

anchorage anarchy

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Lions and Tigers and Bears (and Swine and Bees), Oh My!

Like the cowardly lion, people just love to be afraid. From bear attacks in Anchorage, to “pandemic” swine flu, to famine caused by a mass die-off of bees, to rampant child abuse and abductions, the news media, the government, and experts of various sorts constantly bombard us with warnings about current or imminent disasters. Despite the fact that these alleged crises seldom pan out according to reports or predictions, large numbers of people will predictably fall into line to believe and parrot back the false prophecies. It is astounding (or at least it used to be) how credulous and uncritical in their thinking people can be.

The Attack of the Killer Bears

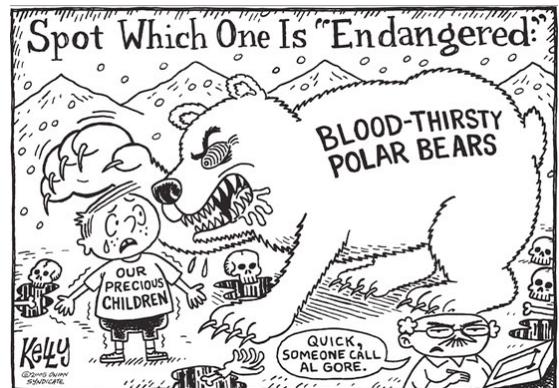
Last summer in Anchorage there were a number of injuries to people attacked in or quite near the city by bears. This was an unusual series of events and generally resulted from unwise choices by people moving about in bear country. None of the injuries resulted in serious harm.

But what was the response? That there was a bear problem in Anchorage and something needed to be done about it. Solutions ranged from relocating “problem” bears out of the city to killing bears wholesale.

A courageous few encouraged folks to get a perspective, but naturally they were dismissed as cranks. People did not want to be reminded that a number of people were attacked, and one kid killed, by dogs in town last summer, and quite a few people were killed in car accidents, neither of which facts caused public outrage or calls for banning cars or shooting dogs and drivers.

Remarkably, there have been no bear attacks yet this year, despite the absence of bear removals

or shootings. The city government, however, in order to show that it was doing *something* in response to this grave threat, closed a portion of a city park where the most notorious of last year’s attacks took place. How would we all have figured out, especially in light of last year’s events, that it might be unwise to hang out around a salmon stream in bear country during the summer with such guidance from our guardians? The politicians have shown once again how necessary they are to protecting the public welfare.



Swinish Behavior

An even more dire threat reared its head this year, however: swine flu. The news media were full of stories and reports about this deadly menace. Mexico City virtually closed down, emergency preparedness groups were activated, cruise ship crew members with fevers quarantined, and general paranoia promoted.

Once again, however, it was much ado about nothing. Some people have died of this flu, but way fewer than from ordinary seasonal flu, and the

vast majority have had a relatively mild illness. But since we don't want people to be confused by the facts, the World Health Organization decided to declare an official pandemic to keep the pot boiling.

While it is true that this flu outbreak is technically a pandemic because it has occurred in a lot of places, using this word promotes incorrect associations in the minds of many people, who believe words like epidemic and pandemic imply serious, widespread, catchable diseases. Swine flu, however, is proving to be neither serious, common, nor particularly contagious. But if there were no pandemics and other perpetual health crises, about which WHO generally does very little that is effective, there would be no justification for spending tax money extorted from working people on international health bureaucrats.

What's the Buzz About Colony Collapse?

And then there's the problem with bees. This time it's not killer bees terrorizing the

neighborhood, but a new "disease": Colony Collapse Disorder (CCD).

Over the last few years there has been a die-off on bees in north america that some have taken to be the sign of an impending bee shortage. Although the evidence that this kind of population decrease among bees is somehow extraordinary is lacking, hysterics have declared a coming debacle for bees and agricultural systems, especially those in california, of which they are a key part. If the bees aren't there to pollinate, crops will fail and we'll all starve, etc, etc.

However, not unsurprisingly, this year there is an overabundance of bees, at least in certain sectors of agriculture. While part of this may be explained by market fluctuations, interventions by apiarists to strengthen their colonies of bees have yielded healthier insects and fewer fatalities. While there appears to be some sort of infection involved in the deaths of bees labeled with CCD, improving their nutrition makes them less susceptible.

This reminds me of the panic a decade or so ago when a fluky freeze killed off a large number of monarch butterflies in mexico. The story was all over the press and concerns about possible extinction were raised. However, not only did this turn out to be a one-time event, the number of butterflies killed was exaggerated around seven-fold. So not only were the conclusions flawed, but the data on which they were based were faulty as well. Several years later there was another scare after a winter storm killed a huge number of the insects. However, the butterflies survived and have since thrived. Logging in their habitat in mexico appears at present to be a longer-term threat, but at least it is discussed in more measured and scientific terms.

Uncritical Thinking

It is not clear to me why people thrive on being afraid. Besides common worries about perceived, but non-existent, natural disasters, exaggerated threats of animal attacks, and so on, parents commonly obsess about their children's safety when unsupervised despite evidence that



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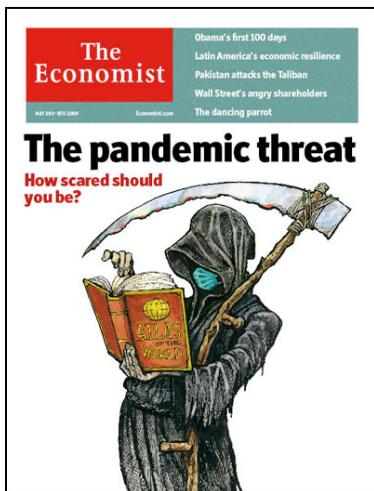
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crime against both adults and children has declined over the years. Homeowners worry about radon causing lung cancer, although the risk is likely way overblown, and others fear getting lung cancer from walking by the smoker outside the door of the local tavern, a risk which approaches zero.

Of course, the world is a dangerous place. The entire planet is dominated by governments that extort tax money from their subjects, use their military and police forces to murder people both at home and abroad, and imprison people who ingest or smoke prohibited plants. Our cities are overrun by vehicles powered by internal combustion engines that pollute the air and kill their occupants and others in collisions. Children are forced into wretched schools where they are taught to follow orders and believe untruths. People's eating and drinking habits and lack of movement produce disease both acute and chronic, and often fatal. But these are not the things that most Americans spend time worrying about.



Whatever the reason folks choose to be afraid at least it would make more sense if they feared the things that really are likely to hurt them. Like getting fat, driving automobiles fast on congested roadways, avoiding exercise whenever possible, and voting for politicians who will do their best to take working people's hard-earned money and

send their children off to war. Far more death and disability result from diseases related to eating too much and doing too little or automobile accidents than are caused by animal attacks or any sort of flu, and rising rates of obesity indicate that there is no real threat to the food supply. More residents of Alaska are killed and maimed by warfare than by bears. But people prefer to exaggerate insignificant threats over which they have little control and ignore those that have or could have a far more harmful effect, but about which they would have to actually *do* something on a personal level to avoid. Like eat less, move more, bike to work, and not join (or encourage their children to join) the imperial death machine.

The ability to look at data and analyze information critically is a skill few possess. It is not difficult to learn, but the education system, the news media, and our government and corporate rulers do their best to dissuade people from thinking for themselves. And most believe that some or all of these institutions know better than they as individuals ever could and turn over the decision-making to them.

But even when people know in their heart of hearts that what they are doing is or can be harmful, they all too often don't do anything with that information. If the harmful activity gives them pleasure or is consistent with some comforting belief system, they focus on some obscure threat instead so it looks like they are actually concerned about their personal health and safety, when, in fact, they are not.

While irrational, this way of dealing with the world and perceived threats seems to help most people get through the day. Unfortunately, while it works for them in some ways, it is at the cost of their individual decision-making ability. Their failure to view the world rationally and critically leads them to rely on advice and supervision from those whose rule depends on keeping the common folk mystified and malleable. They trade their liberty—and sometimes their lives—for a perception of security. And they end up with neither.

Letter to the Editor

Dear JP,

Thanks for keeping me on your list—and thank you for keeping the zine alive. The *I Ching* says “persistence furthers.” Die-hard anarchism doesn’t exactly bear out this optimism—but at least one often has the bitter satisfaction of saying I told you so.

I don’t know if you get *Fifth Estate*—where I still publish anarchist stuff. In case you don’t, here’s a recent piece [“An Army of Jacks to Fight the Power,” *Fifth Estate*, Summer 2008]. Let me know if you’d care to take a small text from me—I wouldn’t mind doing a few paragraphs on the relevance of old-time “left individualism” in light of the collapse of the historical movement of the Social—indeed, to a large extent “Society” itself. On the level of theory the last possible form of organization for “resistance” (or even for existential authenticity) becomes the “union of self-owners”—at *least* as a temporary autonomous zone, since “resistance” has no meaning (except revolutionary futilitarianism) without the possibility of “utopia now” (to quote Living Theater). Examples: Josiah Warren/Pearl Andrews’ “Modern Times”—or Thoreau’s Walden. Since *tactically* all we can do is retreat, we should do so *strategically*—i.e., toward “liberated areas,” whether economic (such as commune or co-op) or ludic (which might involve “illegalism”). In other lands, such as Mexico perhaps, violence might be used to create such a space, but in the USA this seems impossible. Crime however should not be ruled out...at least, of course, *in theory*. And theory also desperately needs to re-consider non-Communist non-Capitalist economic ideas like Proudhon’s Mutualism and economic Federalism. Again from a strategic p.o.v. it’s possible that radical environmentalism could provide an ideal culture to infect with the spores of a potent anti-capitalist critique...and thus also a matrix for our spaces of resistance. (Interestingly, such a “left individualist” perspective might strike harmonies

with a not-quite-lost American Populism exemplified, say, in Huey Long’s fascinating autobiography/manifesto *Every Man a King*. Stirnerite Socialism!)

Even if we were to adopt a total pessimist defeatism re: revolution, the “union of self-owners” would become even more important a kind of last possible Outside in which some remnant of human life might be possible; one might envision a secular version of the radical Anabaptist’s “Saving Remnant”—or as the Wobs say, Don’t Mourn—Organize. Utter pessimism however seems pointless as vapid optimism: above all we should be concerned with “empirical freedoms,” as the Zapatistas say, rather than mere theory. In fact—theory has failed. Which brings us of course to the necessity of “Nietzsche as anarchist,” yet another relevant aspect of our tradition for today’s Global Depression. But I’m out of space. Print this letter if you like.

Seasons greetings,
PLW [Peter Lamborn Wilson]



Here's to Your Health

What is he thinking? Obama says he wants to pay for his supposed health care reform by cutting reimbursement to hospitals and most health care workers for the care they provide to the neediest people. Sounds like robbing Peter to pay Paul.

Over the next ten years he wants to reduce payments to Medicare providers by \$110,000,000,000, claiming that cutting payments to hospitals will encourage efficiency and thus reduce costs. But underpayment for services, which has always been Medicare's practice, has done nothing to reduce costs so far. The hypocrite-in-chief claims that the costs of CT and MRI imaging, for instance, can be spread out to other patients, and thus reduce the need for government money, but all this does is shift costs to other consumers who are privately insured or pay out of pocket—just as Medicare has always forced providers to do.

Hospitals have gotten used to absorbing the costs of caring for Medicare patients. Difficult as Medicare has made it for old people to get routine, preventive health care, once they are sick enough to show up in the emergency department, they *will* get taken care of. The hospitals don't have much choice, of course, since the government basically forces them to provide care to anyone who shows up in their emergency rooms.

However, the drugmakers and pharmacies have never been so "civic-minded." Because Medicare patients commonly do not take prescribed medications due to their high costs, the government introduced a prescription drug benefit a number of years ago. This plan is bizarrely complex and confusing, but has assisted some old people, some of the time, in paying for their drugs. Inadequate as it is, however, Obama apparently believes it is far too generous and wants to eliminate \$75,000,000,000 from the program's budget.

And the president plans to go even further than squeezing those who care for old and disabled younger people (some of whom qualify for Medicare). He also intends to cut \$106,000,000,000 in federal subsidies to hospitals that treat uninsured patients. These are the folks who are too young for Medicare, have low-paying jobs without employer group insurance plans, but are too "wealthy" for Medicaid. Precisely the group of people that reformers claim to be the most concerned about. One wonders how paying less to those who provide care to these folks will make them better off.

Playing Politics

To Obama and the rest of the crew in DC, health care reform is not about getting people healthier, but about politics. Since they have already made sure their own health needs have been well taken care of at the expense of the taxpayers, the politicians have absolutely no personal investment in whether americans end up better or worse off after the reform. But they do wish to be seen as solving problems (which have largely been caused in the first place by government intervention), even as they create new ones and make some existing ones worse. A key part of fooling people into believing that government intervention is the best mechanism for improving the health care system is making it seem like everyone else is to blame for the sorry state we find ourselves in.

Obama recently preached to physicians about the evils of practicing defensive medicine and thus increasing health care costs, but said he supports unlimited monetary awards to people who claim bad medical outcomes were caused by malpractice. He wants to change reimbursement methods so services are bundled, which he claims will discourage physicians from ordering optional imaging and other tests, which are often expensive. Since he also believes these same doctors should continue to be held accountable if they don't have these costly procedures performed and a patient or their family believes that it contributed to the patient's continued illness or death, he is putting physicians in an impossible position. The doctors are blamed by Obama for ordering expensive tests, and then



blamed by patients for not ordering them. And Obama plays the hero by standing up to the physicians.

While the reforms advocated by the president and others will result in doctors and hospitals having their payments cut, seeing their malpractice insurance bills rise, and being increasingly told how to provide care by bureaucrats, their expenses are also continually driven up by endless, arbitrary, government-sponsored rules and regulations. For example, the feds will force providers of all sorts to switch to ICD-10 (the latest version of the International Classification of Diseases) by 2011 in order to bill Medicare. As usual, the private insurers will follow the government's lead and require this change as well. But this "simple" change in billing procedures will cost providers millions of dollars to implement, and they will be forced to swallow the cost of the changeover or pass it on to their privately-insured or paying customers. And then the providers and private insurers will likely be blamed once again for how costly health care is.

How Not To Care for Sick People

Despite the demonstrated drawbacks of current government health insurance schemes and funding mechanisms, there are some advocates of health care reform who want to replace the current system of mixed government and private insurance with a single-payer, even more thoroughly government-run, conglomerate. And more scary, some claim that the government has already shown its ability to provide comprehensive, quality health care, using the Veterans Affairs (VA) health care system and Indian Health Service (IHS) as examples of well-run, caring medical providers.



This contention of would-be reformers is, perhaps, the most absurd of all. It is certainly not coming from the consumers of either one of these systems. During my long career as a health care provider, I have seldom

heard anything but complaints from people who are essentially forced to seek their care in VA or IHS institutions. Virtually everyone who qualifies for care in these systems, but can afford to get it elsewhere, will.

The VA system not infrequently ends up in the news because of inadequate or dangerous treatment of patients, whether that is botching radiation therapy for prostate cancer, exposing people to HIV and hepatitis viruses by failing to correctly disinfect colonoscopes, or failing to assist those wounded either physically or mentally in the most recent American war. But these are just especially noticeable failings of a system which routinely provides rotten services to those who seek care in its facilities because it is the only provider they can afford.

The IHS provides services to a similarly captive population, providing care, in most cases, only for those who qualify based on their ethnicity. Besides institutionalizing segregation, which should, in itself, condemn it as a model for health care reform, it, like the VA, fails to provide adequate care to many of its charges. I live in a city with many residents who qualify for IHS services through the local Alaska "native" health institutions, and it is clear that when people can afford other options besides the "native" system, they will use them. The system is hopelessly corrupt and wasteful and uses its virtual monopoly over provision of health care to a certain ethnic group to aggrandize its administrative staff and mismanage its funds, while treating those it is charged with caring for as wards. Hardly a model for a kinder, gentler health care system.

Food, Drugs, Administration

Just as the track record of the feds in providing either insurance or direct care inspires anything but confidence, the government regulatory bodies they have charged with overseeing various aspects of health care have consistently failed to either protect the public, contain costs, or promote positive developments in the prevention or treatment of illness. Maintaining these institutions costs lots of money and none of the reformers are suggesting they be pared back or even eliminated. On the contrary, the health police are likely to see their powers extended under any widespread reform scheme. For an example of what that may look like, consider recent developments at the Food and Drug Administration (FDA).

The FDA has always been an institution of bureaucratic control, not innovation. Supposedly charged with protecting Americans from unsafe drugs, its role has all too often been to block access to proven

therapies while guarding the monopoly patents of drug manufacturers. The FDA has thus helped keep people ill by deciding what drugs they should be allowed to use, and has charged them for this service by consuming billions of dollars in tax revenues, as well as further billions in “user fees” from businesses it forces to submit to its rules and regulations. These regulated businesses, in turn, pass on the cost of these fees to consumers and their insurers. Which leads to more costly private insurance premiums.

This “watchdog” has lately been up to no good again. For one thing, it is forcing manufacturers of long-acting narcotics to come up with Risk Evaluation and Mitigation Strategies. These will be programs that will make manufacturers engineer their drugs so that they will not work correctly if altered; and/or they will be programs requiring indoctrination and registration of prescribers. Either approach will not only be costly, but will also serve to limit access to these drugs for people who would benefit from them. The purported rationale for this increased policing of pain medications is that some people have come to harm by their improper use. But long-acting narcotics are no more likely to harm people when used improperly than are other kinds of drugs. What really bugs the FDA is that some people use these drugs for recreation, not therapy. And squelching unapproved use of pleasurable substances by outlaws is much more important to bureaucratic busybodies than seeing that people in pain have access to effective remedies.

And since they don’t have enough other important matters to keep them busy, the politicians have just authorized the FDA to regulate tobacco. Since preaching, taxation, and banning have not eliminated tobacco use, the government has decided it needs to add more police powers to its anti-tobacco campaign. From restricting additives to further regulating advertising, the FDA will spend time and money on browbeating tobacco makers and users instead of getting safe therapeutic drugs to sick people, which, one would have thought, is supposed to be its mission.

This diversion is justified by claims that tobacco-related diseases cost \$100,000,000,000 a year to treat. As my mother used to say, figures don’t lie, but liars figure. The drug cops manipulate the data in two ways: they don’t compare this cost to the cost of treating other diseases that are not related to smoking; and they fail to point out that smokers, since they tend to die earlier than non-smokers, actually save “society” money by smoking. Not to mention the fact that the taxes they pay to maintain their habit support all sorts of programs that

benefit others. But smokers are an easy target for our guardians to pick on, making it appear that they care about our health while all they really care about is their income and their power to push other people around.



Throwing Good Money After Bad

Whatever form reform takes, somebody will have to pay for it. A bill now before the senate would cost in excess of \$1,500,000,000,000 over the next decade (and would end up providing coverage to only a third of those currently without insurance). And the money to fund it will be extorted from taxpayers, of course.

During discussions of health care reform, we hear constantly about how the greed of private insurers is what makes health care in the united states so expensive and inefficient. But the ability of government to consume wealth and produce crap, at best, is unrivalled by any private institutions. Look at the \$600,000,000,000 that was taken from working people and funneled into the military death machine in 2008. And the demand for taxes will never stop. Medicare and Social Security are already on the road to bankruptcy and will have to be “saved” by increased taxes. Why in the world should anyone believe that the politicians will display better financial stewardship of any new programs created as part of this so-called reform?

Medicare, the FDA, the VA system, the IHS. What other arguments does one need that any further government intrusion into health care should be greeted with dread. As badly as people’s needs and wants may be met by the current system, expecting that those who believe Medicare is a good model for health care provision will make things better is a recipe for disappointment. Like so many other reformations, health care reform, as currently understood, will just replace one bad system with another.

Libertarian Mutualism in Libertarian Spain

By Nicholas Evans

In Libertarian* areas of Spain, individual retail businesses and democratically operated businesses existed in Catalonia and especially in Barcelona.¹ There were some small businesses that existed outside Catalonia. For example, some small shops remained in Calanda and Graus.²

What is the difference between Libertarian Mutualism and Capitalism?

Capitalism is a competitive market system where the majority of businesses operate in a situation** where an employer pays themselves more money than their employees for an equal amount of time working.³

Libertarian Mutualism is a regulated form of a competitive market system where the majority of businesses operate in the following ways: self employment,⁴ a situation where both an employer and employee of smaller businesses are paid equally for an equal amount of time working,⁵ or a situation where small and medium business are democratically operated,⁶ and large scale democratic industry and agricultural places are federated and controlled by the community in order to regulate the market as well as provide public services.⁷

As economist Jim Stanford points out, contrary to popular belief, markets and competition exist in other economic systems besides Capitalism (e.g., Market Socialism).⁸

In economics, Libertarian Mutualism is very similar to Libertarian Collectivism except Libertarian Collectivism is free from market competition.⁹ Libertarian Collectivism also includes free health care and free basic foods.¹⁰ People preferring a living beyond basic needs will use money for exchange.¹¹ In Libertarian Mutualism, the community controlled banks charge 1% interest or less to cover expenses. In Libertarian Collectivism, the community banks also handle distribution of all commodities along with charging interest at 1% or less to cover bank

expenses. The Central Labor Bank in Barcelona, with branches everywhere, offered credit with a charge of 1% interest as well as purchasing products and balancing accounts between collectives.¹² Since market competition is gone in Collectivism, product prices are based on how much physical and mental work went into them. As with Mutualism, how much average work it takes to create a product is decided either individually or by the community.¹³



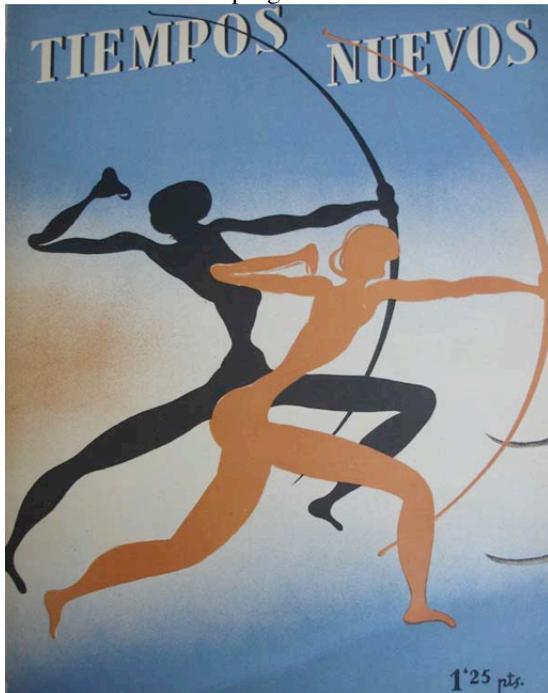
In the Catalonia economy, there were usually combinations of mutualist and collectivist practices within and outside the same workplaces and areas. However the combinations were more Collectivist leaning.¹⁴ Since the majority of the economy in Catalonia was run in an attempted

Collectivist manner, Catalonia can be recognized as an industrial Libertarian Collectivist economy. However, there were individual areas and federated areas that were distinctly Mutualist.

The largest industry in Catalonia, the textile industry,¹⁵ was organized into a Mutualist federation of sorts (CNT textile union) with competition between collectives in the same industry.

How were the large Mutualist businesses organized within the textile industry?

In the textile industry, all functionaries carried out the instructions of the membership and reported back directly to the men on the job and union meetings. During the building of the collective, a management committee of 19 was chosen by the rank and file membership. After three months the management committee would report back to the membership on the condition of the collective and its progress.



Money that used to go to dividends and premiums was used to pay the increased costs for

raw materials. Every factory elected its administrative committee composed of its most capable workers. Depending on the size of the factory, the function of these committees included inner plant organizations, finance, statistics, relations and correspondence with other factories and with the community. There was another organization of a top flight technical commission staffed by very capable technical and administrative experts in the entire industry.

This commission contained engineers, technicians, and commercial experts, made plans to increase production, specialization, installations, etc.¹⁶

The CNT textile union looked after the sales and importation of raw materials for the factory, while smaller collectives did their own deals with other collectives or directly with individuals.¹⁷

However in February 1937 the CNT and UGT agreed to socialization*** of the textile industry of Barcelona.¹⁸

In the following March (1938), the CNT began to promote consumer owned and operated businesses. The CNT revised many of its previous positions mainly due to the war effort.¹⁹

What about medium and small democratic businesses?

The Barcelona department stores and other medium and smaller co-operative businesses, and individual retail businesses existed in various areas around Catalonia.²⁰

What about small businesses with employers?

Many in the Spanish Libertarian CNT preferred the Libertarian views of Errico Malatesta, James Guillaume, and most other Libertarians from all schools of thought regarding wage labor. In their forms (and most other forms) of libertarianism, markets and competition could exist (Individualist and Mutualist socialist libertarianism) however without any wage labor (wage labor is an employer and employee relationship).²¹

It seems for this reason, in quite a few areas, small businesses with employers were

collectivized by the CNT.²² The former employers where permitted to join the collectivized businesses or socialized workshops and own an equal share of the business along with all the other workers.²³

However, the CNT militant, Sebastián Clara, (referring to the barber industry in particular) thought it would have been best to allow the small employers to keep their businesses.²⁴



Self employment remained in all the different forms of economics (mutualist, collectivist, communist, etc.). In many areas within the libertarian collectivist and libertarian communist economies, the workers would dispose of their produce through local supply committees set up by the CNT.²⁵ The official policy of the Libertarian CNT was respect for the small man's property of the self-employed individuals.²⁶

During his visits to rural collectives and urban socialized enterprises in Libertarian Spain, the Libertarian Souchy concluded that a mixed libertarian economy of collective and privately owned democratic businesses is the true manifestation of a free society.²⁷

* I am using the term Libertarian as understood by the CNT and others. Libertarian is used to describe a

society that is organized through types of direct democracy within the business, workplace, federation and the society in general. People who do not wish to take part in the Libertarian society do not have to. For more information please see works by Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, and books, etc, about the CNT.

** Contrary to popular thought, there is only one way to make profit. When money is made by an employer that is paying themselves more money than their employees, the extra money the employer keeps is actually profit. When self-employed individuals, small businesses, or small and medium democratic businesses make money from the sale of their products their income is referred to as 'exchange,' (please see Kropotkin's entry on Anarchism in *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1910 edition) though sometimes their income is referred to as profit as well, though it is understood as 'income' rather than capitalist profit (ie, an employer making more money than their employees). For more information on profit please see endnote 3.

*** Socialization is a situation where an entire industry is free from competitiveness (market competition) within its own industry during trade.

Endnotes and Bibliography:

¹Gabriel Jackson, *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 1931-1939* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp 278-279: In Catalonia "Most individual retail businesses were untouched." And Ronald Fraser, *Blood of Spain: An Oral History of the Spanish Civil War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), 210-236, and Sam Dolgoff, *The Anarchist Collectives* (Brooklyn: Free Life Editions, 1974), 114: "In some Catalan towns the old style bourgeois agricultural (Mutualist) syndicates supplied needed commodities to peasant landlords and small businesses... Usually the bourgeois-oriented associations organized their own cooperatives...in Barcelona the peasant's associations opened their own stores in different sections of the city..."

²Dolgoff, *The Anarchist Collective*, 131 and 136. Some small shops existed in Calanda where a wonderfully active Libertarian Youth existed. One shoe shop and two other shops existed in Graus.

³Marx states: "The driving motive and determining purpose of capitalist production is the self-valorization of capital to the greatest possible extent, i.e., the greatest possible production of surplus value..." Karl Marx, *Capital Volume 1* (England: Penguin Classics (reprint), 1990), 449; as does Kropotkin: "...the capitalists to appropriate for themselves a quite disproportionate share of the yearly accumulated surplus of production..." Peter Kropotkin, "Anarchism" (1910), *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved Feb. 10, 2009 from: http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/kropotkin/britanniaanarchy.html.

In a Capitalist business, an employer pays themselves more money than their employees for an equal amount of time working. Surplus value is the money the employer receives which would have been the employees' if the employer and employees were paid equally. Also please see: Iain McKay, "What is Surplus Value?" in *The Anarchist FAQ*, (Oakland: AK Press, 2008), 229. Also available online at: <http://www.infoshop.org/faq/secC2.html#secc21>.

⁴Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Cosmo Classics, 2007), pp 217: "Anybody who is capable of cutting out and sewing up a pair of shoes can get a license, open a shop, and hang out a sign, 'So and So, Manufacturing Shoe Merchant' although it may only be himself behind his counter."

⁵Stewart Edwards, ed., *Selected Writings of P.-J. Proudhon* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1969), 64: "I will place a condition upon my service: the man who wishes to employ me as a servant must pay me fifty per cent of his income. Without this we are beyond the bounds of fraternity, equality, and mutuality."

⁶Proudhon, *General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century*, 213: "By participating in the loss and gains, by the graded scale of pay, and successive promotion to all grades, the collective force, which is a product of the community, ceases to be a source of profit to a small number of managers and speculators: it becomes the property of all workers. At the same time, by a broad education, by the obligation of apprenticeship, and by the co-operation of all who take part in the collective work, the division of labor can no longer be a cause of degradation for the workman: it is on the contrary..."

⁷Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, (Richard Vernon, ed.), *The Principle of Federation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 70 and 72: "The agro-industrial federation, on the other hand, will tend to foster increasing equality, by organizing all public services in an economical fashion...industries are sisters; they are part of the same body... They should therefore federate... in order to guarantee mutually the conditions of common prosperity..." And Edwards, *Selected Writings of P.-J. Proudhon*, 70: "The advocates of mutualism are as familiar as anyone with the laws of supply and demand and they will be careful not to infringe them. Detailed and frequently reviewed statistics, precise information about needs and living standards, an honest breakdown of cost prices, the foreseeing of all eventualities, the fixing after amicable discussion of a maximum and minimum profit margin, taking into account the risks involved, the organization of regulating societies: these things, roughly speaking, constitute all the measures by means of which they hope to regulate the market."

⁸Jim Stanford, *Economics for Everyone: A Short Guide to the Economics of Capitalism* (Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2008), 36: "But capitalism is not the only economic system which relies on markets. Pre-capitalist economies also had markets—where producers could sell excess supplies of agricultural goods or handicrafts, and where exotic commodities (like spices or fabrics) from far-off lands could be purchased. Most



forms of socialism also rely heavily on markets to distribute end products and even, in some cases, to organize investment and production. So markets are not unique to capitalism, and there is nothing inherently capitalist about a market."

Mutualism is and has always been part of the socialist movement. Mutualists were part of the International Working Men's Association: "The First Congress of the International took place in Geneva from Sept. 3 to 8, 1866. It was attended by 60 delegates. Although some of these delegates were representatives of the schools of Proudhon, Blanqui, or Bakunin, the general tendency of the gathering was socialist in the Marxian tradition. "First Congress"—Geneva—Sept. 3-8, 1866," *Organizational History of the "International Working Men's Association"* at <http://www.marxists.org/history/usa/eam/fi/firstinternational.html>. Bakunin claimed that "Proudhon was the master of us all," according to George Woodcock in *Anarchism* (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1962), 152. Kropotkin was one of Proudhon's "confessed disciples." Benjamin Tucker, in *Instead of a Book* (New York: Arno Press, 1972), 391, called Proudhon "the father of the Anarchistic school of Socialism." And, as we noted above, the socialist historian Carl Landauer considered Proudhon a socialist, as did the noted British socialist G.D.H. Cole in his *History of Socialist Thought* (and in fact called him one of the "major prophets of Socialism"). What about Marx and Engels?...According to Engels, Proudhon was "the Socialist of the small peasant and master-craftsman." Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, 260. (The citations from Woodcock, Landauer, Cole, and Engels can be found at <http://www.infoshop.org/faq/append11.html#app3>.) Marx considered Proudhon's Socialism "petty-bourgeois Socialism." Karl Marx, *Capital Volume 1* (England: Penguin Classics (reprint) 1990), 181. Marx also mentions about Proudhon: "Not only does Proudhon write in the interest of the proletarians, he is himself a proletarian, an *ouvrier*. His work is a scientific manifesto of the French proletariat..." Karl Marx, *The Holy Family* (Frankfurt am Main, 1844), Chapter 4. Retrieved June 6, 2009 from: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/holy-family/ch04.htm>. In the *Communist Manifesto*, Karl Marx donates an entire section to market socialism. He notes its "great acuteness," though he critiques it for maintaining

markets, competition and money. Karl Marx, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848), Chapter 3, Section B. "Petty Bourgeois Socialism." Retrieved June 5, 2009 from: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/>.

⁹Sam Dolgoff, ed., *Bakunin On Anarchy*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), 366. From *On Building the New Social Order* by James Guillaume: "...the value of the commodities having been established in advance by a contractual agreement between the regional cooperative federations and the various communes."

¹⁰Ibid., 371 "First of course, are medical services, which will be free of charge..." to the members of the community. And 369 "...efforts must be made to institute the free distribution of certain essential foods, such as bread, meat, wine, dairy products etc..."

¹¹Ibid., please see section "B. Exchange," 366.

¹²Ibid., please see section "D. Statistics," 370. For Mutualism please see: Proudhon & His "Bank of the People" by Charles Dana. For the Barcelona Central Labor Bank please see: Dolgoff, *The Anarchist Collectives*, 68-69.

¹³Ibid., please see section "B. Exchange," 366. For Mutualism please see: Proudhon (Vernon), *The Principle of Federation*, 45: "The contract of federation, whose essence is always to reserve more powers for the citizen than for the state, and for municipal and provincial authorities than for the central power... Establishes weights and measures, prescribes the units, value, and divisions of currency."

¹⁴Please see: Dolgoff, *The Anarchist Collectives*, and Fraser, *Blood of Spain*.

¹⁵Ibid. 217.

¹⁶Dolgoff, *The Anarchist Collectives*, 95.

¹⁷Fraser, *Blood of Spain*, 219.

¹⁸Ibid., 231.

¹⁹Jose Peirats, *The CNT in the Spanish Revolution Vol. 3*, (East Sussex: ChristieBooks, 2001), 38.

²⁰Fraser, *Blood of Spain*, 221: "The Barcelona...department stores, where each collective was an autonomous unit..." and Dolgoff, *The Anarchist Collectives*, 114.

²¹Errico Malatesta, *Errico Malatesta: Life and Ideas* (London: Freedom Press, 1977), 33: "Admitted the basic principle of anarchism—which is that no-one should wish or have the opportunity to reduce others to a state of subjection and oblige them to work for him—it is clear that all, and only, those ways of life which respect freedom, and recognise that each individual has an equal right to freedom to the means of production and the full enjoyment of the product of his own labor, have anything in common with anarchism." Dolgoff, *The Anarchist Collectives*, 359: "Each peasant will continue to cultivate the land as he did in the past, with this single difference: his former highbred hands, if he had any, will become his partners and share with him the products which their common labor extracts from the land." For the majority view also see:

<http://www.infoshop.org/faq/secG1.html#secG13>. Regarding

the policy of the CNT and the ultimate goal: "Although the majority of CNT-FAI members regarded libertarian communism as the final goal of their movement, there were a few "individualist" Anarchists who, while opposed to the employment of labor, held that an anarchist society should not be limited to one particular system of production." Federico Urales, "La anarquia al alcance de todos," 29. Burnett Bolloten, *The Spanish Civil War: Revolution and Counterrevolution*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 65.

²²Bolloten, *The Spanish Civil War*, 57.

²³Ibid., 57.

²⁴Fraser, *Blood of Spain*, 233.

²⁵Bolloten, *The Spanish Civil War*, 57.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 64: "It is of course, true that the official policy of the CNT...was, within certain limits, one of respect for the property of the small Republican farmer...However, although neither the UGT nor the CNT permitted the small Republican farmer to hold more land than he could cultivate without the aid of hired labor..."

²⁷Dolgoff, *The Anarchist Collectives*, 26: "Economic variety, i.e., the co-existence of collective and privately conducted enterprises,* will not adversely affect the economy. But economic variety is, on the contrary, the true manifestation and indispensable precondition for a free society." In summary of the Spanish Libertarian revolution, the CNT member and historian Peirats notes: "Employers prepared to lend a helping hand were awarded status equal to that of any other collectivist, or indeed—in the case of small property owners and artisans—were allowed to run their industry for themselves, or farm whatever land they could farm with the labour of their own unaided family, on condition that no waged labour was employed." Peirats, *The CNT in the Spanish Revolution Vol. 1*, (East Sussex: The Meltzer Press, 2001), 223.

* Souchy is referring to enterprises that did not employ wage labor.

