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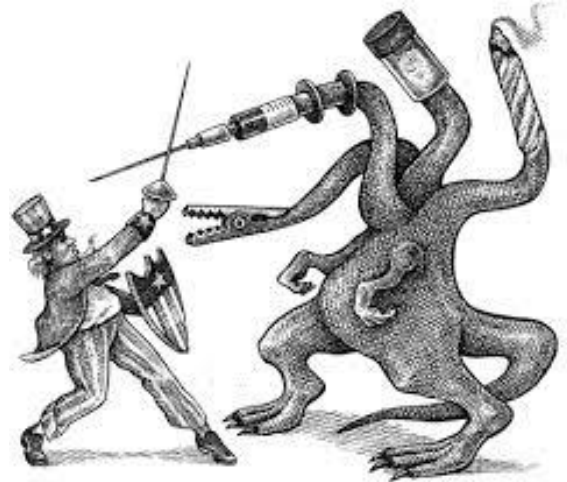
The Body Count in the War on Drugs Continues to Rise

We are told daily that there is an epidemic of opioid-related deaths in the United States. Those to blame, according to our would-be masters and their loyal servants in the news media, are the usual suspects: unethical drug dealers, greedy pharmaceutical manufacturers, reckless doctors, and careless patients. The approved script is that the drug companies market narcotics too aggressively, physicians and other healthcare providers prescribe too casually, and the recipients then become habituated to and dependent on these drugs and/or allow the medications to fall into the hands of friends and relatives who do not have a medical need for them. Once hooked, the “addicts” then turn to illegal sources to feed their habit where they risk injury and death from using drugs whose contents they are unable to verify, mixtures which often include drugs like fentanyl, which is more easily to cause an accidental overdose than heroin.

Assigning Blame

While there is some truth to this story, it is far from a complete explanation of how the current state of affairs came to be. The increase in medical prescriptions for narcotics over time was primarily a result of a needed change in the approach to pain management among medical and nursing health care providers. Sure, Pharma marketed their products heavily, but it was to a willing audience who were free to prescribe such drugs or not. Instead of demonizing opioids, providers came to see them as largely safe and effective tools to control pain, especially in the setting of chronic and cancer-related pain. Narcotics can be used with minimal risk of harm and great benefit in those experiencing pain, but since they create a pleasurable experience for some, they are also commonly used by people not

in pain to get high. And that is the rub. The government—and all too many people in general—believe it is OK for people in pain to use these drugs but not OK for those who simply want the rush. That is why there is a war on drugs. And the commanders and soldiers in that war bear a large portion of the blame for the deaths we are now seeing among narcotics users.



Of course, the ultimate responsibility for any harm suffered lies with the users of opioids. While the conventional wisdom is that these users are addicts, compelled by their “disease” to use opioids at any cost, there are many, including this writer, who reject out-of-hand the medical model of drug use. While it is pretty clear that some people are more prone to using these drugs unsafely, there is no reason to believe they have an illness, or that their drug use is out of their control. Sustained use of narcotics produces tolerance and dependence, so that increasing doses are sometimes needed to maintain a desired effect, and weaning off them is necessary to

prevent withdrawal effects. But they do not take over one's mind and body and compel the user to consume more and more. People make choices, often bad ones, but they are still choices.

Primum non nocere

Even though the numbers of people using, and dying from the effects of, narcotics have been steadily increasing, it is also just as true that narcotics are essential to providing relief to the large numbers of people with chronic pain, including many people with cancer. So any ethical attempts to reduce the harm caused by narcotics must at the same time ensure that those in pain are not deprived of an effective remedy. And the statist approach of more regulation of the prescription of opioids, suing drug companies, and criminalizing non-medical users of narcotics is not only unethical, but counter-productive.



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The government is trying to restrict the legal supply of narcotics by scrutinizing the practices of medical and nursing providers and frightening them into prescribing fewer opioids. The result is that more people in pain are suffering. In addition, less than ideal medications, such as those that include acetaminophen as well as a narcotic, are being used in situations where a pure opioid is more appropriate because the combination product limits the total safe daily dose of the combination drug, even though this results in inadequate pain control. These drugs are also less lucrative when sold on the black market, which delights the drug warriors. Pain management strategies are now often driven by the desire to avoid the notice of the DEA, instead of the goal of optimizing the relief of suffering while minimizing adverse effects. When it comes to medical treatment of people in pain, instead of "first, do no harm," the new operating principle for doctors and nurses is "first, cover your arse."

The statist approach to the illegal market is just as flawed—and destructive. Dealers and users will always find a way to get opioids of one sort or another. Restricting the flow of pharmaceutical grade drugs simply promotes the use of black market concoctions made up of unpredictable ingredients and with unknown potency. This is why people are dying. By criminalizing the non-medical drug market, the government prevents people from openly testing drugs for contents and strength so that users can make an informed decision. Instead, consumers of illegal opioids are forced to take the word of the supplier, who in a non-competitive and illegal trade has less incentive to deal honestly with customers than they would in an open and transparent market.

A New Anti-war Movement

The anarchist solution to the opioid "crisis" is simple. Stop the drug war. Keep the state out of the business of regulating medication prescription and use. Eliminate the DEA and police drug squads. Let people to purchase any drug they like on an open market. Such an approach is not popular, largely because people have believed the lies about addiction and narcotics that have been spread by the

state and the medical authorities for so long. But opioids are just another chemical, like alcohol or caffeine or marijuana or nicotine. They are not uniquely demonic. Marijuana was, until recently, considered as nefarious as heroin, but I can now buy it openly at my local herb shop. That took a sea-change in public opinion to bring about, and was the result of years and years of agitation to show that pot could be used safely and that the reefer madness which drove the campaign against cannabis was nonsense based on junk science. The similar lies that drive the current attack on opioid users need to be confronted and similarly demolished.

I have been a nurse for 40 years, and an oncology nurse for half of them. I have personally seen the havoc that has been wrought by the drug war. I have cared for people whose bodies were ruined by using illegal drugs. I have seen unintentional overdoses. I provide services to people infected with HIV and hepatitis C from sharing needles and syringes. I constantly speak with people with cancer-related pain and other chronic pain symptoms who struggle to live full lives because the government has kept the appropriate pain medications out of their hands. Politicians and regulators have taken it upon themselves to be our overseers and determine who can have narcotics and who cannot, and under what circumstances. This is an unacceptable infringement of people's freedom to control their own bodies and what they wish to put into them.

Prohibition has never been an effective approach to preventing the use of chemicals that people enjoy taking. In the case of the war on opioids, it promotes dangerous behavior among both dealers and consumers in the illegal market and deprives others of an effective means of mitigating their suffering. And besides the awful results in the united states, the international drug war, driven largely by the american government, creates suffering worldwide. Because of a misplaced concern about "addiction," poor people in much of africa commonly have little or no access to narcotics to ease the pain of cancer and injury, while opium produced in afghanistan and elsewhere, which could

easily and cheaply fill their and others' need for relief, is either destroyed by the united states military and its allies or funneled into the lucrative illegal trade. It is outrageous that people stand by and cheer while the drug warriors deprive others of access to cheap narcotics in the name of their (remarkably ineffective) fight against addiction.

The only beneficiaries of the drug war are those in government who have made careers out of regulating and policing opium use, and those who have made fortunes in the illegal markets created by drug laws. They are far outnumbered by the victims: those who accidentally overdose, people with unrelieved cancer pain, people murdered by the governments of many countries for the non-violent use or sale of narcotics, those killed daily in latin america by participants in the illegal drug trade—a trade that exists only because of prohibitory drug laws.

As an anarchist I oppose any intervention by the state in my life or that of others. But that is clearly a minority opinion. Drug laws, like so many other statist interventions, promise protection from harm at the expense of personal freedom. And even though these laws actually cause more harm than good, while severely restricting individual liberty, most people appear to believe the hype and kowtow to the authorities. They are unwilling to think and act for themselves and would rather just accept the information fed to them by the government and its supporters without question. Unless people reject the authority of the state and start taking responsibility for themselves we will never see the end of the drug war and the bodies will continue to pile up.



Defending Anarchy

by Peter Lamborn Wilson

Several people have recently said to me—half-jokingly—“You anarchists must be happy now that the Republicans are dismantling the government!”

I’m afraid I replied angrily and bitterly that such a remark (even *half* in jest) represents a serious misunderstanding about the nature of anarchism, which—in *all* its varieties—includes a strong critique of *any* form of hegemonic oppression by any kind of “authority.” Since at least the 1970s many anarchists have been attempting to point out that even worse kinds of tyranny than the State can arise out of “late” forms of capitalist modernity. In effect, in countries like the US and Europe, where the state has developed “soft” forms of oppression as well as covert forms (based on “biopower,” etc), it could be said that *Work* (ie, alienated wage slavery, consumer fetishism, “leisure” and corporate “imagineering”) may well constitute a more immediate form of oppression than State power. The *boss* is a far more potent source of misery for most of us on an everyday basis than any politician. The waste of our energy and creativity for someone else’s profit never stops, whereas even the police do not oppress us every day of our lives!

Gustav Landauer long ago pointed out that “the State” is not something entirely external to the self, but rather a *relation* entered into by each individual in a complex resulting in loss of autonomy and existential authenticity—*self-repression*, as it were. The decision to break with these internalized forms of oppression must precede any outward “political” or “revolutionary” action, lest such action result merely in new forms of hegemony and alienation. This “inner” revolt does not depend on any historic historical fatedness (as in “vulgar marxism” or other forms of determinism). Revolt is itself a free act, and can be carried out *at once*.

It may even happen that the state is not the worst of our nightmares. Look at Scandinavia or Holland in the 1970s. Surely a genuine social democracy provides a relatively firm ground on which to build

“the kernel of the new society (anarchism or confederal democracy) within the shell of the old,” to paraphrase the IWW’s manifesto. And now that I’m old and sick I confess I prefer a *kind* government to the mean-spiritedness and lack of social imagination of the American police-state, even if it disguises its bad consciousness by ripping off the noble term “libertarian” (which used to mean *anti-authoritarian*!)

Frankly, we oldtime anarchists feel that people who *vote* deserve the politicians they get. The job description of US president is “psychopathic murderer”—why is everyone always so surprised when each new incumbent takes on the role? Does anyone ever run for dog-catcher on the promise NOT to catch dogs?

It won’t matter much when the present lot of assholes “deconstruct” a few bureaucratic boondoggles if the military and the banks continue to rule for the benefit of the One Percent, will it? Corporations—including the marvy innovative godkings of Silicon Valley—make far worse tyrants than a few two-bit jerks in the legislature—or the executive! The “Spectacular” Internet is destroying the last vestiges of human society—and capitalism has already destroyed the “environment”—politicians are merely their most enthusiastic clones, drones and suckers.

The real source of today’s misery in the US is the sinking sensation of all liberal bourgeois smug elite masters of the universe that *our class* has been kicked out of power by a bunch of rednecked whitetrash. Let’s try to get over the *ressentiment* and whining and tearfulness and read a bit of Kropotkin, Bakunin, Stirner, Emma Goldman—or even Abdullah Öcalan (*who?!—*)—and learn what anarchism is really all about. And then...

Well... “One nevva knows—do one?”



Left-handed Christianity

By Jason Rogers

In a recent issue of *Something For Nothing* Idy mentions that his Christianity is considered by many to be contradictory to punk. He's mentioned similar statements in the past. I too have been guilty of a knee-jerk dismissal of Christianity many times (not always without cause!). The public face of mainstream Xianity is often of bigotry, totalitarianism, even crypto-fascism. There is something offensive to even many tolerant Christians, "hate the sin, not the sinner" still leaves the notion that the person is a sinner. But could it be possible if there is a whole different form of Christianity that is concealed by these limited projections? Could it be that there is a left hand path to Christianity? I think there is.

It is a banality to say that Satanism is a form of Christianity, a mirror image of the worst fears of Christianity. But a group like the Process Church had a belief that was literally Christian and Satanic, a reconciliation. This group put an almost Buddhist slant on Christianity, with the idea that focusing only on the light only gives you half the experience. To achieve contact with ultimate reality ("God" if you'd like) that dark aspect of the psyche/soul must be reintegrated. The shadow self is our greatest foe when repressed and pushed away, but our greatest ally when drawn in.

The Process Church created a theology based on the idea that Lucifer and Satan had fallen, but were forgiven. The four primary figures (Jehovah, Jesus, Satan, Lucifer) were like four horsemen. Their theology was in itself apocalyptic. The Process is particularly relevant in this reconciliation of the shadow, because they are the sort of group that can scare the shit out of you. The classic picture of founder Robert DeGrimstone (as printed in *Apocalypse Culture*) has a terrifying intensity in his eyes. If we are to believe the conspiracy theories proposed by Ed Sanders and many others, they were the cult behind the Manson murders. To contemplate them is to contemplate the shadow.

Okay, so these are crackpot theories, loose screw history. But these concepts relate also to William Blake, who wrote poetry that might be described as Christian Anarchism (of a mystical bent). This is seen particularly in his poem "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell" (1793), which also concerns the importance of oppositions. This includes passages from the perspective of Hell, which is why sometimes he is called the "Satanic school," but that phrase is inaccurate. He was trying to expand the realm of consciousness, rather than live within half of reality, within a duality. To use his terms, to "cleanse the doors of perception" in order to remove "mind forged manacles" (maybe in the process destroying the "dark satanic mills" that were enslaving humanity).

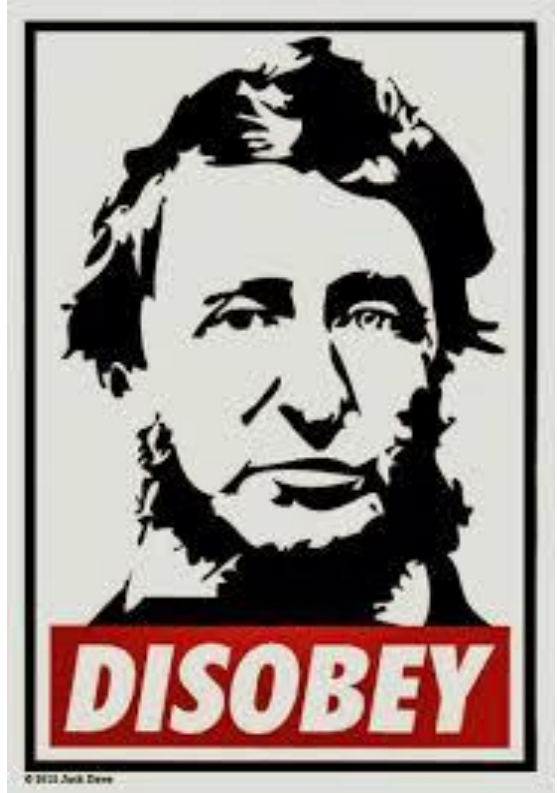


William Blake was coming out of a larger movement of Antinomian Christians, who found themselves in confrontation with church and state (though it should be noted that Blake came out of Hermeticism, which is related to antinomian currents). For the Antinomian Christian, the chains of the law have been broken and they are absolutely free. Antinomian Anabaptists such as the Brethren of the Free Spirit, declared that the kingdom of God was in their hearts and was NOW! They declared themselves absolutely free and went to war against crown and church. At times it was bloody, which is probably why some Anabaptists, such as the Amish, adopted a pacifist position and turned inwards. Within the larger Antinomian current the confrontation continued, resulting in the spiritual anarchist position of the Ranters, Diggers, and other such groups.

Henry David Thoreau came out of the Unitarian tradition, which was explicitly Christian at the time. From this he evolved to a position of Pantheism, seeing divine vitality all throughout wild nature. This is where Thoreau found the freedom that animated his anarchism.

There is a repressed aspect of Pantheism that exists within the traditions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. If the entire universe is divine then there was no separation. All is God.

I am not a Christian, though I at times draw inspiration from this left hand path Christianity. Of course I can't believe as a true believer, I'm too syncretistic for that. Or maybe just too postmodern. Douglas Rushkoff has suggested that chaos magick is correct in that it doesn't matter if beliefs are literally true, that they can still be used (even if poetic fiction), but that the Judeo Christian tradition is more alive to us than the esoteric mythos employed by most occultists. That is why Rushkoff became involved with the Jewish tradition as an adult. Maybe through figures such as Blake and Thoreau a similar project could be commenced for left hand path Christianity.



This form of Christianity could be another of the ludic anarchist spiritual traditions that provide sustenance. It could sit there alongside our Discordianism and Yellow Turban Taoism. In its pantheistic form it is easily reconciled with our paganism. Clearly it would be heresy to the televangelist types. Good. Their form of Christianity is the enemy, it is Babylon. Science fiction novelist Philip K Dick had a series of visions in which he saw that we were still living in the Roman Empire, that Romans had created this illusion to protect the reign of the demiurge. Time had been stopped. All we had to do was dispel this illusion and time would start again, Jesus would return, and destroy Rome. Was Dick crazy? Yes, but like a Fox. So let's bring Blake and Dick in as profits. Turn Noble Drew Ali and Emma Goldman into saints. The chains of the law have been broken, we are absolutely free.

Benjamin Tucker: American Mutualist, Part 2

by Nicholas Evans

The article titled Benjamin Tucker American Mutualist, Part 1 [in *anchorage anarchy* 29], dealt with the economics of American Mutualists like Benjamin Tucker and Josiah Warren. To recap, rather than capitalism, which is a market based on the subjective theory of value, Tucker wanted a competitive market system based on the labor theory of value, ie, a free market with non-exploitative employers. Economic exploitation occurs when employees are paid less than the full value of their labor, creating what is called surplus value.¹ In a capitalist economy the average going rate of a job on the market is distorted because workers are forced to accept lower wages just to survive. If workers had the option of going into business for themselves with relative ease through Mutual Banks, most workers would not accept employers who offer low wages. Therefore, wages would go up as employers would offer more to entice workers to work for them rather going into business for themselves. This way workers would be in a position to dictate their own wages, which would thus reflect the true value of their occupation on the market, eliminating exploitation. Employers who pay their workers less than the general value on the market for that occupation would be exploiting those workers.²



Tucker also believed in occupancy and use land tenure, meaning that only those who lived or worked

on the land could own it. He thought there could be non-exploitative landlords that would get paid by their tenants, but only for the work the landlords did on the land. If the landlords did not do any work on the land used by the tenant, the tenant would not have to pay.³

In addition, Tucker also advocated for Mutual Banks, which would provide credit at an interest rate of one percent or less to their customers so they could go into business for themselves if they were economically exploited by employers.⁴

A Brief Introduction to Freedoms in an Individualist Society

Tucker's individualist society is based solely on contract so the associations or 'governments' in the individualist society could take any form that people choose, and those who did not wish to take part would not be forced to. For example, the society could be extremely democratic or extremely hierarchical, extremely religious or extremely atheist, or anything in between. Those who disagreed would not have to live by the society's rules as long as they did not forcefully impose their views on others. The only rule is that everyone is to 'mind their own business.' The only time the voluntary defense associations (which are companies based on protecting the freedom of their customers) would interfere in someone's life is if an individual or group of people tried to prevent people from living life as they see fit.⁵

Government as it is now could exist including with military, jails, police (ie, voluntary defense association), etc, but with voluntary taxation.⁶ Those who do not wish to pay the voluntary tax will not be forced to, but may not get the benefits of the government they choose not to pay for. A more accurate name for this voluntary 'government' would be voluntary association, since those who do not wish to support the association will likely not get any of its benefits. Those who did not wish to live in

a society where the majority of people are Individualists could also leave if they wished. Since they would be receiving the full value of their labor, most people could more easily afford to move on than is the case in a capitalist society where people are paid only a portion of value of their labor. In the individualist mutualist anarchist society proposed by Tucker, everyone can live and do as they wish as long as they respect the same freedom for all others. Society would be based on free markets and non-exploitative wage labor and all agreements would be made by contract.⁷ So of course he believed in freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of press, etc. (William Greene and JK Ingalls were involved in Christian ministry* as well as being Individualist Mutualists and influential in the Individualist Anarchist movement.) Even though Tucker disagreed with usury he still believed people should have the freedom to voluntarily borrow or lend money at exploitative rates of interest in the Individualist society.⁸

Mutual Banking

What follows in this section is a brief introduction to William Greene's mutual banking theory which Tucker supported. James Martin states that Greene's mutual banking "...resulted in one of the few real additions to Warrenite mutualism."⁹

Greene was involved in Unitarian ministry and Transcendentalism,[†] was a military officer, and Individualist Mutualist.^{10‡} Greene, with his Libertarian Mutualism, believed a bank had only one reason to exist and that is to be a place where

borrowers and lenders can come together.¹¹ He believed traditional banks did not follow the labor theory of value and were charging higher than justified rates of interest to customers. Greene noted "On the side of the bank there is a small army, well equipped, well officered, and well disciplined; on the side of the community, there is a large undisciplined crowd, without arms, and without leaders."¹²



Governments have helped the banks charge high interest rates through legislation. The exchangeable value of a commodity is determined by both its utility (usefulness) as well as its scarcity. However, after government legislation dictated gold and silver as the only forms of legal tender allowed "...those who managed to obtain a monopoly of the supply of these metals to similarly control the business of the area using them as the sole legal tender, and thereby

* Please see *Men Against the State* by Martin.

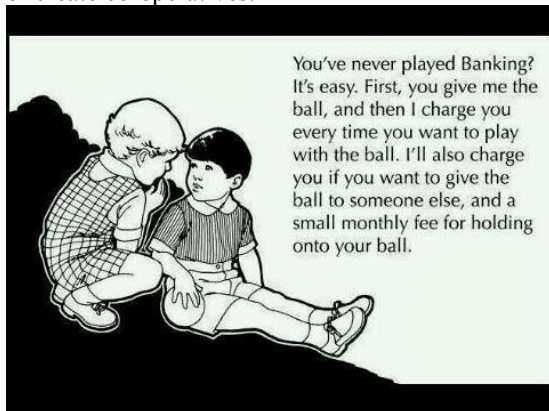
† This author finds the Christian and Transcendentalist beliefs of Greene as well as the methods of the Sedona Method more helpful than Tucker's egoism. While most interested in the Individualist Libertarians, this author also likes all forms of libertarianism (ie, Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin).

‡ Lysander Spooner previously stated his free money decentralist views in *Constitutional Law Relative to Credit, Currency and Banking* in 1843. Spooner is a Libertarian Mutualist because although he supported absentee landlords, he opposed economic exploitation in the workplace. And unlike Tucker, who preferred employers who pay their employees their full value or natural wage on the market, Spooner preferred co-operative businesses. It is Spooner's

opposition to economic exploitation which was the reason for his (and Greene's) invitation to the International Working Men's Association. (See: Woodcock, George. *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*. P 460. Available at: <https://libcom.org/files/Woodcock,%20George%20-%20Anarchism.%20A%20History...>) The Labor Theory of Value can only work on a large scale if there is equal opportunity in the market by means of Mutual Banks, or if everyone owned a house. Otherwise, people would settle for lower wages simply to survive in a market without equality of opportunity and hence not receive their natural wage.

secure a premium for their use by all others engaged in commerce.”¹³

Greene believed high interest rates charged by banks kept many people in poverty as they were forced to work for others and were paid less than the full value of their labor. Because of the low wages they received for their labor, they could not afford to obtain credit at the prevailing high interest rates and were thus unable to go into business for themselves or create co-operatives.¹⁴



What is the solution according to Greene? The Mutual Bank.

Any person could become a member of the bank by pledging mortgages to the bank on actual property, and bills of exchange amounting to one-half of the total value of the mortgaged property would be issued. No money would be loaned to persons who were not members of the banking company. All members of the bank would enter into a voluntary agreement to accept the paper money issued by the bank for all payments when presented by fellow members. Members could be released from their pledge when their mortgage had been redeemed.^{15§}

Greene suggested that 10,000 people sign up before starting the mutual bank. This, he believed, would insure a feeling of security among the mutual bank members because all could inspect the books and therefore observe on what basis all others were

having money issued. In addition, with 10,000 local people as members people would be able to use the mutual money in everyday local life in member stores, hotels, theaters, shops, restaurants etc.¹⁶

The mutual bank is a producer bank. Its currency is non-interest-bearing. The monetization of commodities other than gold and silver (though Tucker mentioned people could use gold or silver if they wished) would enable a person with only their work skills to easily borrow capital to engage in productive work and thus create capital goods of their own.¹⁷

Greene's Mutual Banks were not like those that issued "wildcat money" because such money was not backed either by specie or by any other commodity. Mutual bank money on the other hand, although not redeemable in specie, is based on existing commodities such as property or a promise of labor. Mutual money is issued against actual values and is utilized by all who participate in the mutual bank. Mutual money has no more effect upon the precious metals than upon any other commodities.¹⁸



Like Proudhon, Greene encouraged co-operatives and democratically run businesses. Greene promoted Associated Workshops, Protective Union Stores, and his Mutual Banks which he called the "...Triple Formula of Mutualism."¹⁹ This triple formula is similar to Proudhon's Agro-Industrial Federation,²⁰ in the belief that these types of businesses would protect against companies entering the market with the intent of creating usury (un-worked income). Greene believed the mutual bank was best adapted to the local community level. In times of economic troubles, the mutual money

[§] In today's society, and especially in the future, it may be more efficient to use cashless ways of payment through things like debit cards to

represent different types of money from different banks (ie, Government-backed money, mutual money etc).

would prove a safeguard against inflationary or deflationary pressures. The local town cannot fail disastrously because they use money backed by real property in the local community.²¹

Like Tucker, Greene believed people should be free to live any way they wished.²² He believed Mutual Banking would eventually lead to a free mutualist society:

“Mutualism operates, by its very nature, to render political government, founded on arbitrary force, superfluous; that is, it operates to the decentralization of political power, and to the transformation of the State by substituting self-government instead of government *ab extra*.”²³

Final Conclusion

As noted above, Benjamin Tucker advocated for a society with voluntary taxation by ‘government’ and private businesses with either self-employed individuals or non-exploitative employers who pay their employees the full product of their labor. He envisioned land-owners who own only the land they live on or non-exploitative landlords,** and interest at low rates designed to cover only the costs and wages of running a mutual bank. The mutual banks would offer interest rates low enough to insure that anyone who can work would be able to become self-employed as an alternative to employers who pay their employees less than the full value of their labor. Given this option, employers would be looking for employees and therefore would have to raise wages to the full value of what workers produce, the

‘natural wage.’ Tucker followed the Labor Theory of Value and opposed unearned income which is why he is a market socialist or Mutualist. In other words, Tucker wanted voluntary taxation and equality of opportunity on the competitive market.



As stated by James Martin:

“The abolition of compulsory taxation would mean the abolition of the state as well, Tucker asserted, and the form of society succeeding it would be on the line of a voluntary defensive

** Tucker agreed with Josiah Warren on equitable non-exploitative land rent, though Tucker did not call non-exploitative rent ‘rent,’ but sale. Warren states “The equitable rent of either would be the wear, insurance, etc., and the labor of making contracts and receiving the rents, all of which are different items of cost.” Warren, Josiah. *Equitable Commerce*. ULAN Press. USA 2017. P 46. By ‘cost’ Warren means the physical and mental labor along with the material costs in addition to the average going rate on the market. Tucker states that he considers the term rent to mean usury or unearned income by a landlord. However, if a landlord worked on their own land, and the tenant pays the landlord for work done to compensate for the damage and wear by the tenant, then that is non-exploitative and thus not rent but sale. Tucker states: “If Edgeworth performs preparatory labor on a cotton field, the result of which would remain intact if the field lay idle, and that result is damaged by a tenant, the tenant ought to pay him for it on the basis of reward

defined above...the transaction, nevertheless, is in the nature of a sale, and not a payment for a loan. Every sale is an exchange of labor, and the tenant simply pays money representing his own labor for the result of Edgeworth’s labor which he (the tenant) has destroyed in appropriating it to his own use. If the tenant does not damage the result of Edgeworth’s preparatory labor, then...this money, paid over and above all damage, if it does not bring equivalent ownership, is payment for use, usury, and in my terminology, rent... The difference between us is just this. Edgeworth says that from tenant to landlord there is payment for damage, and this is just rent; and there is payment for use, and this is unjust rent. I say there is payment for damage, and this is indemnification or sale, and is just; and there is payment for use, and that is rent, and is unjust.” Tucker, Benjamin. *Instead of A Book*. Forgotten Books. 2012. P 303.

institution... There were two methods of government...The other was the anarchist method of 'leadership', inducing the individual to the 'goal of an ideal civilization' through persuasion and 'attraction'...Two aims of anarchist activity, the abolition of compulsory taxation and the abolition of legally-protected money and land monopolies, form the main theme of his critical writing..."²⁴

People who do not accept the Individualist Society can move to another society that more fits their preferences and they will find it easier to move because they will be paid the full value of their labor.



Proudhon, an influence on Tucker and his contract theory (See Tucker's *Instead of a Book*), stated in the Epilogue to his *General Idea of Revolution in the Nineteenth Century* (1923):

"Will you join the compact, and form a part of their society?

Do you promise to respect the honor, the liberty and the property of your brothers?

Do you promise never to appropriate for yourself by violence, nor by fraud, nor by usury, nor by interest, the products or possessions of another?

Do you promise never to lie nor deceive in commerce, or in any part of your transactions? You are free to accept or refuse."

The society by contract through voluntary taxation and non-exploitative wage labor on a free market with equality of opportunity was Tucker's goal. How can the Individualist society of Tucker be created?

Mutual banking may no longer be able to have the intended impact it once could have potentially had. Tucker stated in his 1926 postscript to *State Socialism and Anarchism*:

"...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 by 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."²⁵

So gradual peaceful change through education is the main key to creating an Individualist Mutualist society according to Tucker.

While peaceful gradual education is key, creating Individualist mutual banks and Individualist-run businesses can still be helpful. Although we are living in a system without equality



of opportunity on the market, another small way to help to create the Individualist Libertarian^{††} society is by creating mutual banks or by applying the Individualist way of operating a business (any type of business), where everyone in the company (both employers and employees) vote on wages of both the employees and the employers. The jobs within the company that are the most stressful mentally or physically would be paid the most. This is the Labor Theory of Value or the ‘Cost Principle’ (which

includes the mental and physical stress) proposed by Josiah Warren. The only difference between the individualist model with employers and the co-ops proposed by Proudhon is that in the Individualist anarchist model the employers are not voted in or out like in the model of Proudhon. In either model there is no surplus value because the wage is decided by how difficult the work is and only people who work (add value) are paid. When employees, being the majority in the company, decide their wages themselves through voting (rather than letting the market do it as in the individualist anarchist model, which does not exist at this time), they have equality of opportunity to decide their wages depending on the physical and mental intensity of the work and thus receive their entire product. Also, encouraging the Individualist Anarchist attitudes of freedom, tolerance, and respect for all others’ views are things someone can do to help create an Individualist society based on the views of Tucker, Warren and Andrews.



¹ See *Capital*, Volume 1 by Karl Marx.

² Tucker, Benjamin. *Instead of A Book*. Forgotten Books. 2012. P 12.

³ *Ibid*. P 303.

⁴ *Ibid*. P 11.

⁵ *Ibid*. P 14.

⁶ *Ibid*. P 14; Martin, James. *Men Against the State*. Ralph Myles Publisher, Inc. Colorado Springs. 1970. P 96.

⁷ Tucker. *Instead of A Book*. P 25.

⁸ See: *Ibid*.

⁹ *Ibid*. P 126.

¹⁰ *Ibid*. P 126.

¹¹ *Ibid*. P 128.

¹² *Ibid*. P 128.

¹³ *Ibid*. P 129.

¹⁴ See: *Mutual Banking*, 1850 Edition, by William Greene. (Although Greene opposed wages he did believe it was necessary for landless bank

members to have non-exploitative wage labor as a transition period until they could get enough money to buy land of their own to pledge to the mutual banks in order to become self-employed or join co-operatives.)

¹⁵ Martin. *Men Against the State*. P 131.

¹⁶ *Ibid*. P 131.

¹⁷ *Ibid*. P 132.

¹⁸ *Ibid*. P 132.

¹⁹ *Ibid*. P 135.

²⁰ Proudhon, Pierre Joseph. Translated by Richard Vernon. *The Principle of Federation*. University of Toronto Press. Canada. 1979.

²¹ *Ibid*. P 135.

²² *Ibid*. P 135.

²³ *Ibid*. P 133.

²⁴ *Ibid*. P 216-218.

²⁵ Please see the post script

at: <https://archive.org/details/statesocialisman00tuck>

^{††} With the exception of the Individualist Libertarians like Tucker, Warren, and Andrews, the vast majority of Libertarians want a society of democratically-run businesses or workplaces. See works by Greene, Proudhon, Bakunin, and Kropotkin. Tucker and the other individualists are still libertarians due to their belief in the labor theory of value which is a preference for a society free from economic exploitation. Most libertarians want a society free of the state and democratic control of the workplace unlike Tucker and other individualists who want voluntary taxation and non-

exploitative wage labor. The Libertarianism that I am referring to is the original term dating back to the 1800s. Please see Iain Mackay’s excellent AFAQ Blog. “150 Years of Libertarian.” Anarchist Writers: AFAQ’s Blog (12/11/2008) Retrieved Nov 2, 2017 from: <http://anarchism.pageabode.com/afaq/150-years-of-libertarian> The AFAQ has been regarded as “very comprehensive” by Graham, Paul & Hoffman, John. *Introduction to Political Ideologies*. London: Pearson/Longman. 2006. P 109.