

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements viii

1 Introduction 1

The criminal state 1

Libertarianism and anarchism – an overview 5

Roadmap 8

2 Death and taxes 11

The state – necessary and legitimate? 11

The origin and character of the state 14

The legitimacy of the state 23

‘But surely! . . .’ A preliminary sketch of the argument 29

State and society 34

3 Liberty and libertarianism 37

The non-aggression principle 38

Reciprocity 43

Aggression is not merely harm 47

Getting serious 48

Libertarianism and conservatism 51

Is libertarianism utopian? 56

4 Anarchy and anarchism 60

A matter of definition 60

Property 65

Some preliminary criticisms of anarchy 72

5 Law without orders 83

Where does law come from? 84

The conditions for the emergence of law 85

The context for the emergence of law 88

Customary law 93

Natural law 98

It simply would not work 102

The Eskimo 103

Early Irish society 105

The Somalis 107

Characteristics of customary legal systems 111

Anarchy today 113

6 Delegitimizing the state 117

Making the world safe *from* democracy 119

'We're on a mission from God!' 121

Democracy and representation 122

What is it to represent? 124

In what way are political representatives *representative*? 125

What are constitutions? Where do they come from? 128

Are constitutions contracts? 129

Constitutions as explicit contracts 131

Constitutions as implicit contracts 134

Constitutions are not contracts 140

7 Conclusion 146

Notes 150

Bibliography 175

Index 189