

anchorage anarchy

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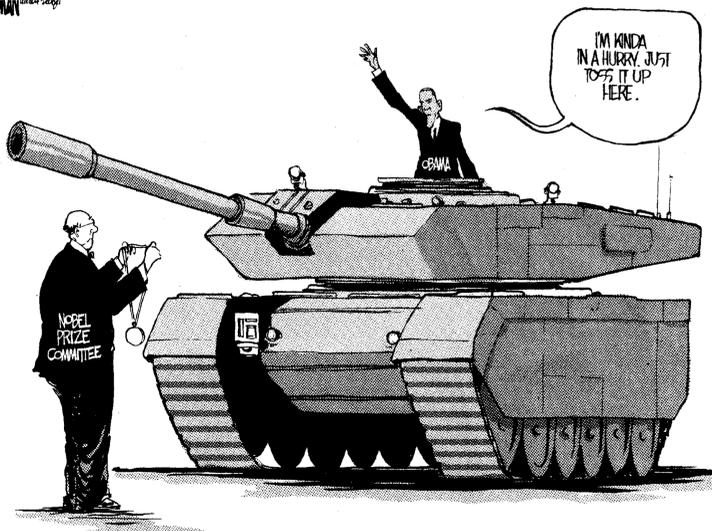
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War is Peace

That is, apparently, the view of the Nobel Committee which awarded their peace prize to Barack Obama. How else to explain the fact that these folks can see an american president who is overseeing two full-scale wars, replete with the deaths of non-combatants at the hands of the armed thugs at his command, as some kind of agent for peace? For them, bullets and bombs are just a part of Obama's "extraordinary efforts to strengthen international diplomacy and cooperation between peoples."

Obama's new status as Nobel laureate has encouraged him to strive even harder for peace. Less than two months after the announcement that he won the prize, he

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declared that he will be sending another 30,000 troops into afghanistan. He then went on to shamelessly defend his warmaking in his acceptance speech in Oslo. Apparently if the 71,000 troops already spreading mayhem among the residents of afghanistan have brought him recognition as a peacemaker, raising that number to 100,000 can only make him shine even more brightly in the eyes of the gullible.

This is, of course, not the first time that the committee has given the prize to a warmaker. Henry Kissinger, Le Duc Tho, and Woodrow Wilson have all been rewarded in the past for engineering the deaths of thousands of regular people caught up in international power struggles. And even when it has been given to someone not involved in mass murder, it has often been unclear why the recipients were chosen, except for reasons of political correctness and international politicking. What is perhaps most ridiculous about the whole matter is that this prize is taken seriously by anyone.

Bait and Switch

But for Obama, it is just one more undeserved honor in

an exceptionally charmed political career. Elected president on the basis of empty buzzwords like change and hope, he went on to fill his cabinet and offices with political hacks, many of whom have been around washington for years. And since then he has proceeded to act like every other president.

He pretended to be a peace candidate, but is escalating the war. He promised to shut down the concentration camp at Guantánamo, but that is not going to happen anytime soon. He continues to threaten the government of iran and isolate the people of cuba, while cozying up to the repugnant rulers of china, pakistan, and saudi arabia. He has brought no substantive pressure to bear on the state of israel, but purports to be seeking some remedy for the ongoing problems experienced



by those living in the west bank and gaza. In other words it is business as usual.

Like the Nobel committee, however, many americans seem to have lost touch with this reality. The anti-war movement, not very strong to begin with, has nearly shut down since Obama's election. While there have been sporadic events around the country this year, there has been no organized anti-war demonstration in alaska since Obama was elected. If George bush had announced an increase of over 40% in the number of troops in afghanistan there would have been a prompt response from the antiwar movement. Sad to say, Obama is once again being given a pass.

Image is Everything

Obama has never actually *done* anything to merit the adulation with which he has been greeted and feted here in the united states and around the world. He is just another politician who feels he knows better than we how we should live our lives, and is eager to utilize military power and threats of its use to order the world in ways that best fulfill the desires of those who wield economic and political power in this country. That is no change and is certainly no reason for hope.



anchorage anarchy

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In Defense of Pro-capitalist Anarchists

What is an anarchist? What practices are libertarian? Which kinds of social arrangements are compatible, and which incompatible, with freedom? These are the kinds of questions that have been debated and written about by anarchists for well over a hundred years. During this time some anarchists have defined libertarian thought and practice so narrowly that they consider those who don't share their vision of anarchist economics, or their methods for achieving a libertarian society, to be outside the anarchist fold. Most anarchists, however, have had a fairly open, tolerant, and inclusive approach towards anarchists with whom they differ.

While there have always been as many different approaches to finding the road to freedom as there have been anarchists, the primary divide in the traditional anarchist movement has long been that between those of an individualist persuasion and those with a more social or collectivist outlook. In general, anarchists on either side tended to view those with whom they disagreed as genuine anarchists despite their differences. In fact, simply calling oneself an anarchist was often enough for one to be considered a "real" libertarian by other anarchists. Even when anarchists joined the government in Spain in the 1930s, those who were critical of this decidedly unlibertarian action still generally considered those who took political office to still be anarchists of some sort.

Left and Right

Things began to change in the 1960s, however. Just as libertarian thought started to make a comeback in the radical student and antiwar movements, a new strain of anarchist thinking appeared among conservative activists as well. Writers such as Murray Rothbard, Karl

Hess, and Linda and Morris Tannehill took explicitly anarchist positions and the libertarians in Young Americans for Freedom formed an anarchist caucus, which split from YAF in 1969.



**ALLIANCE OF THE
LIBERTARIAN LEFT**
AD HOC GLOBAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

The evolution of these "right-wingers" into anarchists was largely sparked by the same issue that pushed "left-wingers" in a libertarian direction: the hypocrisy of both liberal and conservative politicians in invoking liberty to justify the slaughter in southeast Asia. The analysis of the war (and much else) in pieces such as *The Death of Politics*, *The Tranquil Statement*, or *Confessions of a Right-Wing Liberal* was just as radical and libertarian as anything produced by the 60s anarchist left. But the clearly libertarian views expressed by these thinkers and activists was not sufficient to make them anarchists in the eyes of most of their left libertarian contemporaries.

Although there was brief attempt at a left-right libertarian coalition in 1969-1970, nothing much came of it. Carl Oglesby—almost alone—on the left, and Rothbard, Hess and others on the right strove to convince their fellow thinkers that the essential anti-statism of



both camps made them natural allies. They agreed on most everything, except economics, but that was enough to prevent the formation of a broad, inclusive anarchist movement encompassing both left and right varieties. This inability to join forces, however, was not for want of trying on the part of the anarchist right. Most left libertarians just could not bring themselves to view the former conservatives as anarchists. And differences between them about economic and social arrangements in a stateless society remain a barrier to the inclusion of pro-capitalist libertarians in the anarchist movement in the eyes of most present-day social/collectivist libertarians.

This is unfortunate. There are insights concerning the importance of fighting for individual freedom which are commonplace among the pro-capitalist libertarians but are often lacking in the outlook of anti-capitalist anarchists. The pro-capitalists base their entire critique of authoritarian and statist society on its denial of individuals' liberty to choose for themselves in all areas of life: economic, social, sexual, (ir)religious, whatever. They believe in the primacy of the wants and needs of the individual over those of the group. This is an outlook that, among anti-capitalists, frequently gets lost in their focus on groups: classes, sexes, those who share a skin color or ethnicity, "indigenous" groups, folks with similar sexual tastes, and so on.

On a personal level, pro-capitalist anarchist (and minarchist, for that matter) writers, as well as classical anarchists like Goldman, were quite influential in my evolution into an anarchist. Goldman's anti-statist, anti-hierarchical point of view was refreshing for one coming out of the statist left, and convinced me that the state in any form cannot promote or defend personal liberty, that authoritarian means cannot produce libertarian ends. But it was not until I read the american individualists, including the modern pro-capitalist anarchists, that I arrived at my current understanding of just how crucial and fundamental a focus on individual freedom is to the creation of a just and humane society.

Economic and social freedom of choice

Despite this, I am not pro-capitalist. I reject, in the spirit of the 19th and early 20th century individualists, profit, rent, interest, and intellectual property as forms of theft. I believe people should be free to retain the entire product of their labor, I support use and occupancy land tenure, I oppose monopoly forms of money and any form of intellectual property. So I am no fan of capitalism. But neither am I pro-socialist, pro-syndicalist, pro-communist.



I do, however, believe that any and all of these economic and social systems can be part of a libertarian society. None of them requires a state, but only needs a set of shared rules (or

customs) and understandings, in order to function in an anarchist fashion. There can be libertarian communes, libertarian syndicalist federations, libertarian socialist enclaves, but there can also be libertarian capitalist societies that are no less anarchist than these other set-ups. This is a point missed by most of the anarchist left.

This is, at least in part, due to the fact that anti-capitalist anarchists often believe that “actually existing capitalism” is the only form of capitalism possible. But if any of them were to take the time to read what the libertarian pro-capitalists have written, they would see that these folks are not advocating Wal-Mart and Bank of America without the state. In fact the social and economic arrangements they promote would make it impossible for such monstrosities to come into being.



Unfortunately, the existence of a “libertarian” party and “libertarian” think tanks like the Cato institute that do, at least at times, pimp for the corporations, provides a convenient straw man for the anti-capitalist anarchists. They conflate these (at best) minarchist apologists for the state and corporate capitalism with the pro-capitalist anarchists, and then condemn the anarchists for positions they do not in fact take. This is as unfair as it would be for the pro-capitalist anarchists to accuse communist anarchists of support for “actually

existing socialism” just because those who really do support such tyrannies call themselves communists as well. If left libertarians believe there can be a libertarian version of communism despite the historical record of what passes for a communist movement, why then is an anarchist capitalism so far-fetched?

Let a hundred schools of thought contend

What distinguishes, or should distinguish, anarchists from other critics of the world as it is is that we all reject the state and other involuntary organizations, oppose the initiation of force, and believe in the freedom of individuals to choose how they conduct their lives and their relationships with others. Human beings, in their infinite diversity of needs and wants, will, in a free society, create numberless different ways of interacting with each other to fulfill these desires. There will likely be communist, capitalist, catholic worker-style personalist, and mutualist anarchies, as well as strange cross-breeds of the various social and economic systems that we anarchists currently write and talk about. And many of us would have it no other way.

In the interests of promoting a new dialogue and cooperation among anarchists, I am including in this issue two contributions from pro-capitalist anarchists whose approach might be more accessible and thought-provoking to left libertarians than that of writers like Rothbard and Friedman. The first is an old article by Karl Hess which I have published in a couple of versions in the past, but which I find such a powerful, short statement of the fundamental ideas of anarchists that I am including it again in this issue. The second is part of a longer article by Richard Garner, the remaining sections of which will run in subsequent issues of *anchorage anarchy*. I welcome contributions to this discussion/debate from readers for inclusion in future issues of this zine.

Anarchism Without Hyphens

There is only one kind of anarchist. Not two. Just one. An anarchist, the only kind, as defined by the long tradition and literature of the position itself, is a person in opposition to authority imposed through the hierarchical power of the state. The only expansion of this that seems to me reasonable is to say that an anarchist stands in opposition to any imposed authority. An anarchist is a voluntarist.

Now, beyond that, anarchists also are people and, as such, contain the billion-faceted varieties of human reference. Some are anarchists who march, voluntarily, to the Cross of Christ. Some are anarchists who flock, voluntarily, to the communes of beloved, inspirational father figures. Some are anarchists who seek to establish the syndics of voluntary industrial production. Some are anarchists who voluntarily seek to establish the rural production of the kibbutzim. Some are anarchists who, voluntarily, seek to disestablish everything including their own association with other people; the hermits. Some are anarchists who will deal, voluntarily, only in gold, will never co-operate, and swirl their capes. Some are anarchists who, voluntarily, worship the sun and its energy, build domes, eat only vegetables, and play the dulcimer. Some are anarchists who worship the power of algorithms, play strange games, and infiltrate strange temples. Some are anarchists who see only the stars. Some are anarchists who see only the mud.

They spring from a single seed, no matter the flowering of their ideas. The seed is liberty. And that is all it is. It is not a socialist seed. It is not a capitalist seed. It is not a mystical seed. It is not a determinist seed. It is simply a statement. *We can* be free. After that it's all choice and chance.

Anarchism, liberty, does not tell you a thing about how free people will behave or what arrangements they will make. It simply says that people have the capacity *to* make the arrangements.

Anarchism is not normative. It does not say how to be free. It says only that freedom, liberty, can exist.

Recently, in a libertarian journal, I read the statement that libertarianism is an ideological movement. It may well be. In a concept of freedom

it, they, you, or we, anyone, has the liberty to engage in ideology or anything else that does not coerce others denying their liberty. But anarchism is not an ideological movement. It is an ideological statement. It says that all people have a capacity for liberty. It says that all anarchists want liberty. And then it is silent. After the pause of that silence, anarchists then mount the stages of their own communities and history and proclaim *their*, not anarchism's, ideologies—they say how they, how they as anarchists, will make arrangements, describe events, celebrate life, work.

Anarchism is the hammer-idea, smashing the chains. Liberty is what results and, in liberty, everything else is up to people and *their* ideologies. It is not up to THE ideology. Anarchism says, in effect, there is no such upper case, dominating ideology. It says that people who live in liberty make their own histories and their own deals with and within it.

A person who describes a world in which everyone must or should behave in a single way, marching to a single drummer is simply not an anarchist. A person who says that they prefer this way, even wishing that all would prefer that way, but who then says that all must decide, may certainly be an anarchist. Probably is.

Liberty is liberty. Anarchism is anarchism. Neither is Swiss cheese or anything else. They are not property. They are not copyrighted. They are old, available ideas, part of human culture. They may *be* hyphenated but they are not in fact hyphenated. They exist on their own. People add hyphens, and supplemental ideologies.

I am an anarchist. I need to know that, and you should know it. After that, I am a writer and a welder who lives in a certain place, by certain lights, and with certain people. And that you may know also. But there is no hyphen after the anarchist.

Liberty, finally is not a box into which people are to be forced. Liberty is a space in which people may live. It does not tell you how they will live. It says, eternally, only that we *can*.

[This article, by Karl Hess, originally appeared in *the dandelion*, Spring, 1980.]

Anarchism and Anarcho-Capitalism

In my view anarchism is anything that fits Benjamin Tucker's definition of anarchism. Benjamin Tucker defined anarchism as "*the doctrine that all the affairs of men should be managed by individuals or voluntary associations, and that the State should be abolished.*"¹ The requirements of respecting people's property rights over themselves – self-ownership – as well as other things imply that there are certain things that nobody may justly do to or with those others without permission from those others – the giving of consent – which must be freely given, without fear of punishment or deprivation of enjoyment of one's rights if such consent is not forthcoming. These strictures imply that relationships between individuals should all be voluntary, uncoerced ones, that individuals are entitled to protect themselves against any that would be otherwise. Whether these relationships are capitalistic or not is irrelevant, so long as they are voluntary. This entails that, in my view, capitalism is perfectly compatible with anarchism. I shall address various objections to this thesis here.

Anarchists cannot be capitalists, because anarchists have traditionally opposed capitalism

This is the most obvious criticism, and the most likely to arise. It, perhaps correctly, identifies anarcho-capitalism as at variance with what has traditionally been considered "the anarchist position." Such a historical definition is presented in opposition to a dictionary definition that anarcho-capitalists may use that anarchism is "a doctrine urging the abolition of government or governmental restraint as the indispensable condition for full

social and political liberty" or "The theory or doctrine that all forms of government are oppressive and undesirable and should be abolished" or "The belief that all existing governmental authority should be abolished and replaced by free cooperation among individuals" (Dictionary.com). Anarchist opponents to the suggestion of allowing anarcho-capitalists into the fold hold that these definitions are insufficient precisely because they do not include the *forms* of organization that post-state society is to take. Specifically, these definitions make no references to the proposals that anarchists have made historically as to how a stateless society should be arranged.



But look what this would imply were we to present a definition of anarchism that would meet these objectors' demands: It would have to mean that, in effect, an anarchist is whatever anarchists have been in the past. It would effectively be a circular or self-referential definition, perhaps resulting in a regress—"I support anarchism, because I support what those guys supported, and they supported anarchism"—that would necessarily entail that the first person or people in this chain could not be anarchists because they were not supporters of what had been called

anarchism before them (because there was no anarchism before them). But if that were the case, then people that supported what these first people supported could not call themselves anarchists either, and so on back to where we are now. An ahistorical, etymological or dictionary based definition does not have this weakness. It allows for the possibility of people proposing forms of anarchism that do not match, and possibly contradict, those proposed before them, that yet remain forms of anarchism so long as they meet the dictionary definitions. "Anarchism is whatever anarchism has been in the past" does not allow this, and leads to contradictions and logical problems, as just demonstrated.



Further, defining anarchism in such a way as to say that nothing can be called anarchism unless it matches what anarchists have advocated in the past would surely prove too much for non-capitalist anarchists. After all, anarchism prior to perhaps about 1880 was anti-communist. Proudhon, it is well known, vehemently opposed communism as a threat to the independence of workers, small-scale manufacturers, and artisans. His vision was of a society of independent small business-people, voluntarily trading, labour-for-labour, on a market freed from all state imposed

privileges. A greater movement of anarchists was inspired by Mikhail Bakunin, who envisioned the collectivization of industry by trade associations or what were to become unions, federated from the local level, outwards, but workers would receive, as their private property, the products of their labour: People would be paid according to their labour, thus maintaining a sort of wage system.

It was in the 1880 conference of the predominantly anarchist Jura Federation (a branch of the International Workingmen's Association) that Peter Kropotkin, Elise Reclus, and Carlo Cafiero suggested that collectivist anarchism was an inconsistency, and that anarchists should be communists, favouring the distribution of all goods, including products of labour, to each according to need, rather than to each according to their labour. Anarchist communism, as advocated by the likes of Kropotkin and Malatesta, was at variance with what had traditionally been proposed by anarchists before them. As such, a definition of anarchism that amounts to "a person is only an anarchist if he advocates what other anarchists before him have advocated" would have to exclude such luminary anarchist figures from the history books!

Take another factor: Kropotkin himself, in his 1910 *Encyclopedia Britannica* entry on anarchism, said "Without naming himself an anarchist, Leo Tolstoy... took the Anarchist position as regards the State and property rights."² Kropotkin also says "It was Godwin ... who was first to formulate the political and economical conceptions of Anarchism, even though he did not give that name to the ideas he developed in his remarkable work."³ Was it because both these fellows advocated

socialism of sorts that Kropotkin included them as anarchists? Well, perhaps not, since Kropotkin does not exclude Godwin as an anarchist when he goes on to say “Godwin, however, had not the courage to maintain his opinions. He entirely rewrote later on his chapter on property and mitigated his Communist views in the second edition of *Political Justice*.”⁴ Godwin, after this rewrite, became a figure in the development of “anti-state liberalism,”⁵ but his inclusion in anarchist history is relatively uncontroversial. The sufficient condition for his inclusion, surely, is not his desire for the abolition of government to be replaced by a society based on voluntary co-operation, coupled with a socialism he abandoned, but merely the former: merely his desire for a co-operative society without a government.

But if people can be included in anarchist histories as anarchists merely for desiring a society without a government, based on voluntary co-operation between consenting people, then a whole host of other people, sympathetic to capitalism, can and should be included: People such as the radical “No-Government” men of the Garrisonian wing of the Abolitionist Movement in the USA, or members of the French school of Classical Liberalism, such as, of course, Gustave de Molinari (really Belgian), or followers of Jean Baptiste Say – the bourgeois economists that Karl Marx admitted lifting his “theory of history” from, incidentally.

The “anarchism can only be what anarchists have advocated before” definition of anarchism cannot be sustained. It leads to contradictions or logical problems, and excludes prominent anarchist figures from being included as anarchists. A stronger, more sustainable definition is simply that given in



dictionaries: The set of beliefs that the state, or government, is an evil that should be abolished, replaced by a society based on free and voluntary co-operation. Anarcho-capitalism, which views market exchanges as voluntary, and just insofar as they are, is compatible with this definition.

But capitalism allows hierarchical, authoritarian relationships, which contradicts anarchism

Another, common objection, but false on possibly both claims. Many anarcho-capitalists *oppose* hierarchical organization in the firm, and elsewhere. For instance, David Friedman has said that he feels that the hierarchical corporation “does not strike me as either an attractive way for people to live or an efficient way of producing goods.” He claims that his

...own preference is for the sort of economic institutions which have been named, I think, by Robert LeFevre, agoric. Under agoric institutions almost everyone is self-employed. Instead of corporations there are large groups of entrepreneurs related by trade, not by authority. Each sells, not his time, but what his time produces. As a free-lance writer (one of my professions), I am part of an agoric order.⁶

Likewise, in his *New Libertarian Manifesto*, Samuel Edward Konkin III has said that he “feels that the whole concept of ‘worker/boss’ is a holdover from feudalism and not, as Marx

claims, fundamental to ‘capitalism.’”⁷ Instead, he writes that

In an agorist society, division of labor and self-respect of each worker-capitalist-entrepreneur will probably eliminate the traditional business organization—especially the corporate hierarchy, an imitation of the State and not the Market. Most companies will be associations of independent contractors, consultants, and other companies. Many may be just one entrepreneur and all his services, computers, suppliers and customers. This mode of operation is already around and growing in the freer segments of Western economies.⁸

In fact, libertarian financier and *very* big business man Charles Koch has attempted experiments in his own companies of replacing the centrally planned, top-down hierarchical organisation typical in corporations with market-like alternatives wherein different workers in the company relate to each other as traders, not as boss and worker.⁹

Murray Rothbard, however, criticises

Konkin’s astonishing view that working for wages is somehow non-market or anti-libertarian, and would disappear in a free society. Konkin claims to be an Austrian free-market economist, and how he can say that a voluntary sale of one’s labor for money is somehow illegitimate or unlibertarian passeth understanding. Furthermore, it is simply absurd for him to think that in the free market of the future, wage-labor will disappear. Independent contracting, as lovable as some might see it, is simply grossly uneconomic for manufacturing activity. The transactions costs would be far too high. It is absurd, for example, to think of automobile manufacturing conducted by self-employed independent contractors. Furthermore, Konkin is clearly unfamiliar with the fact that the emergence of wage-labor was an enormous boon for many thousands of poor workers and saved them from starvation. If there is no wage labor, as there was not in most production before the Industrial Revolution, then each worker must have enough money to

purchase his own capital and tools. One of the great things about the emergence of the factory system and wage labor is that poor workers did not have to purchase their own capital equipment; this could be left to the capitalists.¹⁰

Konkin replied that his “own observations are that independent contracting *lowers* transactions costs—in fact, nearly eliminates them relative to boss/worker relationships running the gamut from casual labor with annoying paperwork and records to full-scale Krupp worker welfarism.” However, he also said that Rothbard’s criticism of Konkin’s position actually “is so irrelevant to the basis of agorism that it is barely mentioned *en passant* and in a footnote” and that what forms of organisation predominate in a truly free market economy was really “an empirical question, one, as Mises would say, not even for economists but economic historians.”



So, let’s bite the bullet: whilst some anarcho-capitalists dislike hierarchical organisation in the firm, and prefer alternatives, and whilst removal of the extensive regulatory controls of our present societies, and the resultant increase of wealth, would increase the opportunity and ability of experimenting with alternative forms of organisation, it may be the case that the hierarchically organised firm will still remain dominant, and anarcho-capitalists would still defend the existence of such arrangements as just. Does this mean that they cannot be real

anarchists, since they admit that authoritarian relationships can be just?

The answer to this question is “only if Michael Bakunin is not a real anarchist, too!” After all, in *God and The State*, Bakunin wrote:

Does it follow that I reject all authority? Far from me such a thought. In the matter of boots, I refer to the authority of the bootmaker; concerning houses, canals, or railroads, I consult that of the architect or engineer. For such or such special knowledge I apply to such or such a *savant*. But I allow neither the bootmaker nor the architect nor the *savant* to impose his authority upon me. I listen to them freely and with all the respect merited by their intelligence, their character, their knowledge, reserving always my incontestable right of criticism censure. I do not content myself with consulting authority in any special branch; I consult several; I compare their opinions, and choose that which seems to me the soundest. But I recognize no infallible authority, even in special questions; consequently, whatever respect I may have for the honesty and the sincerity of such or such an individual, I have no absolute faith in any person. Such a faith would be fatal to my reason, to my liberty, and even to the success of my undertakings; it would immediately transform me into a stupid slave, an instrument of the will and interests of others.

If I bow before the authority of the specialists and avow my readiness to follow, to a certain extent and as long as may seem to me necessary, their indications and even their directions, it is because their authority is imposed upon me by no one, neither by men nor by God. Otherwise I would repel them with horror, and bid the devil take their counsels, their directions, and their services, certain that they would make me pay, by the loss of my liberty and self-respect, for such scraps of truth, wrapped in a multitude of lies, as they might give me.

I bow before the authority of special men because it is imposed upon me by my own reason. I am conscious of my inability to grasp, in all its details and positive developments, any very large portion of human knowledge. The greatest intelligence would not be equal to a

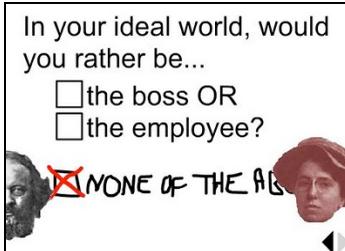
comprehension of the whole. Thence results, for science as well as for industry, the necessity of the division and association of labor. I receive and I give—such is human life. Each directs and is directed in his turn. Therefore there is no fixed and constant authority, but a continual exchange of mutual, temporary, and, above all, voluntary authority and subordination.¹¹

So here we have a *socialist* anarchist admitting that he is happy with “voluntary authority and subordination” that he will accept over him when he recognises another’s



greater ability or knowledge in a particular area. Well, the same can be the case in a firm. I work in retail. I have worked under good managers and I have worked under bad, and I have held (deputy) management positions myself, and I recognise the fact, in my experience, that good managers I have had have had skills I do not have, and yet the application of which are of benefit to me if I wish to benefit, as a worker, from the smooth, profitable, operation of the business. Good managers were entrepreneurial, able to identify ways to better market or promote stock, for instance. They were also able to motivate staff in ways that did not generate worker hostility, but encouraged respect. The fact that I, as a worker, did not have these skills, whilst the bosses did, means that it is perfectly consistent with what Bakunin says above that I allow them authority over myself, so that I am willing to follow their guidance

and “bow to their authority.” Quite simply, because my boss was better at managing the shop than I was, and I had an interest in the efficient management of the shop, it was just as acceptable for me to accept the authority of the boss in the matter of shop management as it was for Bakunin to accept the authority of the shoe maker in the matter of shoe making.



Further to the question of whether anarcho-capitalists contradict anarchism by not opposing hierarchical relationships in the firm, it may be suggested that they also support authoritarianism in their advocacy of certain uses of force. One of the aspects of Benjamin Tucker’s individualist anarchism that Kropotkin criticised, and that anarcho-capitalists share, is on the provision of law and order in a post-state society. Kropotkin wrote that Tucker

further indicated (following H. Spencer) the difference which exists between the encroachment on somebody’s rights and resistance to such encroachment; between domination and defence: the former being equally condemnable, whether it be encroachment of a criminal upon an individual, or the encroachment of one upon all others, or of all others upon one; while resistance to encroachment is defensible and necessary. For their self-defence, both the citizen and the group have the right to any violence, including capital punishment. Violence is also justified for enforcing the duty of keeping an agreement. Tucker thus follows Spencer, and, like him, opens (in the present writer’s opinion) the way for reconstituting, under the heading of ‘defence’ all the functions of the State.¹²

But this is sheer hypocrisy: Effectively, Kropotkin is saying that voluntary organisation of the provision of defensive force is somehow like a state, or statist. But Kropotkin himself was a revolutionary, advocating and indeed trying to organise, armed and organised revolution against prevailing statist society. In other words, then, he was perfectly happy with the notion of organised provision of the use of force or violence, and no doubt legitimised it as defensive—it was intended, after all, to remove from the general populace a structure that institutionalised oppression. So Kropotkin defended voluntary organisation of the provision of defence against statist government in order to achieve the revolution. I can’t see why he would oppose voluntary organisation to provide defence against non-governmental oppression in the post-statist society, too.

[This is the first installment of an original article is by Richard Garner]

¹ Tucker, Benjamin R, 1898 (1969), *Instead of a Book, by a man too busy to write one.* (New York: Haskell Press), p 9

² Kropotkin, Peter, 1910 (1987 (1993)), “Anarchism” and “Anarchist Communism, Its basis and principles” (London: Freedom Press), p 20

³ Ibid, p 12

⁴ Ibid, p 12

⁵ See David M Hart, in Hart, David M 1981, “Gustave de Molinari and the Anti-Statist Liberal Tradition Part 1,” *Journal of Libertarian Studies*, Vol 5, No. 3 (Summer 1981), (Centre for Libertarian Studies)

http://mises.org/journals/jls/5_3/5_3_3.pdf also at

<http://homepage.mac.com/dmhart/Molinari/Thesis.html>

⁶ David Friedman, *The Machinery of Freedom: Guide to a Radical Capitalism*, (Open Court: La Salle, Illinois), pp 144-5

⁷ <http://alexpeak.com/twr/nlm/ch3.html#NLM.3.45.n33.1>

⁸ <http://flag.blackened.net/daver/anarchism/nlm/nlm6.html>

⁹ <http://www.davidhkoch.com/MBM/default.aspx>

¹⁰ <http://alexpeak.com/twr/nlm/cr3.html>

¹¹ http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_archives/bakunin/godandstate/godandstate_ch1.html#II

¹² Kropotkin, Peter, 1910 (1987 (1993)), “Anarchism” and “Anarchist Communism, Its basis and principles” (London: Freedom Press), p18