locke advanced the theory that when one mixes one's labor with nature, one gains ownership of that part of nature with which the labor is mixed, subject to the limitation that there should be "enough, and as good, left in common for others".

The Ten Commandments shown in Exodus 20:2-17 and Deuteronomy 5:6-21 stated that the Israelites were not to steal. These texts, written in approximately 1400 B.C., were an early protection of private property.

Robert Filmer 1600s

Sir Robert Filmer reached conclusion through Biblical exegesis. Filmer said that the institution of kingship is analogous to that of fatherhood, that subjects are but children, whether obedient or unruly, and that property rights are akin to the household goods that a father may dole out among his children—his to take back and dispose of according to his pleasure.

John Locke 1600s

In the following generation, John Locke sought to answer Filmer, creating a rationale for a balanced constitution in which the monarch would have a part to play, but not an overwhelming part. Since Filmer's views uniquely descended from the patriarchs of the Bible, and since even in the late seventeenth century that was a difficult view to uphold, Locke attacked Filmer's views in his First Treatise on Civil Government, freeing him to set out his own views in the Second Treatise on Civil Government. Therein, Locke imagined a pre-social world, the unhappy residents of which create a social contract. "To this end" he wrote, meaning the end of their own long life and peace, "it is that men give up all their natural power to the society they enter into, and the community put the legislative power into such hands as they think fit, with this trust, that they shall be governed by declared laws, or else their peace, quiet, and property will still be at the same uncertainty as it was in the state of nature." To explain the ownership of property Locke advanced a labor theory of property.

William Blackstone 1700s

In the 1760s, William Blackstone sought to codify the English common law. In his famous *Commentaries on the Laws of England* he wrote that "every wanton and causeless restraint of the

will of the subject, whether produced by a monarch, a nobility, or a popular assembly is a degree of tyranny."

How should such tyranny be prevented or resisted? Through property rights, Blackstone thought, which is why he emphasized that indemnification must be awarded a non-consenting owner whose property is taken by eminent domain, and that a property owner is protected against physical invasion of his property by the laws of trespass and nuisance. Indeed, he wrote that a landowner is free to kill any stranger on his property between dusk and dawn, even an agent of the King, since it isn't reasonable to expect him to recognize the King's agents in the dark.

Types of property

Most legal systems distinguish different types (immovable property, estate in land, real estate, real property) of property, especially between land and all other forms of property - goods and chattels, movable property or personal property. They often distinguish tangible and intangible property (see below).

One categorization scheme specifies three species of property: land, improvements (immovable man made things) and personal property (movable man made things). In common law, real property (immovable property) is the combination of interests in land and improvements thereto and personal property is interest in movable property.

Later, with the development of more complex forms of non-tangible property, personal property was divided into tangible property (such as cars, clothing, animals) and intangible or abstract property (e.g. financial instruments such as stocks and bonds, etc.), which includes intellectual property (patents, copyrights, and trademarks).

What can be property?

The two major justifications given for original property, or homesteading, are effort and scarcity. John Locke emphasized effort, "mixing your labor" with an object, or clearing and cultivating virgin land. Benjamin Tucker preferred to look at the telos of property, i.e. What is the purpose of property? His answer: to solve the scarcity problem. Only when items are relatively scarce with respect to people's desires do they become property. For example, hunter-gatherers did not consider land to be property, since there was no shortage of land. Agrarian societies later made arable land property, as it was scarce. For something to be economically scarce, it must necessarily have the *exclusivity property* - that use by one person excludes others from using it. These two justifications lead to different conclusions on what can be property. Intellectual property - non-corporeal things like ideas, plans, orderings and arrangements (musical compositions, novels, computer programs) - are generally considered valid property to those who support an effort justification, but invalid to those who support a scarcity justification (since they don't have the exclusivity property.) Thus even ardent propertarians may disagree about IP. By either standard, one's body is one's property.

From some anarchist points of view, the validity of property depends on whether the "property right" requires enforcement by the state. Different forms of "property" require different amounts of enforcement: intellectual property requires a great deal of state intervention to enforce, ownership of distant physical property requires quite a lot, ownership of carried objects requires very little, while ownership of one's own body requires absolutely no state intervention.

Many things have existed that did not have an owner, sometimes called the commons. The term "commons," however, is also often used to mean something quite different: "general collective ownership" - i.e. common ownership. Also, the same term is sometimes used by

statists to mean government-owned property that the general public is allowed to access. Law in all societies has tended to develop towards reducing the number of things not having clear owners. Supporters of property rights argue that this enables better protection of scarce resources, due to the tragedy of the commons, while critics argue that it leads to the exploitation of those resources for personal gain and that it hinders taking advantage of potential network effects. These arguments have differing validity for different types of "property" -- things which are not scarce are, for instance, not subject to the tragedy of the commons. Some apparent critics actually are advocating general collective ownership rather than ownerlessness.

Things today which do not have owners include: ideas (except for intellectual property), seawater (which is, however, protected by anti-pollution laws), parts of the seafloor (see the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea for restrictions), gasses in Earth's atmosphere, animals in the wild (though there may be restrictions on hunting etc. -- and in some legal systems, such as that of New York, they are actually treated as government property), celestial bodies and outer space, and land in Antarctica.

The nature of children under the age of majority is another contested issue here. In ancient societies children were generally considered the property of their parents. Children in most modern societies theoretically own their own bodies -- but they are considered incompetent to exercise their rights, and their parents or "guardians" are given most of the actual rights of control over them.

Questions regarding the nature of ownership of the body also come up in the issue of abortion.

In many ancient legal systems (e.g. early Roman law), religious sites (e.g. temples) were considered property of the God or gods they were devoted to. However, religious pluralism makes it more convenient to have religious sites owned by the religious body that runs them. Intellectual property and air (airspace, no-fly zone, pollution laws, which can include tradeable emissions rights) can be property in some senses of the word.

Who can be an owner?

Ownership laws may vary widely among countries depending on the nature of the property of interest (e.g. firearms, real property, personal property, animals). In some societies only adult men may own property. In some societies legal entities, such as corporations, trusts, and nations (or governments) own property. In the Inca empire, the dead emperors, who were considered gods, still controlled property after death.

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the right of ownership would cease to exist. In other words, he seems to think that, if all men were to agree upon a property standard and should voluntarily observe it, property would then have no existence simply because of the absence of any institution to protect it. Now, in the view of the Anarchists, property would then exist in its perfection.

So I would answer Mr. Bilgram's question, as put in his concluding paragraph, as follows: Anarchism does not repudiate the right of ownership, but it has a conception thereof sufficiently different from Mr. Bilgram's to include the possibility of an end of that social organization which will arise, not out of the ruins of government, but out of the transformation of government into voluntary association for defence.

Tucker's contribution to American individualist anarchism was as much through his publishing as his own writing. Tucker was the first to translate into English Proudhon's *What is Property?* and Max Stirner's *The Ego and Its Own* — which Tucker claimed was his proudest accomplishment. In editing and publishing the anarchist periodical *Liberty*, he published the original work of Stephen Pearl Andrews, Joshua K. Ingalls, Lysander Spooner, Auberon Herbert, Victor Yarros, and Lillian Harman, daughter of the free love anarchist Moses Harman, as well as his own writing. He also published such items as George Bernard Shaw's first original article to appear in the United States and the first American translated excerpts of Friedrich Nietzsche. In *Liberty*, Tucker both filtered and integrated the theories of such European thinkers as Herbert Spencer and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon; the economic and legal theories of the American individualists Lysander Spooner, William B. Greene and Josiah Warren; and the writings of the free thought and free love movements in opposition to religiously-based legislation and prohibitions on non-invasive behavior. Through these influences Tucker produced a rigorous system of philosophical or individualist anarchism that he called *Anarchistic-Socialism*, arguing that "*[the] most perfect Socialism is possible only on the condition of the most perfect individualism.*"

According to historian of American individualist anarchism, Frank Brooks, it is easy to misunderstand Tucker's claim of "socialism." Before "socialism" was monopolized by Marxists, "the term socialism was a broad concept." Tucker (as well as most of the writers and readers in *Liberty*) understood "socialism" to refer to any of various theories and demands aimed to solve "the labor problem" through radical changes in the capitalist economy; descriptions of the problem, explanations of its causes, and proposed solutions (e.g., abolition of private property, cooperatives, state-ownership, etc.) varied among "socialist" philosophies. Tucker said socialism was the claim that "labor should be put in possession of its own," holding that what "state socialism" and "anarchistic socialism" had in common was the labor theory of value. However, "Instead of asserting, as did socialist anarchists, that common ownership was the key to eroding differences of economic power," and appealing to social solidarity, Tucker's individualist anarchism advocated distribution of property in an undistorted natural market as a mediator of egoistic impulses and a source of social stability.

Tucker first favored a natural rights philosophy where an individual had a right to own the fruits of his labor and not to be aggressed against, then abandoned it in favor of "egoism" influenced by Max Stirner, where he then believed that only the "right of might" exists until overridden by contract.

He objected to all forms of communism, believing that even a stateless communist society must encroach upon the liberty of individuals who were in it.

The Four Monopolies

Tucker argued that the poor condition of American workers resulted from four legal monopolies based in authority: (1) the money monopoly, (2) the land monopoly, (3) tariffs, and (4) patents.

His focus for several decades became the state's economic control of how trade could take place, and what currency counted as legitimate. He saw interest and profit as a form of exploitation made possible by the banking monopoly, which was in turn maintained through coercion and invasion. Any such interest and profit, Tucker called "usury" and he saw it as the basis for the oppression of the workers. In his words, "*interest is theft, Rent Robbery, and Profit Only Another Name for Plunder.*" Tucker believed that usury was immoral, however, he upheld the right for all people to engage in immoral contracts. "Liberty, therefore, must defend the right of individuals to make contracts involving usury, rum, marriage, prostitution, any many other things which is believes to be wrong in principle and opposed to human well-being. The right to do wrong involves the essence of all rights."

He asserted that anarchism is meaningless "unless it includes the liberty of the individual to control his product or whatever his product has brought him through exchange in a free market — that is, private property." He acknowledged that "anything is a product upon which human labor has been expended," but would not recognize full property rights to labored-upon land: "It should be noted, however, that in the case of land, or of any other material the supply of which is so limited that all cannot hold it in unlimited quantities, Anarchism undertakes to protect no titles except such as are based upon actual occupancy and use." Tucker opposed title to land that was not in use, arguing that an individual would have to use land continually in order to retain exclusive right to it. If this practice is not followed, he believed it results in a "land monopoly."

Tucker also opposed state protection of the banking monopoly, the requirement that one must obtain a charter to engage in the business of banking. He hoped to raise wages by deregulating the banking industry, reasoning that competition in banking would drive down interest rates and stimulate entrepreneurship. Tucker believed this would decrease the proportion of individuals seeking employment and therefore wages would be driven up by competing employers. "Thus, the same blow that strikes interest down will send wages up." He did not oppose individuals being employed by others, but due to his interpretation of the labor theory of value, he believed that in the present economy individuals do not receive a wage that fully compensates them for their labor. He wrote that if the four "monopolies" were ended, "it will make no difference whether men work for themselves, or are employed, or employ others. In any case they can get nothing but that wages for their labor which free competition determines."

Tucker opposed protectionism, believing that tariffs cause high prices by preventing national producers from having to compete with foreign competitors. He believed that free trade would help keep prices low and therefore would assist laborers in receiving their "natural wage." Tucker did not believe in a right to intellectual property in the form of patents, on the grounds that patents and copyrights protect something which cannot rightfully be held as property. In "The Attitude of Anarchism toward Industrial Combinations," he wrote that the basis for property is "the fact that it is impossible in the nature of things for concrete objects to be used in different places at the same time." Property in concrete things is "socially necessary." "[S]ince successful society rests on individual initiative, [it is necessary] to protect the individual creator in the use of his concrete creations by forbidding others to use them without his consent." Because ideas are not concrete things, they cannot be held and protected as property. Ideas can

be used in different places at the same time, and so their use should not be restricted by patents. This was a source of conflict with the philosophy of fellow individualist Lysander Spooner who saw ideas as the product of "intellectual labor" and therefore private property.

According to Victor Yarros: He [Tucker] opposed savagely any and all reform movements that had paternalistic aims and looked to the state for aid and fulfillment...For the same reason, consistent, unrelenting opposition to compulsion, he combatted "populism," "greenbackism," the single-tax movement, and all forms of socialism and communism. He denounced and exposed Johann Most, the editor of *Freiheit*, the anarchist-communist organ. The end, he declared, could never justify the means, if the means were intrinsically immoral — and force, by whomsoever used, was immoral except as a means of preventing or punishing aggression.

Tucker rejected the legislative programs of labor unions, laws imposing a short day, minimum wage laws, forcing businesses to provide insurance to employes, and compulsory pension systems. He believed instead that strikes should be composed by free workers rather than by bureaucratic union officials and organizations. He argued, "*strikes, whenever and wherever inaugurated, deserve encouragement from all the friends of labour. . . They show that people are beginning to know their rights, and knowing, dare to maintain them.*" and furthermore, "*as an awakening agent, as an agitating force, the beneficent influence of a strike is immeasurable. . . with our present economic system almost every strike is just. For what is justice in production and distribution? That labour, which creates all, shall have all.*" Tucker envisioned an individualist anarchist society as "*each man reaping the fruits of his labour and no man able to live in idleness on an income from capital....become[ing] a great hive of Anarchistic workers, prosperous and free individuals [combining] to carry on their production and distribution on the cost principle.*" rather than a bureaucratic organization of workers organized into rank and file unions. However, he did hold a genuine appreciation for labor unions (which he called "*trades-union socialism*") and saw it as "*an intelligent and self-governing socialism*" saying, "*[they] promise the coming substitution of industrial socialism for usurping legislative mobism.*"

Private defense

Tucker did not have a utopian vision of anarchy where individuals would not coerce others. He advocated that liberty and property be defended by private institutions. Opposing the monopoly of the state in providing security, he advocated a free market of competing defense providers, saying "defense is a service like any other service; ... it is labor both useful and desired, and therefore an economic commodity subject to the law of supply and demand." He said that anarchism "does not exclude prisons, officials, military, or other symbols of force. It merely demands that non-invasive men shall not be made the victims of such force. Anarchism is not the reign of love, but the reign of justice. It does not signify the abolition of force-symbols but the application of force to real invaders." Tucker expressed that the market-based providers of security would offer protection of land that was being used, and would not offer assistance to those attempting to collect rent: "*The land for the people' . . . means the protection by . . . voluntary associations for the maintenance of justice . . . of all people who desire to cultivate land in possession of whatever land they personally cultivate . . . and the positive refusal of the protecting power to lend its aid to the collection of any rent, whatsoever.*"

Embrace of "egoism"

Tucker abandoned natural rights doctrine and began a proponent of what is known as

"Egoism." This led to a split in American Individualism between the growing number of Egoists and the contemporary Spoonerian "Natural Lawyers". Tucker came to hold the position that no rights exist until they are created by contract. They led him to controversial positions such as claiming that infants had no rights and were the property of their parents, because they did not have the ability to contract. He said that a person who physically tries to stop a mother from throwing her "baby into the fire" should be punished for violating her property rights. He said that children would shed their status as property when they became old enough to contract "to buy or sell a house" for example, noting that the precocity varies by age and would be determined by a jury in the case of a complaint.

He also came to believe that aggressing against other was justifiable if doing so led to a greater decrease in "aggregate pain" than refraining from doing so. He said: the ultimate end of human endeavor is the minimum of pain. We aim to decrease invasion only because, as a rule, invasion increases the total of pain (meaning, of course, pain suffered by the ego, whether directly or through sympathy with others). But it is precisely my contention that this rule, despite the immense importance which I place upon it, is not absolute; that, on the contrary, there are exceptional cases where invasion--that is, coercion of the non-invasive--lessens the aggregate pain. Therefore coercion of the non-invasive, when justifiable at all, is to be justified on the ground that it secures, not a minimum of invasion, but a minimum of pain. . . . [T]o me [it is] axiomatic--that the ultimate end is the minimum of pain.

Tucker now said that there were only two rights, "the right of might" and "the right of contract." He also said, after converting to Egoist individualism that ownership in land is legitimately transferred through force unless contracted otherwise. In 1892, he said "In times past...it was my habit to talk glibly of the right of man to land. It was a bad habit, and I long ago sloughed it off. Man's only right to land is his might over it. If his neighbor is mightier than he and takes the land from him, then the land is his neighbor's, until the latter is dispossessed by one mightier still." However, he said he believed that individuals would come to the realization that "equal liberty" and "occupancy and use" doctrines were "generally trustworthy guiding principle of action," and, as a result, they would likely find it in their interests to contract with each other to refrain from infringing upon equal liberty and from protecting land that was not in use. Though he believed that non-invasion, and "occupancy and use as the title to land" were general rules that people would find in their own interests to create through contract, he said that these rules "must be sometimes trodden underfoot."

Late in life, Tucker became much more pessimistic about the prospects for anarchism. In 1926, Vanguard Press published a selection of his writings entitled *Individual Liberty*, in which Tucker added a postscript to "State Socialism and Anarchism", which stated "Forty years ago, when the foregoing essay was written, the denial of competition had not yet effected the enormous concentration of wealth that now so gravely threatens social order. It was not yet too late to stem the current of accumulation by a reversal of the policy of monopoly. The Anarchistic remedy was still applicable." But, Tucker argued, "Today the way is not so clear. The four monopolies, unhindered, have made possible the modern development of the trust, and the trust is now a monster which I fear, even the freest banking, could it be instituted, would be unable to destroy. ... If this be true, then monopoly, which can be controlled permanently only for economic forces, has passed for the moment beyond their reach, and must be grappled with for a time solely by forces political or revolutionary. Until measures of forcible confiscation, through the State or in defiance of it, shall have abolished the concentrations that monopoly has created,

the economic solution proposed by Anarchism and outlined in the forgoing pages – *and there is no other solution* – will remain a thing to be taught to the rising generation, that conditions may be favorable to its application after the great leveling. But education is a slow process, and may not come too quickly. Anarchists who endeavor to hasten it by joining in the propaganda of State Socialism or revolution make a sad mistake indeed. They help to so force the march of events that the people will not have time to find out, by the study of their experience, that their troubles have been due to the rejection of competition."

In private correspondence, he wrote: "Capitalism is at least tolerable, which cannot be said of Socialism or Communism". Susan Love Brown claims that this private letter served in "providing the shift further illuminated in the 1970s by anarcho-capitalists."

By 1930, Tucker had concluded that centralization and advancing technology had doomed both anarchy and civilization. "The matter of my famous 'Postscript' now sinks into insignificance; the insurmountable obstacle to the realization of Anarchy is no longer the power of the trusts, but the indisputable fact that our civilization is in its death throes. We may last a couple of centuries yet; on the other hand, a decade may precipitate our finish. ... The *dark* ages sure enough. The Monster, Mechanism, is devouring mankind."

Tucker died in Monaco in 1939, in the company of his family. His daughter, Oriole, reported, "Father's attitude towards communism never changed one whit, nor about religion.... In his last months he called in the French housekeeper. 'I want her,' he said, 'to be a witness that on my death bed I'm not recanting. I do not believe in God!'"

LIBERTARIANISM AND LIBERALISM IN AMERICA

It is something confusing to simply tell the difference between libertarianism and liberalism in America. To know the differences and similarities between them, or whether or not the two are interchangeable, we can elaborate them from explanations cut down from several websites as follows:

I. <http://www.salon.com/jan97/history970120.html>

To avoid confusion, it should be noted that the word "liberal" has changed its meaning (much to the irritation of laissez-faire economists like Milton Friedman, "classic" liberals who have now become political "conservatives").

In its original sense, liberalism championed the rights of the individual against the claims of absolute monarchy. John Locke in his writing "Of Civil Government" (1689) maintained that all men possessed natural rights that no government had the right to violate. Together with the apostle of economic liberty, Adam Smith, the great Enlightenment philosophers Immanuel Kant and David Hume, and later Utilitarian thinkers like John Stuart Mill and Jeremy Bentham, liberalism expressed and created the values of the most dynamic and progressive forces in society -- the rising merchant class (soon to expand into a middle class) and the nascent Industrial Revolution.

Secular and rational, liberalism's towering affirmation of human rights provided the philosophical underpinnings for the Declaration of Independence. For the liberal American revolutionaries, government was a force to be checked -- a view famously expressed by Thomas Jefferson's "That government is best which governs least."

The danger to liberty is no longer posed by government, but by capitalism run amok, as in the Gilded Age excesses that led to the Progressive Era or today's ruthless corporate downsizing. If Jefferson were alive, liberals argue, he would support our current mixed-economy welfare state.

The debate over libertarianism's relationship to liberalism is, at bottom, a debate about two kinds of liberty: positive and negative. Positive liberty is the freedom to do something; negative liberty is freedom from something. As the extreme defenders of negative liberty, libertarians make their stand on rights: Give us freedom from coercion, they argue, and we'll figure out what to do with it.

Is the libertarian position the only logical consequence of liberalism? Not necessarily. As Stephen Holmes argues in "Passions and Constraint" (1995), the liberal tradition, contrary to libertarian claims, is eminently compatible with state intervention and redistributive policies -- with positive liberty, in other words.

In short, in comparison to libertarians, who have a clear ideological system worked out, liberals are ditherers, wandering vaguely in a muddled middle. It is not the least virtue of libertarianism that it forces liberals to acknowledge the extent to which they subscribe to certain tenets of traditional conservatism. Confronted with the daunting individualism of the libertarians, liberals must interrogate their own faith in science and reason and the heroic individual.

II. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libertarian>

Libertarianism is a label used by a broad spectrum of political philosophies which prioritize individual liberty and minimize the role of the state. Libertarian is an antonym of authoritarian.

Modern Libertarianism as a philosophy grew out of a tradition referred to as classical liberalism in the nineteenth century. Classical liberalism, in turn, derived from Enlightenment ideas in Europe and America, including political ideals expressed by John Locke, Adam Smith, Thomas Jefferson, Herbert Spencer, Marquis de La Fayette among many others who were opposed to restrictions on individual liberty.

By the early 20th century, the Progressive movement in the United States and the socialist movement in Europe began to promote positive rights such as public education, health care, social security or a minimum standard of living. As liberalism began to mean a more pro-state viewpoint, those who held to the pro-liberty views of the Enlightenment began to call themselves "classical liberals." To make things more confusing, others began to call themselves "conservatives" to refer to conserving traditions of liberty, especially in written constitutions.

The central tenet of libertarianism is the principle of liberty, namely individual liberty. To libertarians, an individual human being is sovereign over his/her body, extending to life, liberty and property. As such, rights-theory libertarians define liberty as being completely free in action, whilst not initiating force or fraud against the life, liberty or property of another human being.

Thomas Jefferson stated, "Rightful liberty is unobstructed action according to our will within limits drawn around us by the equal rights of others." Jefferson also said "No man has a natural right to commit aggression on the equal rights of another, and this is all from which the laws ought to restrain him." These concepts are otherwise known as the law of equal liberty or the non-aggression principle.

Libertarians generally view constraints imposed by the state on persons or their property (if applicable), beyond the need to penalize infringement of one's rights by another, as a violation of liberty. Anarchist libertarians favor no statutory constraints at all, based on the assumption that rulers are unnecessary because in the absence of political government individuals will naturally form self-governing social bonds, rules, customs, codes, and contracts. In contrast, minarchist libertarians consider government necessary for the sole purpose of protecting the rights of the people. This includes protecting people and their property from the criminal acts of others, as well as providing for national defense.

Many libertarians view life, liberty, and property as the ultimate rights possessed by individuals, and that compromising one necessarily endangers the rest. In democracies, they consider compromise of these individual rights by political action to be tyranny of the majority, a term first coined by Alexis de Tocqueville, and made famous by John Stuart Mill, which emphasizes the threat of the majority to impose majority norms on minorities, and violating their rights in the process. "...There needs protection also against the tyranny of the prevailing opinion and feeling, against the tendency of society to impose, by other means than civil penalties, its own ideas and practices as rules of conduct on those who dissent from them..."

But most libertarians would argue that representative majority rule democracy largely has become controlled by special interest groups who represent a minority, leading to a 'tyranny of the minority' against the real numerical majority.

Having weak state executive control means libertarian societies are more dependent on

the courts for conflict resolution. An impartial judiciary can thus be of paramount importance, for without it wealthy and collective interests might run roughshod over the private citizen.

Some libertarians favor Common Law, which they see as less arbitrary and more adaptable than statutory law. The relative benefits of common law evolving toward ever-finer definitions of property rights were articulated by thinkers such as Friedrich Hayek, Richard Epstein, Robert Nozick, and Randy Barnett.

Natural rights

Libertarians such as Robert Nozick and Murray Rothbard view the rights to life, liberty, and property as Natural Rights, i.e., worthy of protection as an end in themselves. Their view of natural rights is derived, directly or indirectly, from the writings of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke.

Libertarian policy

Libertarians strongly oppose government infringement of civil liberties such as restrictions on free expression (e.g., speech, press, or religious belief or practice), prohibitions on voluntary association, or encroachments on persons or property. Some make an exception when the infringement is a result of due process to establish or punish criminal behaviour. As such, libertarians oppose any type of censorship (i.e., claims of offensive speech), or pre-trial forfeiture of property (as is commonly seen in drug crime and computer crime proceedings). Furthermore, most libertarians reject the distinction between political and commercial speech or association, a legal distinction often used to protect one type of activity and not the other from government intervention.

III. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_liberalism

Liberalism in the United States is a broad political and philosophical mindset, favoring individual liberty, and opposing restrictions on liberty, whether they come from established religion, from government regulation, or from the existing class structure. Liberalism in the United States takes various forms, ranging from classical liberalism to social liberalism to neoliberalism.

The United States Declaration of Independence speaks of "unalienable rights" to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness", which can be identified as ideals of classical liberalism, (though Locke wrote of property as an inalienable right, while Jefferson wrote "the pursuit of happiness") and asserts that government may exist only with the "consent of the governed"; the Preamble to the Constitution enumerates among its purposes to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity"; the Bill of Rights contains numerous measures guaranteeing individual freedom, both from the authority of the state and from the tyranny of the majority; and the Reconstruction Amendments after the Civil War freed the slaves and aimed to extend to them and to their descendants the same rights as other Americans. "Liberalism" in the sense of John Locke and freedom to acquire property, was a parallel concept. Historians debate how much it contradicted or reinforced republicanism.

The term *liberalism* in the United States today most often refers to Modern liberalism, a political current that reached its high-water marks with Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal, and Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. It is a form of social liberalism, combining support for government social programs, progressive taxation, and moderate Keynesianism with a broad

concept of rights, which sometimes include a right to education and health care. However, this is by no means the only contemporary American political current that draws heavily on the liberal tradition.

Libertarianism is often said to be generally resembling, though not necessarily identical to, American *classical liberalism*, which advocates the *laissez-faire* doctrines of political and economic liberalism, equality before the law, individual freedom and self-reliance.

IV. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_conservatism

Liberal conservatism is a political philosophy which generally means combining elements of "conservatism" with elements of "liberalism". As these latter two terms have had different meanings over time and across countries, liberal conservatism also has a wide variety of meanings.

Historically, it often referred to the combination of economic liberalism, which champions *laissez-faire* markets, with the classical conservative concern for established tradition, respect for authority and religious values. In this way it contrasted itself with classical liberalism, which supported freedom for the individual in both the economic and social spheres.

Over time, the general conservative ideology in many countries adopted economic liberal arguments and this sense of the term "liberal conservatism" fell out of use, and "conservatism" was simply used instead. This is also the case in countries where liberal economic ideas have been the tradition, such as the United States, and are thus considered "conservative".

In other countries where liberal conservative movements have entered the political mainstream, the terms "liberal" and "conservative" may become synonymous (as in Australia, in Italy and in Spain). The liberal conservative tradition in the United States combines the economic individualism of the classical liberals with a Burkean form of conservatism (which has also become part of the American conservative tradition, for example in the writings of Russell Kirk).

Varieties of liberalism

Liberalism in the United States takes several distinct forms. Modern liberalism, which favors government intervention in some cases, takes a different approach to economics from classical liberalism, which favors a pure free market.

Classical liberalism in the United States (also called *laissez-faire liberalism*) believes that a free market economy is the most productive and that religious opinions have no place in politics. It may be represented by Henry David Thoreau's statement "that government is best which governs least."

Classical liberalism is a philosophy of individualism and self-responsibility. Classical liberals in the United States believe that if the economy is left to the natural forces of supply and demand, rather than these being determined by government intervention, it results in the most abundant satisfaction of human wants. Modern classical liberals oppose the concept of a welfare state. They also oppose government restriction on individual liberty.

Modern liberalism

Herbert Croly (1869 – 1930), philosopher and political theorist, was the first to effectively combine classical liberal theory with progressive philosophy to form what would come to be known as "American" liberalism; Maury Maverick was to summarize the

combination as "freedom *plus* groceries." Croly presented the case for a mixed economy, increased spending on education, and the creation of a society based on the "brotherhood of mankind." Croly founded the periodical *The New Republic* to present his ideas.

His ideas influenced the political views of both Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. In 1909, Croly published *The Promise of American Life*, in which he proposed raising the general standard of living by means of economic planning, though he opposed aggressive unionization. In *The Techniques of Democracy* (1915) he argued against both dogmatic individualism and dogmatic socialism.

Demographics of Liberals

Liberalism remains most popular among those in academia and liberals commonly tend to be highly educated and relatively affluent. According to recent surveys, between 19 and 26 percent of the American electorate identify as liberal, versus moderate or conservative.

A 2004 study by the Pew Research Center identified 19 percent of Americans as liberal. According to the study, liberals were the most affluent and educated ideological demographic. Of those who identified as liberal, 49 percent were college graduates and 41 percent had household incomes exceeding \$75,000, compared to 27 and 28 percent at the national average, respectively. Liberalism also remains the dominant political ideology in academia, with 72% of full-time faculty identifying as liberal in a 2004 study. The social sciences and humanities were most liberal, whereas, business and engineering departments were the most conservative. In the 2000, 2004 and 2006 elections, the vast majority of liberals voted in favor of the Democrats, though liberals may also show support for the Greens:

“[Liberals are] Predominantly white (83%), most highly educated group (49% have a college degree or more), and youngest group after Bystanders. Least religious group in typology: 43% report they seldom or never attend religious services; nearly a quarter (22%) are seculars. More than one-third never married (36%). Largest group residing in urban areas (42%) and in the western half the country (34%). Wealthiest Democratic group (41% earn at least \$75,000). - Pew Research Center”

The liberal consensus

For almost two decades, Cold War liberalism remained the dominant paradigm in U.S. politics, peaking with the landslide victory of Lyndon B. Johnson over Barry Goldwater in the 1964 presidential election. Lyndon Johnson had been a New Deal Democrat in the 1930s and by the 1950s had decided that the Democratic Party had to break from its segregationist past and endorse racial liberalism as well as economic liberalism. In the face of the disastrous defeat of Goldwater, the Republicans accepted more than a few of Johnson's ideas as their own, so to a very real extent, the policies of President Johnson became the policies of the Republican administrations of Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford.

Liberal consensus, 1970 to the present day

During the Nixon years (and through the 1970s), the liberal consensus began to come apart. The alliance with white Southern Democrats had been lost in the Civil Rights era. While the steady enfranchisement of African Americans expanded the electorate to include many new voters sympathetic to liberal views, it was not quite enough to make up for the loss of some Southern Democrats. Organized labor, long a bulwark of the liberal consensus, was past the peak of its power in the U.S. and many unions had remained in favor of the Vietnam War even as

liberal politicians increasingly turned against it. Within the Democratic party leadership, there was a turn of moderation after the defeat of arch-liberal George McGovern in 1972.

Meanwhile, in the Republican ranks, a new wing of the party emerged. The libertarian Goldwater Republicans laid the groundwork for, and partially fed in to the Reagan Republicans. In 1980, Ronald Reagan was the Republican party's Presidential nominee. More centrist groups such as the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) were on equal footing with liberals for control of the Democratic Party in this time. The centrist-liberal alliance of the federal level Democrats lasted through the 1980s, but declined in the 1990s when more conservative political figures sided with the Republican party.

Some notable figures in the history of both modern and classical liberalism in the United States include: Samuel Adams (17XX - 17XX), Thomas Jefferson (17XX - 18XX), James Madison (17XX - 18XX), Thomas Paine (17XX - 18XX), Patrick Henry (17XX - 18XX) .

Some notable figures in the history of modern liberalism in the United States include: John Dewey (1859 – 1952), Herbert Croly (1869 – 1930), Woodrow Wilson (1856 – 1924), Harry Hopkins (1890 – 1946), Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882 – 1945), Earl Warren (1891 – 1974), William O. Douglas (1898 – 1980), Adlai Stevenson (1900 – 1965), Lyndon B. Johnson (1908 – 1973), John Kenneth Galbraith (1908 – 2006), Hubert Humphrey (1911 – 1978), John F. Kennedy (1917 – 1963), Arthur Schlesinger Jr. (1917 – 2007), John Rawls (1921 – 2002), George McGovern (1922 –), Jimmy Carter (1924 –), Robert F. Kennedy (1925 – 1968), Coretta Scott King (1927 – 2006), Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929 – 1968), Richard Rorty (1931 – 2007), Edward M. Kennedy (1932 –), Barbara Jordan (1936 – 1996), Paul Wellstone (1944 – 2002), Robert Reich (1946 –), Bill Clinton (1946 –), Hillary Clinton (1947 –), Al Gore (1948 –), Russ Feingold (1953 –), Barack Obama (1961 –)

V. <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/liberalism/>

Classical Liberalism

Liberal political theory, then, fractures over the conception of liberty. But a more important division concerns the place of private property and the market order. For classical liberals — sometimes called the ‘old’ liberalism — liberty and private property are intimately related.

Unless people are free to make contracts and to sell their labour, or unless they are free to save their incomes and then invest them as they see fit, or unless they are free to run enterprises when they have obtained the capital, they are not really free.

Classical liberals employ a second argument connecting liberty and private property. Rather than insisting that the freedom to obtain and employ private property is simply one aspect of people's liberty, this second argument insists that private property is the only effective means for the protection of liberty. Here the idea is that the dispersion of power that results from a free market economy based on private property protects the liberty of subjects against encroachments by the state.

VI. <http://www.libertarianism.com/what-it-is.htm>

Libertarianism is, as the name implies, the belief in liberty. Libertarians strive for the best of all worlds - a free, peaceful, abundant world where each individual has the maximum opportunity to pursue his or her dreams and to realize his full potential.

The core idea is simply stated, but profound and far-reaching in its implications. Libertarians believe that each person owns his own life and property, and has the right to make his own choices as to how he lives his life - as long as he simply respects the same right of others to do the same.

Another way of saying this is that libertarians believe you should be free to do as you choose with your own life and property, as long as you don't harm the person and property of others.

VII. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modern_liberalism

Modern liberalism in the United States, also referred to as American liberalism, is a political ideology that seeks to maximize individual liberty, defined as the provision of both negative rights, that is freedom from coercion, and positive rights, such as education, health care and other services and goods believed to be required for human development and self-actualization.

Consequently it attempts a wide distribution of power, where no ethnic group, religion or socio-economic class dominates the polity, free exchange of ideas, and government ensured provision of basic rights, such as education and health care in order to create an effective form of freedom.

John F. Kennedy defined liberalism this way: "If by a 'Liberal' they mean someone who looks ahead and not behind, someone who welcomes new ideas without rigid reactions, someone who cares about the welfare of the people — their health, their housing, their schools, their jobs, their civil rights, and their civil liberties — someone who believes we can break through the stalemate and suspicions that grip us in our policies abroad, if that is what they mean by a 'Liberal,' then I'm proud to say I'm a 'Liberal'."

Modern American liberalism is largely a combination of social liberalism, social progressivism, and mixed economy philosophy. It is distinguished from classic liberalism and libertarianism, which also claim freedom as their primary goal, in its insistence upon the inclusion of positive rights and in a broader definition of equality. Modern American liberals view the concentration of wealth and the destruction of the environment as threats to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. While the development of modern American liberalism may be traced to the late 19th and early 20th century, it may also be viewed as the modern version of the classical liberalism upon which America was founded.

Following the Great Depression, it became the dominant ideology in the U.S., until the late 1970s. Today, it remains powerful, but continues to be challenged by the re-emergence of laissez-faire ideology.

History of modern liberalism in the United States

Scholar of liberalism Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., writing in 1956, said that liberalism in the United States includes both a "laissez-faire" form and a "government intervention" form. He holds that liberalism in the United States is aimed toward achieving "equality of opportunity for all" but it is the means of achieving this that changes depending on the circumstances. He says that the "process of redefining liberalism in terms of the social needs of the 20th century was conducted by Theodore Roosevelt and his New Nationalism, Woodrow Wilson and his New Freedom, and Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal. Out of these three reform periods there emerged the conception of a social welfare state, in which the national government had the

express obligation to maintain high levels of employment in the economy, to supervise standards of life and labor, to regulate the methods of business competition, and to establish comprehensive patterns of social security."



AMERICAN CONSERVATISM

To have more understandings on conservatism in America we can elaborate some explanations cut down from two websites below:

I. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_conservatism

Modern American conservatism was largely born out of alliance between classic liberals and social conservatives in the late 19th and early 20th century.

Founding Fathers

Some Loyalists of the American Revolution were political conservatives, a few of whom produced political discourse of a high order, including lawyer Joseph Galloway and governor-historian Thomas Hutchinson. After the war, many remained in the U.S. and became citizens, but some leaders emigrated to other places in the British Empire. Samuel Seabury was a Loyalist who returned and as the first American bishop played a major role in shaping the Episcopal religion, a stronghold of conservative social values.

In his book *The Conservative Mind*, Russell Kirk identifies John Adams as the first American Conservative. Adams' book *A Defence of the Constitution of the Government of the United States of America* is considered by Kirk as the first Conservative manifesto in America. Adams believed in the supremacy of law and that liberty should be subordinate to law. Adams also distrusted the people as a mass. Adams was the only member of the Federalist Party to become President of the United States. Adams rejected the notions of the French revolution, which Jefferson in part supported. And unlike Jefferson, Adams rejected the idea of agrarian republicanism. Adams outright rejected the ideas of Monarchy and Aristocracy demanding there be a government of laws and not of men. The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was written by Adams and is the oldest written Constitution in the world.

The Founding Fathers created the single most important set of political ideas in American history, known as republicanism, which all groups, liberal and conservative alike, have drawn from. The Federalist Party, followers of Alexander Hamilton, developed an important variation of republicanism that can be considered conservative. Rejecting monarchy and aristocracy, they emphasized civic virtue as the core American value. The Federalists spoke for the **propertied interests** and the upper classes of the cities. They envisioned a modernizing land of banks and factories, with a strong army and navy.

On many issues American conservatism also derives from the republicanism of Thomas Jefferson and his followers, especially John Randolph of Roanoke and his "Old Republican" followers. They idealized the yeoman farmer as the epitome of civic virtue, warned that banking and industry led to corruption, that is to the illegitimate use of government power for private ends. Jefferson himself was a vehement opponent of what today is called "judicial activism". The Jeffersonians stressed States' Rights and small government. In the 1830-54 period the Whig Party attracted conservatives such as Daniel Webster of New England.

Early 20th century

In the Progressive Era (1890s-1932), regulation of industry expanded at a rapid pace. Much of the opposition to this governmental expansion came from the remaining classic liberals in the Democratic Party and the corporatists in the Republican Party. Because of their corporatist views, it was quite common for the leading Republicans at the time

to go back and forth between supporting and opposing progressive measures. For instance, while opposed to many of the progressive reforms, Nelson Aldrich nevertheless supported the proposal for a strong national banking system which came to be known as the Federal Reserve System in 1913. In a similar fashion, Theodore Roosevelt, the dominant personality of the era, took some "conservative" and some "liberal" stances on the major issues of the time. While leading the fight to make the country a major naval power, and demanded entry into World War I to stop what he saw as the German attacks on civilization, he nonetheless supported numerous trust busting actions. His successor, William Howard Taft, was also characterized by the same back and forth between "conservative" and "liberal" views. While in office, he promoted a strong federal judiciary that would overrule excessive legislation. Taft defeated Roosevelt on that issue in 1912, forcing Roosevelt out of the GOP and turning it to the right for decades. As president, Taft remade the Supreme Court with five appointments; he himself presided as chief justice in 1921-30, the only former president ever to do so.

Pro-business Republicans returned to dominance in 1920 with the election of President Warren G. Harding. The presidency of Calvin Coolidge (1923-29) was a high water mark for conservatism, both politically and intellectually. Classic writing of the period includes *Democracy and Leadership* (1924) by Irving Babbitt and H.L. Mencken's magazine *American Mercury* (1924-33). The Efficiency Movement attracted many conservatives such as Herbert Hoover with its pro-business, pro-engineer approach to solving social and economic problems. Furthermore, in the 1920s many American conservatives generally maintained antiforeign attitudes and, as usual, were disinclined toward changes to the healthy economic climate of the age.

During the Great Depression, other conservatives participated in the taxpayers' revolt at the local level. From 1930 to 1933, Americans formed as many as 3,000 taxpayers' leagues to protest high property taxes. These groups endorsed measures to limit and rollback taxes, lowered penalties on tax delinquents, and cuts in government spending. A few also called for illegal resistance (or tax strikes). Probably the best known of these was led by the Association of Real Estate Taxpayers in Chicago which, at its height, had 30,000 dues-paying members.

An important intellectual movement, calling itself Southern Agrarians and based in Nashville, brought together like-minded novelists, poets and historians who argued that modern values undermined the traditions of American republicanism and civic virtue.

The Depression brought liberals to power under President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933). Indeed the term "**liberal**" **now came to mean a supporter of the New Deal**. In 1934 Al Smith and pro-business Democrats formed the American Liberty League to fight the new liberalism, but failed. In 1936 the Republicans rejected Hoover and tried the more liberal Alf Landon, who carried only Maine and Vermont. When Roosevelt tried to pack the Supreme Court in 1937 the conservatives finally cooperated across party lines and defeated it with help from Vice President John Nance Garner. Roosevelt unsuccessfully tried to purge the conservative Democrats in the 1938 election. The conservatives in Congress then formed a bipartisan informal Conservative Coalition of Republicans and southern Democrats. It largely controlled Congress from 1937 to 1964. Its most prominent leaders were Senator Robert Taft, a Republican of Ohio, and Senator Richard Russell, Democrat of Georgia.

In the United States, the Old Right, also called the Old Guard, was a group of libertarian, free-market anti-interventionists, originally associated with Midwestern Republicans and Southern Democrats. The Republicans (but not the southern Democrats) were isolationists in 1939-41, and later opposed NATO and U.S. military intervention in Korea. According to

historian Murray Rothbard, "the libertarian intellectuals were in the minority...[and] theirs was the only thought-out contrasting ideology to the New Deal."

Later 20th century

By 1950, American liberalism was so dominant intellectually that author Lionel Trilling could all but completely dismiss contemporary conservatism: "liberalism is not only the dominant but even the sole intellectual tradition... there are no conservative or reactionary ideas in circulation...."

In the 1950s, principles for a conservative political movement were hashed out in books like Russell Kirk's *The Conservative Mind* (1953) and in the pages of the magazine *National Review*, founded by William F. Buckley Jr. in 1955. *National Review* editor Frank Meyer used the pages of the magazine to advocate "fusionism", the combination of traditional conservatives and libertarians into a unique American style of conservatism.

Whereas Taft's Old Right had been isolationist the new conservatism favored American intervention overseas to oppose communism. It looked to the Founding Fathers for historical inspiration as opposed to Calhoun and the antebellum South.

Ironically, as the Democratic Party became identified with the American Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s through 1970s, many former southern Democrats joined the Republican Party, even in the face of greater proportional support for civil rights legislation among Republicans, thereby increasingly cementing the Republicans' alignment as a conservative party. Senator Barry Goldwater, sometimes known as "Mr. Conservative," argued in his 1960 *Conscience of a Conservative* that conservatives split on the issue of civil rights due to some conservatives advocating ends (integration, even in the face of what they saw as unconstitutional Federal involvement) and some advocating means (constitutionality above all else, even in the face of segregation). Republicans joined northern Democrats to override a filibuster of the Civil Rights Act in 1964. Later that year, Goldwater was resoundingly defeated by President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Out of this defeat emerged the New Right, a political movement that coalesced through grassroots organizing in the years preceding Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign. The American New Right is distinct from and opposed to the more moderate/liberal tradition of the so-called Rockefeller Republicans, and succeeded in building a policy approach and electoral apparatus that propelled Ronald Reagan into the White House in the 1980 presidential election.

II. <http://usconservatives.about.com>

Conservatism

The conservative movement in the US has undergone a radical change from its humble beginnings in the 1960s, when Barry Goldwater introduced the term to the nation. The original three tenets - small government, free enterprise and a strong national defense - have changed dramatically as the world has grown more complicated.

Thinkers and Doers

Barry Goldwater in the 1960s, Ronald Reagan in the 1980s, Bob Walker and Newt Gingrich in the 1990s and President George W. Bush today - all of these people helped bring the conservative movement to where it is now. But without antagonists like Lyndon Johnson, the Clintons, Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden, conservative politics would likely be very

different than it is today.

Campaigns & Elections

The offices of President and Supreme Court Justice are the most influential when it comes to forwarding the conservative agenda, which makes getting a conservative into the Oval Office a very high priority for conservatives. Most conservatives see the Republican Party as their vehicle for achieving this goal, although it isn't the only political organization espousing conservative beliefs.

Abortion & Stem Cell Issues

No single issue has had a more divisive effect on the conservative community than abortion. Pro-life conservatives are first alienated from their pro-choice counterparts, but often from one another as well due to the abortion issue's many gray areas. The 1973 Supreme Court decision in the case of *Jane Roe v. Henry Wade*, District Attorney of Dallas County, effectively legalized abortions in the U.S.

War On Terror

Conservatives, especially social conservatives, have always ridden a fine line with the issue of war. While the War On Terror is almost universally approved, the War in Iraq has posed a problem for conservatives who believe in Christian ideals. While those outside the movement may not believe it, there is no rubber stamp for war from most conservatives.

Church & State

A look at the faith-based agenda of the social conservative political movement as it has evolved in the last 30 years, from religion in schools to homosexuality in the military to government funding for faith-based and community initiatives.

Capital Punishment

The debate between conservatives over capital and corporal punishment has run the gamut over the years. The Christian ideals of forgiveness have often clashed mightily with the conservative notion of justice and personal freedom.

Economy & Taxes

Historically, conservatives believed that limiting government by spending less, while promoting free enterprise through tax breaks for small businesses and lower taxes for the working man, would spur the economy. Many conservatives still cling to these notions - despite the continual growth of the state.

Education

Education funding is one of the key responsibilities of local, state and federal governments. For generations, conservatives have tried to have a greater say in what subjects should be taught and how they should be taught, without liberal influence.

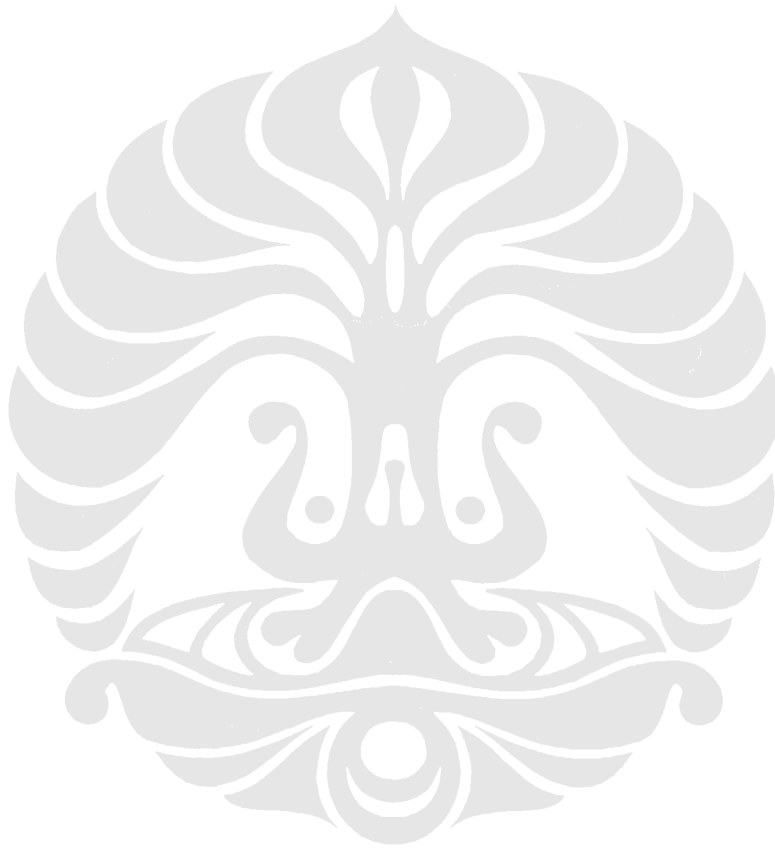
Environment

Many people believe that conservatives aren't conservationists because of their belief in free enterprise, when in fact, just the opposite is true. Conservatives believe that by spending less

and promoting a free economy, businesses will be forced to develop green products and adopt green production methods due to a rising demand.

Foreign Policy

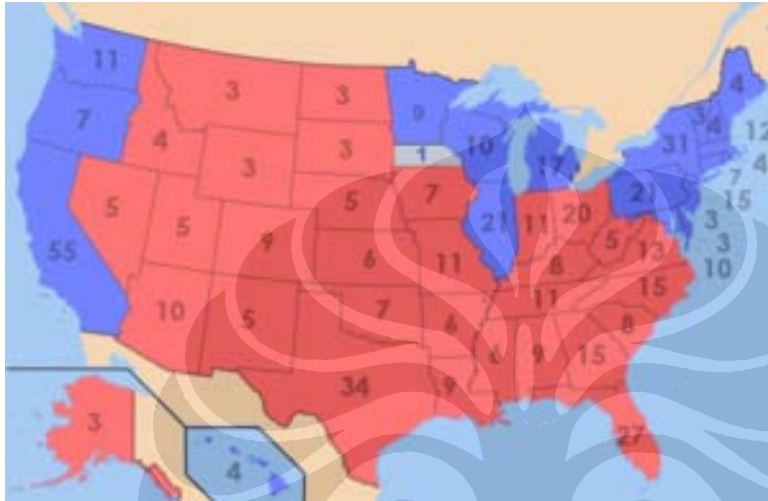
Conservatives have long believed in a strong national defense as a matter of foreign policy, but the growing involvement of the religious right into conservative politics have made a focus on diplomacy a rising challenge for conservative politics.



MAP OF CONSERVATISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_conservatism

In the United States, the Republican Party is generally considered to be the party of conservatism. This has been the case since the 1960s, when the conservative wing of that party consolidated its hold, causing it to shift permanently to the right of the Democratic Party. The most dramatic realignment was the white South, which moved from 3-1 Democratic to 3-1 Republican between 1960 and 2000.



Map of results by state of the 2004 U.S. presidential election representing states won by the Republicans with red, and states won by the Democrats with blue.

In addition, many United States libertarians, in the Libertarian Party and even some in the Republican Party, see themselves as conservative, even though they advocate significant economic and social changes – for instance, further dismantling

the welfare system or liberalizing drug policy. They see these as conservative policies because they conform to the spirit of individual liberty that they consider to be a traditional American value.

On the other end of the scale, some Americans see themselves as conservative while not being supporters of free market policies. These people generally favor protectionist trade policies and government intervention in the market to preserve American jobs. Many of these conservatives were originally supporters of neoliberalism who changed their stance after perceiving that countries such as China were benefiting from that system at the expense of American production. However, despite their support for protectionism, they still tend to favor other elements of free market philosophy, such as low taxes, limited government and balanced budgets.

Conservative geography, "Red States"

Today in the U.S., geographically the South, the Midwest, the non-coastal West, and Alaska are conservative strongholds. However, the division of the United States into conservative red states and liberal blue states is artificial and does not reflect the actual distribution of voters of either stripe. Most college towns are generally liberal and vote Democratic. The majority of people who live in rural areas and a smaller majority of those living in the "exurbs" or suburbs of a metropolitan area, tend to be conservative (socially, culturally, and/or fiscally) and vote Republican. People who live in the urban cores of large metropolitan areas tend to be liberal and vote Democratic. Thus, within each state, there is a division between city and county, between town and gown.*

LIBERTARIANISM AND LIBERALISM IN AMERICA

It is something confusing to simply tell the difference between libertarianism and liberalism in America. To know the differences and similarities between them, or whether or not the two are interchangeable, we can elaborate them from explanations cut down from several websites as follows:

I. <http://www.salon.com/jan97/history970120.html>

To avoid confusion, it should be noted that the word "liberal" has changed its meaning (much to the irritation of laissez-faire economists like Milton Friedman, "classic" liberals who have now become political "conservatives").

In its original sense, liberalism championed the rights of the individual against the claims of absolute monarchy. John Locke in his writing "Of Civil Government" (1689) maintained that all men possessed natural rights that no government had the right to violate. Together with the apostle of economic liberty, Adam Smith, the great Enlightenment philosophers Immanuel Kant and David Hume, and later Utilitarian thinkers like John Stuart Mill and Jeremy Bentham, liberalism expressed and created the values of the most dynamic and progressive forces in society -- the rising merchant class (soon to expand into a middle class) and the nascent Industrial Revolution.

Secular and rational, liberalism's towering affirmation of human rights provided the philosophical underpinnings for the Declaration of Independence. For the liberal American revolutionaries, government was a force to be checked -- a view famously expressed by Thomas Jefferson's "That government is best which governs least."

The danger to liberty is no longer posed by government, but by capitalism run amok, as in the Gilded Age excesses that led to the Progressive Era or today's ruthless corporate downsizing. If Jefferson were alive, liberals argue, he would support our current mixed-economy welfare state.

The debate over libertarianism's relationship to liberalism is, at bottom, a debate about two kinds of liberty: positive and negative. Positive liberty is the freedom to do something; negative liberty is freedom from something. As the extreme defenders of negative liberty, libertarians make their stand on rights: Give us freedom from coercion, they argue, and we'll figure out what to do with it.

Is the libertarian position the only logical consequence of liberalism? Not necessarily. As Stephen Holmes argues in "Passions and Constraint" (1995), the liberal tradition, contrary to libertarian claims, is eminently compatible with state intervention and redistributive policies -- with positive liberty, in other words.

In short, in comparison to libertarians, who have a clear ideological system worked out, liberals are ditherers, wandering vaguely in a muddled middle. It is not the least virtue of libertarianism that it forces liberals to acknowledge the extent to which they subscribe to certain tenets of traditional conservatism. Confronted with the daunting individualism of the libertarians, liberals must interrogate their own faith in science and reason and the heroic individual.

II. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libertarian>

Libertarianism is a label used by a broad spectrum of political philosophies which prioritize individual liberty and minimize the role of the state. Libertarian is an antonym of authoritarian.

Modern Libertarianism as a philosophy grew out of a tradition referred to as classical liberalism in the nineteenth century. Classical liberalism, in turn, derived from Enlightenment ideas in Europe and America, including political ideals expressed by John Locke, Adam Smith, Thomas Jefferson, Herbert Spencer, Marquis de La Fayette among many others who were opposed to restrictions on individual liberty.

By the early 20th century, the Progressive movement in the United States and the socialist movement in Europe began to promote positive rights such as public education, health care, social security or a minimum standard of living. As liberalism began to mean a more pro-state viewpoint, those who held to the pro-liberty views of the Enlightenment began to call themselves "classical liberals." To make things more confusing, others began to call themselves "conservatives" to refer to conserving traditions of liberty, especially in written constitutions.

The central tenet of libertarianism is the principle of liberty, namely individual liberty. To libertarians, an individual human being is sovereign over his/her body, extending to life, liberty and property. As such, rights-theory libertarians define liberty as being completely free in action, whilst not initiating force or fraud against the life, liberty or property of another human being.

Thomas Jefferson stated, "Rightful liberty is unobstructed action according to our will within limits drawn around us by the equal rights of others." Jefferson also said "No man has a natural right to commit aggression on the equal rights of another, and this is all from which the laws ought to restrain him." These concepts are otherwise known as the law of equal liberty or the non-aggression principle.

Libertarians generally view constraints imposed by the state on persons or their property (if applicable), beyond the need to penalize infringement of one's rights by another, as a violation of liberty. Anarchist libertarians favor no statutory constraints at all, based on the assumption that rulers are unnecessary because in the absence of political government individuals will naturally form self-governing social bonds, rules, customs, codes, and contracts. In contrast, minarchist libertarians consider government necessary for the sole purpose of protecting the rights of the people. This includes protecting people and their property from the criminal acts of others, as well as providing for national defense.

Many libertarians view life, liberty, and property as the ultimate rights possessed by individuals, and that compromising one necessarily endangers the rest. In democracies, they consider compromise of these individual rights by political action to be tyranny of the majority, a term first coined by Alexis de Tocqueville, and made famous by John Stuart Mill, which emphasizes the threat of the majority to impose majority norms on minorities, and violating their rights in the process. "...There needs protection also against the tyranny of the prevailing opinion and feeling, against the tendency of society to impose, by other means than civil penalties, its own ideas and practices as rules of conduct on those who dissent from them..."

But most libertarians would argue that representative majority rule democracy largely has become controlled by special interest groups who represent a minority, leading to a 'tyranny of the minority' against the real numerical majority.

Having weak state executive control means libertarian societies are more dependent on

the courts for conflict resolution. An impartial judiciary can thus be of paramount importance, for without it wealthy and collective interests might run roughshod over the private citizen.

Some libertarians favor Common Law, which they see as less arbitrary and more adaptable than statutory law. The relative benefits of common law evolving toward ever-finer definitions of property rights were articulated by thinkers such as Friedrich Hayek, Richard Epstein, Robert Nozick, and Randy Barnett.

Natural rights

Libertarians such as Robert Nozick and Murray Rothbard view the rights to life, liberty, and property as Natural Rights, i.e., worthy of protection as an end in themselves. Their view of natural rights is derived, directly or indirectly, from the writings of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke.

Libertarian policy

Libertarians strongly oppose government infringement of civil liberties such as restrictions on free expression (e.g., speech, press, or religious belief or practice), prohibitions on voluntary association, or encroachments on persons or property. Some make an exception when the infringement is a result of due process to establish or punish criminal behaviour. As such, libertarians oppose any type of censorship (i.e., claims of offensive speech), or pre-trial forfeiture of property (as is commonly seen in drug crime and computer crime proceedings). Furthermore, most libertarians reject the distinction between political and commercial speech or association, a legal distinction often used to protect one type of activity and not the other from government intervention.

III. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_liberalism

Liberalism in the United States is a broad political and philosophical mindset, favoring individual liberty, and opposing restrictions on liberty, whether they come from established religion, from government regulation, or from the existing class structure. Liberalism in the United States takes various forms, ranging from classical liberalism to social liberalism to neoliberalism.

The United States Declaration of Independence speaks of "unalienable rights" to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness", which can be identified as ideals of classical liberalism, (though Locke wrote of property as an inalienable right, while Jefferson wrote "the pursuit of happiness") and asserts that government may exist only with the "consent of the governed"; the Preamble to the Constitution enumerates among its purposes to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity"; the Bill of Rights contains numerous measures guaranteeing individual freedom, both from the authority of the state and from the tyranny of the majority; and the Reconstruction Amendments after the Civil War freed the slaves and aimed to extend to them and to their descendants the same rights as other Americans. "Liberalism" in the sense of John Locke and freedom to acquire property, was a parallel concept. Historians debate how much it contradicted or reinforced republicanism.

The term *liberalism* in the United States today most often refers to Modern liberalism, a political current that reached its high-water marks with Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal, and Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. It is a form of social liberalism, combining support for government social programs, progressive taxation, and moderate Keynesianism with a broad

concept of rights, which sometimes include a right to education and health care. However, this is by no means the only contemporary American political current that draws heavily on the liberal tradition.

Libertarianism is often said to be generally resembling, though not necessarily identical to, American *classical liberalism*, which advocates the *laissez-faire* doctrines of political and economic liberalism, equality before the law, individual freedom and self-reliance.

IV. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_conservatism

Liberal conservatism is a political philosophy which generally means combining elements of "conservatism" with elements of "liberalism". As these latter two terms have had different meanings over time and across countries, liberal conservatism also has a wide variety of meanings.

Historically, it often referred to the combination of economic liberalism, which champions *laissez-faire* markets, with the classical conservative concern for established tradition, respect for authority and religious values. In this way it contrasted itself with classical liberalism, which supported freedom for the individual in both the economic and social spheres.

Over time, the general conservative ideology in many countries adopted economic liberal arguments and this sense of the term "liberal conservatism" fell out of use, and "conservatism" was simply used instead. This is also the case in countries where liberal economic ideas have been the tradition, such as the United States, and are thus considered "conservative".

In other countries where liberal conservative movements have entered the political mainstream, the terms "liberal" and "conservative" may become synonymous (as in Australia, in Italy and in Spain). The liberal conservative tradition in the United States combines the economic individualism of the classical liberals with a Burkean form of conservatism (which has also become part of the American conservative tradition, for example in the writings of Russell Kirk).

Varieties of liberalism

Liberalism in the United States takes several distinct forms. Modern liberalism, which favors government intervention in some cases, takes a different approach to economics from classical liberalism, which favors a pure free market.

Classical liberalism in the United States (also called *laissez-faire liberalism*) believes that a free market economy is the most productive and that religious opinions have no place in politics. It may be represented by Henry David Thoreau's statement "that government is best which governs least."

Classical liberalism is a philosophy of individualism and self-responsibility. Classical liberals in the United States believe that if the economy is left to the natural forces of supply and demand, rather than these being determined by government intervention, it results in the most abundant satisfaction of human wants. Modern classical liberals oppose the concept of a welfare state. They also oppose government restriction on individual liberty.

Modern liberalism

Herbert Croly (1869 – 1930), philosopher and political theorist, was the first to effectively combine classical liberal theory with progressive philosophy to form what would come to be known as "American" liberalism; Maury Maverick was to summarize the

combination as "freedom *plus* groceries." Croly presented the case for a mixed economy, increased spending on education, and the creation of a society based on the "brotherhood of mankind." Croly founded the periodical *The New Republic* to present his ideas.

His ideas influenced the political views of both Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. In 1909, Croly published *The Promise of American Life*, in which he proposed raising the general standard of living by means of economic planning, though he opposed aggressive unionization. In *The Techniques of Democracy* (1915) he argued against both dogmatic individualism and dogmatic socialism.

Demographics of Liberals

Liberalism remains most popular among those in academia and liberals commonly tend to be highly educated and relatively affluent. According to recent surveys, between 19 and 26 percent of the American electorate identify as liberal, versus moderate or conservative.

A 2004 study by the Pew Research Center identified 19 percent of Americans as liberal. According to the study, liberals were the most affluent and educated ideological demographic. Of those who identified as liberal, 49 percent were college graduates and 41 percent had household incomes exceeding \$75,000, compared to 27 and 28 percent at the national average, respectively. Liberalism also remains the dominant political ideology in academia, with 72% of full-time faculty identifying as liberal in a 2004 study. The social sciences and humanities were most liberal, whereas, business and engineering departments were the most conservative. In the 2000, 2004 and 2006 elections, the vast majority of liberals voted in favor of the Democrats, though liberals may also show support for the Greens:

“[Liberals are] Predominantly white (83%), most highly educated group (49% have a college degree or more), and youngest group after Bystanders. Least religious group in typology: 43% report they seldom or never attend religious services; nearly a quarter (22%) are seculars. More than one-third never married (36%). Largest group residing in urban areas (42%) and in the western half the country (34%). Wealthiest Democratic group (41% earn at least \$75,000). - Pew Research Center”

The liberal consensus

For almost two decades, Cold War liberalism remained the dominant paradigm in U.S. politics, peaking with the landslide victory of Lyndon B. Johnson over Barry Goldwater in the 1964 presidential election. Lyndon Johnson had been a New Deal Democrat in the 1930s and by the 1950s had decided that the Democratic Party had to break from its segregationist past and endorse racial liberalism as well as economic liberalism. In the face of the disastrous defeat of Goldwater, the Republicans accepted more than a few of Johnson's ideas as their own, so to a very real extent, the policies of President Johnson became the policies of the Republican administrations of Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford.

Liberal consensus, 1970 to the present day

During the Nixon years (and through the 1970s), the liberal consensus began to come apart. The alliance with white Southern Democrats had been lost in the Civil Rights era. While the steady enfranchisement of African Americans expanded the electorate to include many new voters sympathetic to liberal views, it was not quite enough to make up for the loss of some Southern Democrats. Organized labor, long a bulwark of the liberal consensus, was past the peak of its power in the U.S. and many unions had remained in favor of the Vietnam War even as

liberal politicians increasingly turned against it. Within the Democratic party leadership, there was a turn of moderation after the defeat of arch-liberal George McGovern in 1972.

Meanwhile, in the Republican ranks, a new wing of the party emerged. The libertarian Goldwater Republicans laid the groundwork for, and partially fed in to the Reagan Republicans. In 1980, Ronald Reagan was the Republican party's Presidential nominee. More centrist groups such as the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) were on equal footing with liberals for control of the Democratic Party in this time. The centrist-liberal alliance of the federal level Democrats lasted through the 1980s, but declined in the 1990s when more conservative political figures sided with the Republican party.

Some notable figures in the history of both modern and classical liberalism in the United States include: Samuel Adams (17XX - 17XX), Thomas Jefferson (17XX - 18XX), James Madison (17XX - 18XX), Thomas Paine (17XX - 18XX), Patrick Henry (17XX - 18XX) .

Some notable figures in the history of modern liberalism in the United States include: John Dewey (1859 – 1952), Herbert Croly (1869 – 1930), Woodrow Wilson (1856 – 1924), Harry Hopkins (1890 – 1946), Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882 – 1945), Earl Warren (1891 – 1974), William O. Douglas (1898 – 1980), Adlai Stevenson (1900 – 1965), Lyndon B. Johnson (1908 – 1973), John Kenneth Galbraith (1908 – 2006), Hubert Humphrey (1911 – 1978), John F. Kennedy (1917 – 1963), Arthur Schlesinger Jr. (1917 – 2007), John Rawls (1921 – 2002), George McGovern (1922 –), Jimmy Carter (1924 –), Robert F. Kennedy (1925 – 1968), Coretta Scott King (1927 – 2006), Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929 – 1968), Richard Rorty (1931 – 2007), Edward M. Kennedy (1932 –), Barbara Jordan (1936 – 1996), Paul Wellstone (1944 – 2002), Robert Reich (1946 –), Bill Clinton (1946 –), Hillary Clinton (1947 –), Al Gore (1948 –), Russ Feingold (1953 –), Barack Obama (1961 –)

V. <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/liberalism/>

Classical Liberalism

Liberal political theory, then, fractures over the conception of liberty. But a more important division concerns the place of private property and the market order. For classical liberals — sometimes called the ‘old’ liberalism — liberty and private property are intimately related.

Unless people are free to make contracts and to sell their labour, or unless they are free to save their incomes and then invest them as they see fit, or unless they are free to run enterprises when they have obtained the capital, they are not really free.

Classical liberals employ a second argument connecting liberty and private property. Rather than insisting that the freedom to obtain and employ private property is simply one aspect of people's liberty, this second argument insists that private property is the only effective means for the protection of liberty. Here the idea is that the dispersion of power that results from a free market economy based on private property protects the liberty of subjects against encroachments by the state.

VI. <http://www.libertarianism.com/what-it-is.htm>

Libertarianism is, as the name implies, the belief in liberty. Libertarians strive for the best of all worlds - a free, peaceful, abundant world where each individual has the maximum opportunity to pursue his or her dreams and to realize his full potential.

The core idea is simply stated, but profound and far-reaching in its implications. Libertarians believe that each person owns his own life and property, and has the right to make his own choices as to how he lives his life - as long as he simply respects the same right of others to do the same.

Another way of saying this is that libertarians believe you should be free to do as you choose with your own life and property, as long as you don't harm the person and property of others.

VII. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modern_liberalism

Modern liberalism in the United States, also referred to as American liberalism, is a political ideology that seeks to maximize individual liberty, defined as the provision of both negative rights, that is freedom from coercion, and positive rights, such as education, health care and other services and goods believed to be required for human development and self-actualization.

Consequently it attempts a wide distribution of power, where no ethnic group, religion or socio-economic class dominates the polity, free exchange of ideas, and government ensured provision of basic rights, such as education and health care in order to create an effective form of freedom.

John F. Kennedy defined liberalism this way: "If by a 'Liberal' they mean someone who looks ahead and not behind, someone who welcomes new ideas without rigid reactions, someone who cares about the welfare of the people — their health, their housing, their schools, their jobs, their civil rights, and their civil liberties — someone who believes we can break through the stalemate and suspicions that grip us in our policies abroad, if that is what they mean by a 'Liberal,' then I'm proud to say I'm a 'Liberal'."

Modern American liberalism is largely a combination of social liberalism, social progressivism, and mixed economy philosophy. It is distinguished from classic liberalism and libertarianism, which also claim freedom as their primary goal, in its insistence upon the inclusion of positive rights and in a broader definition of equality. Modern American liberals view the concentration of wealth and the destruction of the environment as threats to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. While the development of modern American liberalism may be traced to the late 19th and early 20th century, it may also be viewed as the modern version of the classical liberalism upon which America was founded.

Following the Great Depression, it became the dominant ideology in the U.S., until the late 1970s. Today, it remains powerful, but continues to be challenged by the re-emergence of laissez-faire ideology.

History of modern liberalism in the United States

Scholar of liberalism Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., writing in 1956, said that liberalism in the United States includes both a "laissez-faire" form and a "government intervention" form. He holds that liberalism in the United States is aimed toward achieving "equality of opportunity for all" but it is the means of achieving this that changes depending on the circumstances. He says that the "process of redefining liberalism in terms of the social needs of the 20th century was conducted by Theodore Roosevelt and his New Nationalism, Woodrow Wilson and his New Freedom, and Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal. Out of these three reform periods there emerged the conception of a social welfare state, in which the national government had the

express obligation to maintain high levels of employment in the economy, to supervise standards of life and labor, to regulate the methods of business competition, and to establish comprehensive patterns of social security."

AMERICAN CONSERVATISM

To have more understandings on conservatism in America we can elaborate some explanations cut down from two websites below:

I. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_conservatism

Modern American conservatism was largely born out of alliance between classic liberals and social conservatives in the late 19th and early 20th century.

Founding Fathers

Some Loyalists of the American Revolution were political conservatives, a few of whom produced political discourse of a high order, including lawyer Joseph Galloway and governor-historian Thomas Hutchinson. After the war, many remained in the U.S. and became citizens, but some leaders emigrated to other places in the British Empire. Samuel Seabury was a Loyalist who returned and as the first American bishop played a major role in shaping the Episcopal religion, a stronghold of conservative social values.

In his book *The Conservative Mind*, Russell Kirk identifies John Adams as the first American Conservative. Adams' book *A Defence of the Constitution of the Government of the United States of America* is considered by Kirk as the first Conservative manifesto in America. Adams believed in the supremacy of law and that liberty should be subordinate to law. Adams also distrusted the people as a mass. Adams was the only member of the Federalist Party to become President of the United States. Adams rejected the notions of the French revolution, which Jefferson in part supported. And unlike Jefferson, Adams rejected the idea of agrarian republicanism. Adams outright rejected the ideas of Monarchy and Aristocracy demanding there be a government of laws and not of men. The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was written by Adams and is the oldest written Constitution in the world.

The Founding Fathers created the single most important set of political ideas in American history, known as republicanism, which all groups, liberal and conservative alike, have drawn from. The Federalist Party, followers of Alexander Hamilton, developed an important variation of republicanism that can be considered conservative. Rejecting monarchy and aristocracy, they emphasized civic virtue as the core American value. The Federalists spoke for the **propertied interests** and the upper classes of the cities. They envisioned a modernizing land of banks and factories, with a strong army and navy.

On many issues American conservatism also derives from the republicanism of Thomas Jefferson and his followers, especially John Randolph of Roanoke and his "Old Republican" followers. They idealized the yeoman farmer as the epitome of civic virtue, warned that banking and industry led to corruption, that is to the illegitimate use of government power for private ends. Jefferson himself was a vehement opponent of what today is called "judicial activism". The Jeffersonians stressed States' Rights and small government. In the 1830-54 period the Whig Party attracted conservatives such as Daniel Webster of New England.

Early 20th century

In the Progressive Era (1890s-1932), regulation of industry expanded at a rapid pace. Much of the opposition to this governmental expansion came from the remaining classic liberals in the Democratic Party and the corporatists in the Republican Party. Because of their corporatist views, it was quite common for the leading Republicans at the time

to go back and forth between supporting and opposing progressive measures. For instance, while opposed to many of the progressive reforms, Nelson Aldrich nevertheless supported the proposal for a strong national banking system which came to be known as the Federal Reserve System in 1913. In a similar fashion, Theodore Roosevelt, the dominant personality of the era, took some "conservative" and some "liberal" stances on the major issues of the time. While leading the fight to make the country a major naval power, and demanded entry into World War I to stop what he saw as the German attacks on civilization, he nonetheless supported numerous trust busting actions. His successor, William Howard Taft, was also characterized by the same back and forth between "conservative" and "liberal" views. While in office, he promoted a strong federal judiciary that would overrule excessive legislation. Taft defeated Roosevelt on that issue in 1912, forcing Roosevelt out of the GOP and turning it to the right for decades. As president, Taft remade the Supreme Court with five appointments; he himself presided as chief justice in 1921-30, the only former president ever to do so.

Pro-business Republicans returned to dominance in 1920 with the election of President Warren G. Harding. The presidency of Calvin Coolidge (1923-29) was a high water mark for conservatism, both politically and intellectually. Classic writing of the period includes *Democracy and Leadership* (1924) by Irving Babbitt and H.L. Mencken's magazine *American Mercury* (1924-33). The Efficiency Movement attracted many conservatives such as Herbert Hoover with its pro-business, pro-engineer approach to solving social and economic problems. Furthermore, in the 1920s many American conservatives generally maintained antiforeign attitudes and, as usual, were disinclined toward changes to the healthy economic climate of the age.

During the Great Depression, other conservatives participated in the taxpayers' revolt at the local level. From 1930 to 1933, Americans formed as many as 3,000 taxpayers' leagues to protest high property taxes. These groups endorsed measures to limit and rollback taxes, lowered penalties on tax delinquents, and cuts in government spending. A few also called for illegal resistance (or tax strikes). Probably the best known of these was led by the Association of Real Estate Taxpayers in Chicago which, at its height, had 30,000 dues-paying members.

An important intellectual movement, calling itself Southern Agrarians and based in Nashville, brought together like-minded novelists, poets and historians who argued that modern values undermined the traditions of American republicanism and civic virtue.

The Depression brought liberals to power under President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933). Indeed the term **"liberal" now came to mean a supporter of the New Deal**. In 1934 Al Smith and pro-business Democrats formed the American Liberty League to fight the new liberalism, but failed. In 1936 the Republicans rejected Hoover and tried the more liberal Alf Landon, who carried only Maine and Vermont. When Roosevelt tried to pack the Supreme Court in 1937 the conservatives finally cooperated across party lines and defeated it with help from Vice President John Nance Garner. Roosevelt unsuccessfully tried to purge the conservative Democrats in the 1938 election. The conservatives in Congress then formed a bipartisan informal Conservative Coalition of Republicans and southern Democrats. It largely controlled Congress from 1937 to 1964. Its most prominent leaders were Senator Robert Taft, a Republican of Ohio, and Senator Richard Russell, Democrat of Georgia.

In the United States, the Old Right, also called the Old Guard, was a group of libertarian, free-market anti-interventionists, originally associated with Midwestern Republicans and Southern Democrats. The Republicans (but not the southern Democrats) were isolationists in 1939-41, and later opposed NATO and U.S. military intervention in Korea. According to

historian Murray Rothbard, "the libertarian intellectuals were in the minority...[and] theirs was the only thought-out contrasting ideology to the New Deal."

Later 20th century

By 1950, American liberalism was so dominant intellectually that author Lionel Trilling could all but completely dismiss contemporary conservatism: "liberalism is not only the dominant but even the sole intellectual tradition... there are no conservative or reactionary ideas in circulation...."

In the 1950s, principles for a conservative political movement were hashed out in books like Russell Kirk's *The Conservative Mind* (1953) and in the pages of the magazine *National Review*, founded by William F. Buckley Jr. in 1955. *National Review* editor Frank Meyer used the pages of the magazine to advocate "fusionism", the combination of traditional conservatives and libertarians into a unique American style of conservatism.

Whereas Taft's Old Right had been isolationist the new conservatism favored American intervention overseas to oppose communism. It looked to the Founding Fathers for historical inspiration as opposed to Calhoun and the antebellum South.

Ironically, as the Democratic Party became identified with the American Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s through 1970s, many former southern Democrats joined the Republican Party, even in the face of greater proportional support for civil rights legislation among Republicans, thereby increasingly cementing the Republicans' alignment as a conservative party. Senator Barry Goldwater, sometimes known as "Mr. Conservative," argued in his 1960 *Conscience of a Conservative* that conservatives split on the issue of civil rights due to some conservatives advocating ends (integration, even in the face of what they saw as unconstitutional Federal involvement) and some advocating means (constitutionality above all else, even in the face of segregation). Republicans joined northern Democrats to override a filibuster of the Civil Rights Act in 1964. Later that year, Goldwater was resoundingly defeated by President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Out of this defeat emerged the New Right, a political movement that coalesced through grassroots organizing in the years preceding Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign. The American New Right is distinct from and opposed to the more moderate/liberal tradition of the so-called Rockefeller Republicans, and succeeded in building a policy approach and electoral apparatus that propelled Ronald Reagan into the White House in the 1980 presidential election.

II. <http://usconservatives.about.com>

Conservatism

The conservative movement in the US has undergone a radical change from its humble beginnings in the 1960s, when Barry Goldwater introduced the term to the nation. The original three tenets - small government, free enterprise and a strong national defense - have changed dramatically as the world has grown more complicated.

Thinkers and Doers

Barry Goldwater in the 1960s, Ronald Reagan in the 1980s, Bob Walker and Newt Gingrich in the 1990s and President George W. Bush today - all of these people helped bring the conservative movement to where it is now. But without antagonists like Lyndon Johnson, the Clintons, Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden, conservative politics would likely be very

different than it is today.

Campaigns & Elections

The offices of President and Supreme Court Justice are the most influential when it comes to forwarding the conservative agenda, which makes getting a conservative into the Oval Office a very high priority for conservatives. Most conservatives see the Republican Party as their vehicle for achieving this goal, although it isn't the only political organization espousing conservative beliefs.

Abortion & Stem Cell Issues

No single issue has had a more divisive effect on the conservative community than abortion. Pro-life conservatives are first alienated from their pro-choice counterparts, but often from one another as well due to the abortion issue's many gray areas. The 1973 Supreme Court decision in the case of Jane Roe v. Henry Wade, District Attorney of Dallas County, effectively legalized abortions in the U.S.

War On Terror

Conservatives, especially social conservatives, have always ridden a fine line with the issue of war. While the War On Terror is almost universally approved, the War in Iraq has posed a problem for conservatives who believe in Christian ideals. While those outside the movement may not believe it, there is no rubber stamp for war from most conservatives.

Church & State

A look at the faith-based agenda of the social conservative political movement as it has evolved in the last 30 years, from religion in schools to homosexuality in the military to government funding for faith-based and community initiatives.

Capital Punishment

The debate between conservatives over capital and corporal punishment has run the gamut over the years. The Christian ideals of forgiveness have often clashed mightily with the conservative notion of justice and personal freedom.

Economy & Taxes

Historically, conservatives believed that limiting government by spending less, while promoting free enterprise through tax breaks for small businesses and lower taxes for the working man, would spur the economy. Many conservatives still cling to these notions - despite the continual growth of the state.

Education

Education funding is one of the key responsibilities of local, state and federal governments. For generations, conservatives have tried to have a greater say in what subjects should be taught and how they should be taught, without liberal influence.

Environment

Many people believe that conservatives aren't conservationists because of their belief in free enterprise, when in fact, just the opposite is true. Conservatives believe that by spending less

and promoting a free economy, businesses will be forced to develop green products and adopt green production methods due to a rising demand.

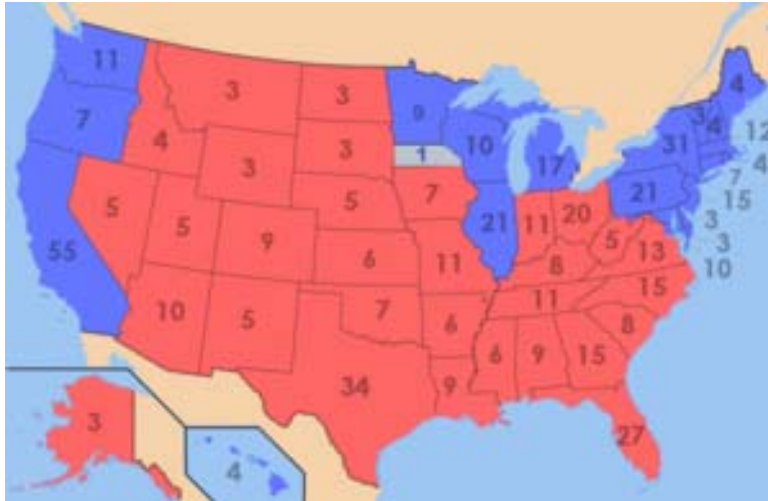
Foreign Policy

Conservatives have long believed in a strong national defense as a matter of foreign policy, but the growing involvement of the religious right into conservative politics have made a focus on diplomacy a rising challenge for conservative politics.

MAP OF CONSERVATISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_conservatism

In the United States, the Republican Party is generally considered to be the party of conservatism. This has been the case since the 1960s, when the conservative wing of that party consolidated its hold, causing it to shift permanently to the right of the Democratic Party. The most dramatic realignment was the white South, which moved from 3-1 Democratic to 3-1 Republican between 1960 and 2000.



Map of results by state of the 2004 U.S. presidential election representing states won by the Republicans with red, and states won by the Democrats with blue.

In addition, many United States libertarians, in the Libertarian Party and even some in the Republican Party, see themselves as conservative, even though they advocate significant economic and social changes – for instance, further dismantling

the welfare system or liberalizing drug policy. They see these as conservative policies because they conform to the spirit of individual liberty that they consider to be a traditional American value.

On the other end of the scale, some Americans see themselves as conservative while not being supporters of free market policies. These people generally favor protectionist trade policies and government intervention in the market to preserve American jobs. Many of these conservatives were originally supporters of neoliberalism who changed their stance after perceiving that countries such as China were benefiting from that system at the expense of American production. However, despite their support for protectionism, they still tend to favor other elements of free market philosophy, such as low taxes, limited government and balanced budgets.

Conservative geography, "Red States"

Today in the U.S., geographically the South, the Midwest, the non-coastal West, and Alaska are conservative strongholds. However, the division of the United States into conservative red states and liberal blue states is artificial and does not reflect the actual distribution of voters of either stripe. Most college towns are generally liberal and vote Democratic. The majority of people who live in rural areas and a smaller majority of those living in the "exurbs" or suburbs of a metropolitan area, tend to be conservative (socially, culturally, and/or fiscally) and vote Republican. People who live in the urban cores of large metropolitan areas tend to be liberal and vote Democratic. Thus, within each state, there is a division between city and county, between town and gown.*